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ARC 0178 (88/04)

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02
7-2061

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

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

Access is Restricted.

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

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

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

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

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

Public Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Personal Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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MG 26
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King, William Lyon Mackenzie (1874-1950). Premier ministre du Canada.

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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

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

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Correspondance personnelle. Série J8. Original, 1897-1950, 4.000 m. (Vol. 1-41).

Cette série comprend la correspondance reçue par King entre les années 1897 et 1950. Cette correspondance provenait de ses amis plutôt que de ses connaissances ou du public en général. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Spiritisme. Série J9. Original, 1919-1950, 1.400 m. (Vol. 1-7).

Cette série comprend des lettres, des publications et des mémoires classés par matière.

Maison Laurier et Kingsmere. Série J10. Original, 1919-1950, 2.800 m. (Vol. 1-28).

Cette série comprend des lettres ayant trait à des plans, des meubles, etc., des résidences de King. Elle est organisée en dossiers-matière. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche.

Finances. Série J11. Original, 1907-1950, 1.600 m. (Vol. 1-16).

Cette série comprend des états annuels, des documents relatifs à des placements, etc., organisés en dossiers-matières.

Papiers personnels divers. Série J12. Original, 1905-1950, 2.100 m. (Vol. 1-21).

Cette série comprend des dossiers-matières sur des affaires personnelles (voitures, église, clubs, santé, assurances et personnel).

Journaux intimes. Série J13. Original, 1893-1950, 7.420 m. (Vol. 147-209). Microfiche, 1893-1950, 492 fiches. T-1 à T-275, M-1 à M-217. Transcription, 1893-1946, 1949, 10.760 m. (Vol. 1-146). Photocopie, 1947-1948, 1950, 1.110 m.

Une liste des journaux intimes et une liste de conversion de ces journaux sur microfiche, sont disponibles dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Papiers de la famille King. Série J14. Original, 1840-1950, 2.000 m. (Vol. 1-20).

Cette série comprend la correspondance des membres de la famille King avec d'autres personnes que W.L.M. King. On y trouve des lettres de John et Christina King, M. et Mme John King, Isabel King, Dr. et Mme Macdougall King, M. et Mme H.M. Lay et la famille Lindsey. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
99		1945 General Elections, London. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 63326 - D 63397	
99		1945 General Elections, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 63398 - D 63476	
99		1945 General Elections, Saint John. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 63477 - D 63519	
99		1945 General Elections, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 63520 - D 63562	
99		General Elections, Results of. Speeches outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 63563 - D 63588	
99		Glengarry, By-election. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 63589 - D 63664	
100		Second Session, Japanese in Canada. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 63665 - D 63761	
100		Second Session, Meat Rationing. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63762 - D 63777	
100		Second Session. Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament.	1945	D 63778 - D 63783	

J.W.P., 4.VI.45

D 63477

General Sansom and Reinforcements

In the Fredericton Gleaner of May 31, 1945, General Sansom is quoted as follows:

> "On my return to Canada, I submitted my report to the War Committee of the Cabinet but it has not yet been published. I don't think Prime Minister Mackenzie King liked my report any better than he did Colonel Ralston's. I was asked to file a report that would not be too voluminous to be published and did so but it has never been published and I doubt very much if it will be before the election."

The government has now published a summary of the report prepaped by General Sansom himself.

What did his report disclose:

1. that the government followed the advice of its military advisers in making provision for reinforcements;

2. that Canadian provision for reinforcements was based on British experience until August 31, 1944 when, for the first time, there was enough Canadian experience to guide the army.

3. that there was never an over-all shortage of reinforcements, but only a shortage of infantry (as was stated in P.M.'s broadcast of Nov. 8, 1944).

4. that the problem disclosed in August was met "as was done in the other Allied Armies by the conversion, or re-mustering, of surplus reinforcements in other Arms".

5. that re-mustering was "a practical solution to the problem".

6. that the actual numbers of reinforcements despatched from Canada in the calendar year 1944 was 13,816 more than planned.

7. Read problems:

(a) reinforcements from Canada and in the United Kingdom, "were not in proper proportion of the various arms".

(b) "It was not possible to change the production from the training stream at short notice".

N.B. Both these were essentially and exclusively military problems, not political.

8. "The over-all problem was not one of the numbers but rather one of training the personnel available for re-mastering".

9. "The provision of trained reinforcements was complicated by the division of the Army between two theatres".

10. Shortages in the units in N.W. Europe during the period August to early October, 1944, during period while "surpluses in other arms were being re-mastered to infantry and re-trained."

11. "By the end of January, 1945, when the writer visited Headquarters, First Canadian Army in the field, the reinforcement situation was well in hand."

By 3 March, 1945, fully trained reinforcements available to meet two months intense wastage for whole Army.

12. General Conclusion (in General Sansom's own words)

"Notwithstanding the recent heavy fighting in North West Europe, all operational units are being reinforced promptly and maintained at full strength. The general reinforcement position overseas has improved during recent months and can now be regarded as satisfactory. The training organization overseas is functioning efficiently and satisfactorily, and is producing its maximum output of well trained reinforcements."

At the very time of which report speaks, namely March, 1945, when, according to General Sansom, the reinforcement situation was "satisfactory", decision was made to move 1st Canadian Corps from Italy to N.W. Europe.

Yet, at the other end of Canada, we have another General (Pearkes) telling you that the Corps was moved from Italy to be broken up for reinforcements.

I will tell you why the Corps happened to be moved at that time:

(Here paraphrase Churchill).

Throughout war, govt. left purely "military" matters scrupulously to military experts and took proper responsibility to give political (i.e. civil) effect) to military decisions.

Military matters the province of military experts, but civil government best conducted by those with experience in civil administration.

One thing to have one outstanding military man in a government, but quite another to seek to form a political party of "retired generals".

Perhaps the next time the Tory party changes its name, it might consider calling itself the "General Conservative Party".

Seriously, people of Canada will pass severest judgment on men who have used the prestige of their military careers to give a semblance of authority to deliberate misrepresentation of facts such as has been the case with General Pearkes and especially with General Sansom who misrepresented his own report.

J.W.P., 4.VI.45

D 63480

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D 63483

J.W.P., 4.VI.45

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication St.John Telegraph-Journal

Date June 6/45

Subject

1749-C

D 63486

Prime Minister Mackenzie King Reviews Issues

Makes Election Campaign Speech in Saint John—Hon. D. L. MacLaren Also Addresses Meeting Here

"No one can avoid feeling deep concern about what lies before us in the next few years. The greatest enemy has been subdued after six years of conflict but another across the Pacific remains. The most serious thing is the appalling condition of hate and unrest and distrust which has been left by the war," said Canada's prime minister, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in addressing a public meeting last night at the Capitol Theatre here.

One of the duties of the government would be to send men to take part in a peace conference, he said, and the people should consider what party could provide the representatives for Canada at such a conference.

"This war has been an international conflict. Also it has been a great social revolution, and the man or woman who fails to see that is not looking squarely at the problems of today. This world is undergoing change and those who have not got the opportunities they should have are going to try to get them. If they don't get them through just legislation in their countries they are going to try and get them by revolution or other means."

Great wealth and severe poverty will not be tolerated in the years to come, the prime minister said. He maintained that the Liberal government's social reform program was aimed at greater opportunities and social justice for all.

Will Not Be Tolerated

"This world is not going to stand for a few millionaires and poverty side by side," he said. "The great national resources which God has given to all the people are not going to be controlled by a privileged few while great multitudes walk the streets in search of employment."

The prime minister strongly urged the election of Revenue Minister D. L. MacLaren as member for Saint John-Albert. He said the new minister added strength to the cabinet, belonged at Ottawa and would now remain at Ottawa.

Canada had been organized on a vast war economy during the last five years, he continued. "That war economy has to be changed to a peace economs." He asked what government was best able to do that, the one which had "had charge of things from the first, which knew how to unfold things it had itself developed," or a new government which, regardless of its ability "knew little of what had been done up to date."

The nation owed a duty to the men and women who had served, who had lost relatives, who had suffered wounds. "Pensions and gratuities are the least that can be done for those who served or suffered in the forces," he said. "No country has better laws for the armed forces. I don't say we have done enough, but I do say that no other country has done as much as Canada to render help and justice to its servicemen."

Result in Ontario

Results of the Ontario election show what happens when those who favor social reform are divided into too many parties, Mr. King said. "I have heard some people deplore the result in Ontario. I say it is the greatest object lesson this country could ever have of what happens when there are too many parties."

Introduces Speakers

Senator G. Percy Burchill, South Nelson, chairman of the New Brunswick Liberal Association, presided and introduced the two speakers, Mr. MacLaren and the prime minister. Seated on the platform also were executive officers of the Saint John-Albert Liberal Association and Senator W. E. Foster.

Senator Burchill welcomed Prime Minister King to the city and province on behalf of the provincial Liberal association. He then introduced Mr. MacLaren, referring to his record in the First Great War and his subsequent service to the city as mayor and to the province as chairman of the National War Finance Committee. He said his selection as revenue minister was a popular one in New Brunswick.

Mr. MacLaren

Mr. MacLaren was "delighted to have the prime minister of Canada come to Saint John." He announced that Prime Minister King had received word from Ottawa during the course of the day that work of removing the wreck in the harbor would start this week.

Referring to Canada's war record, he stated that it was not by mere chance that the Dominion had a "good solid government at Ottawa," but it was the product of "courage, brains and stability." He recalled a statement made by John Bracken, leader of the Progressive Conservative party regarding Canadian soldiers throwing rifles overboard from a transport ship. "Let me say that my reply to Mr. Bracken is this—Canadian soldiers never did and never will throw their rifles overboard!"

Mr. MacLaren touched on the matter of taxation and said that the "next budget of Mr. Ilsley (Finance Minister Ilsley) will show some measure of relief." He concluded with reference to what the government had done and would do for those returning from the services.

Before introducing Prime Minister King, the chairman read a telegram from Premier McNair expressing regret at his inability to be present at the meeting. During the evening music was furnished by Bruce Holder's orchestra. The prime minister left immediately after the meeting by train for Moncton en route to Quebec City, where he is scheduled to speak tonight.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

2

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 63487

Subject .....

The Prime Minister

Mr. King spoke as follows:

"I wish I could begin to tell you the pleasure it gives me to be again in the Maritime Provinces and to address a meeting in Saint John. In the last few years all of us have been under great strain and passed through history the like of which the world has never known before. During the years of war I have had to remain almost constantly at the seat of government. I have a couple of times crossed the ocean and a couple of times gone down to Washington, but outside of these occasions I have been constantly at Ottawa.

"May I say first of all that I regret it is not going to be possible for me to visit all parts of the Maritime Provinces. Time and space make that impossible. It is not any lack of desire. When the war began it started with a session of Parliament, a Parliament which lasted five years. That was no sooner over than I had to go to San Francisco and went to Vancouver and from Vancouver here, without an opportunity of really doing anything more than paying a visit to one or more places and addressing audiences in the Western Provinces and Ontario. I would like to have gone to Halifax and Charlottetown and I hope our friends in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island will realize that in speaking in Saint John I am speaking to all the country in this part of the Dominion.

"I would like, before acknowledging the kind remarks made by the chairman and my colleague and great friend Mr. MacLaren, to take the opportunity as prime minister of Canada, which I still am and hope to be after June 11th, to extend to the people of the Maritime Provinces my warmest congratulations and highest thanks on behalf of the government of this country for the magnificant contribution which they have made to the winning of the war in Europe.

"There is nothing that has impressed any country like the great success of the magnificant war effort and the magnificant contribution of the people of Canada. Wherever I have spoken about the war I have taken great care to say that it is not to the government of Canada that the credit is due, it is to the people of Canada. I would say on behalf of the government that all the efforts of the people of Canada might have been very different from what it was if that effort had not been wisely planned and carefully directed by the government which had that great responsibility.

None Finer

"May I speak particularly of the great service that has been rendered our country and many countries by the armed forces of Canada, I would like to speak of the contributions by the Army, Navy, Air Force and Merchant Marine, but may I say that I think all countries will agree having regard to the size of Canada, no country on earth has made a finer contribution to freedom in our time than the men of Canada in this war.

"I would like to speak not only of the great service rendered by our armed forces but also by those who have maintained the home front and maintained our armies at the front. A nation is made up at a time of war particularly of warriors and workers and it is to the workers of Canada, those particularly of the Maritime Provinces, those workers in the mines, forests, on the deep and rivers and getting the supplies necessary for our men at the front, that I wish to refer. Men, women and children working on the farms, working in munition plants and working on the great communications on sea and land. To you all may I on behalf of the goverment express the pride for the achievement which the Maritime Provinces have made. We have still to destroy Japan but we have destroyed Germany.

"I wish to refer to another great service and that is the contributions which you have made in money, in the way of savings, contributions to Victory loans. But for these contributions it would not have been possible for the government to finance this war as we have financed it, and I thank you one and all for what you have done in that regard.

"The production at home has been greater in this period of war than it has been at any previous time. That speaks magnificently for the people of Canada.

The Revenue Minister

"Ladies and Gentlemen, may I take the earliest opportunity I can to thank you for sending to the government of Canada the able and brilliant gentleman who has spoken to you this evening and who is now the minister of national revenue in the Government of Canada. I believe we have in the presence of Mr. MacLaren in Ottawa now, and that is where he is going to stay, one of the greatest citizens of the Maritime Provinces and one of the greatest citizens of the Dominion of Canada.

"You may well be proud that this part of the Dominion is being represented by one who has the great ability and experience and the great charm which Mr. MacLaren has, and which goes so far in life. He possesses a quality of getting on with men, and I expect also with ladies, which is very valuable and which I would give a great deal personally to possess. The moment Mr. MacLaren came into the Council Chamber his colleagues felt an addition had been made in the government of Canada and he had not been there five minutes before he began in answer to questions put to him to give us the feeling that we had in our midst one who coud speak with authority and one who possessed knowledge.

"I want to congratulate Mr. MacLaren on the part he has taken in the Victory Loans, but more on what he has done as a model citizen to this part of Canada, not only during the war period but during his whole life. I believe that you will send him back to Ottawa with a very large majority, that the people of Canada may realize that where a man is public-spirited and willing to give his time and he is needed and I am sure you will send him to us.

Senator Burchill

"I want to thank Senator Burchill for his kind words in introduction. I thought I was making a pretty good choice when I selected him along with other colleagues to become members of the Senate, but after listening to him tonight I have come to realize that we have got the right man in the right place. It is indeed a source of pride and satisfaction to know that the Parliament of Canada has been strengthened by the distinguished gentlemen who have been recently appointed to the Upper Chamber. Regarding the candidates in the coming election. There are some of the old members, and also new people who, I am sure, will render good service to this country as a whole.

"Now ladies and gentlemen I have no set speech for this evening. I have been traveling very steadily and have also had to keep an eye on matters pertaining to the war. I will speak to you this evening from my heart in regard to the situation that you are facing at the moment. It is a moment of great decision, not for me or the government or Parliament, but for you to make. It is your decision, you are the people who are deciding now what particular government is to be in office from now for another five years.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 6348

"Do you realize that another five years brings us to 1950? I confess it came as a shock to me when I thought about 1945 and 1950. What this world will witness in those next five years God alone knows. We can only pray that it will not compare with the last five years. Will anyone view this world today without feeling a deep concern as to what lies before us? I remember six or seven years ago looking at Europe at that time and thinking what responsibility might be mine in regard to taking one's country into war, but I felt at that time that we were facing not a conflict that would be local, but a conflict that would spread over the entire world and I used those words when I first spoke about it in the House of Commons.

After Nearly Six Years

"After nearly six years of terrible conflict we have subdued the enemy that we had to face, but we have still this enemy across the Pacific, but what is worse than all is the condition of hate and mistrust and misery that is the result of the war. I beg of you in choosing the government for the next five years to ask yourselves, of the men offering themselves who are the best qualified to serve us at the present time? We are still in the world war. We are at the moment witnessing nations meeting at San Francisco seeking out a plan which will help to maintain peace, once peace has been secured. The San Francisco meeting will not deal with the making of the peace terms or settle the boundaries of the countries of Europe. All that remains to be done. One of the duites of the new government will be to send to the peace table representatives who will help to make that peace.

"You have another great phase of national effort to consider. We have built up over the last five or six years out of a nation entirely at peace, a great war economy. We have organized this whole nation for war. It has been a great effort. When we started we were not doing anything fast enough; criticism was offered on every side in respect to this and that not being right. We held to a definite plan and took each step at a time, and tried to do the work as thoroughly as we could and we have organized Canada as a machine built for war.

"We have to change that back from a war economy to a peace economy. We have got to get the war industries changed into industries for peace. Hundreds of thousands of men are coming back from overseas. We have got these problems ahead of us.

What Government?

"What government can we think of is best to undertake this work, a government who has had to do with it from the start or bring in a new group of men who have had nothing in the way of experience in regard to the great war effort of Canada? This is one thing you will have to consider very carefully.

"There is the further question—what about the next five years? The thing that I am most proud of in connection with the present administration has been the magnificance of the war effort. That I attribute to the people of Canada. And let me say in regard to the government's part, I leave it to you to judge whether we have been faithful to the trust which you imposed in us five years ago.

"Five years ago we were in the midst of war. We came before the people of Canada and asked for a mandate to carry on the war. We told the people if we were returned we would endeavor to make Canada's war effort worthy of Canada and in the years since our minds have been focussed on that end.

"There are two things that should be considered as to the government. How has the government discharged the trust given to them, and what do they intend to do in the years to come?

"Looking at the war effort as a whole that Canada has maintained up to this hour, may I ask you can you think of any other group of men in Canada who could have discharged their responsibility better than we have discharged ours? That, I say to you, is the first ground in which we appeal to you for a renewal of your confidence. The excellent war effort is the best evidence of what you may expect from now on.

Manpower Question

"There are many men and women today who continue to consider the manpower question. They are not doing it because the war effort has not been a success. They admit it has been a tremendous success. But they want to obscure anything they have to offer and to obscure what the government has done and its program for the future. It is the second part that I wish to speak about tonight because that is what concerns the future.

"What I think lies more at the basis of success is that we should have full employment. During this period of the war there has been greater prosperity. Our effort has been directed to destruction but there has been great prosperity in this war. If prosperity can come through employment at a time of war why cannot even greater prosperity come in times of peace when men's efforts and the efforts of the nation are directed not to the work of destruction but to the work of construction?

"I want to speak on construction tonight, what the government has been planning so there will be plenty of employment during the years to come. If there is not full employment during that period, we believe the problems, some of these problems, will become incapable of solution. Our government has not just taken up in the last few months the question of looking to the future. We began to lay our plans for employment in the years to come.

"In the first place employment will come through the circulation of money plentifully throughout the country. The government has been spending vast sums of money for munitions and vast sums to maintain our armies at the front and vast sums for the payment of food. Vast sums of money have got into circulation. When the war stops in Japan is this employment going to cease? It will cease unless there is very careful planning.

First Step

"Let me state the first step we have taken. You have all had to put aside a certain amount of savings. You have bought Victory bonds. The government already has large sums of money that you have paid over to it and which is there to your credit. As soon as the war is over these vast sums that have been put aside in savings will be released and that money will flow out through our country, not to purchase instruments of destruction, but to purchase things for our homes. There will come at once a great demand for furniture and clothing and utensils and construction of new homes and the money is there. You will have a great demand for these things and these things will give great employment.

"Some of you at first wondered why the government adopted its policy of a price ceiling. This price ceiling has prevented inflation and it permits the standard of living to be mantained on a certain level. In Vancouver I said that if I had not been in San Francisco at the government expense I would not like to have been there because the cost of living is so much greater than in Canada. There has been a policy to try to maintain purchasing power in

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a way in which it will serve the needs of the people.

"We sometimes hear that we are spending a lot of money for pensions and gratuities. How will you meet it? That money will mean so much more in the way of purchasing power and so much more in circulation and give employment and as people are employed, employers as well as employes get more. The people are helped through this vast sum of money which will be kept in circulation throughout the country.

Secured In Battle

"Here let me pause to say we must never forget that if we have freedom today and the enjoyment of our homes and the joy of looking forward to living in a country that is free and happy, we owe it to those men who have gone to the front and put their lives between us and the enemy. We owe our freedom to those who have made the supreme sacrifice. We owe it to the hundreds of thousands of men who are wounded and maimed and we as a people no matter what government may be in power, must realize that the first duty of this nation is to the forces who have served overseas and those who have sacrificed life and limb. Don't let us ever forget that.

"I have not time to speak about what the government has sought to do for the war veterans but I say that no country in the world has its statute laws which mean as much to the men who have served overseas as Canada has at the present time. I do not say that we have done enough, but I do say that no country in the world has done as much. Canada has done more in those matters that any other country. That is all going to come back. It will be distributed into the purchasing power of our country and help to give continuous employment.

"Through the war we have helped other nations by supplying them with munitions and giving them mutual aid. We have sent to Britain and Russia and other countries vast quantities of munitions and paid for those out of the treasury. How did we do it? It has given employment to thousands upon thousands of workers and kept up total employment and in the money that has gone to pay these things there is money that has gone into circulation and shows we can not only help ourselves but others. You remember Shakespeare said 'The quality of mercy is twice blessed. It blesses him that gives and him that takes.'

Have All Helped

"If we had not sent the munitions that we have sent abroad, apart from what we did for our own troops, I doubt if the war would have ended when it did. These things have all helped to bring the war to a close sooner than it would have. These countries will never forget what has been done and as the opportunity comes in the future Canada will be blest for what she has done for others. We are facing the reconstruction of Europe. In Europe whole countries have been ravished and houses destroyed and little food and clothing. If someone did not come to their help from outside there would be total misery.

"Our nation is sending under the UNRRA large qupantities of supplies of food and clothing. Is that helping much? All that food and clohting has to be paid for and every dollar that is paid for it coming out of the public treasury is money put into circulation and that is money giving employment and that is why we are helping today to raise these people on their feet so they can look after themselves and we are being blessed by plenty of employment. This country is dependent on its foreign trade for prosperity. We cannot trade with these people, they have not the purchasing power and cannot take our goods and pay for them. But once they are restored we will have the markets and they come to want more of our goods.

"I might speak of our housing policy. The government has made provision which will be helpful to persons wishing to repair or build a new house. In connection with the external trade, we have made arrangements to give credits to these countries.

Family Allowances

"One other great reform we have put into force or which will come into force on the first of July. What has been done in respect to family allowances? Here is a great social reform. I hope you will get clearly in your minds what the government has been aiming at in that direction. After all is not the great asset of a nation its population and of the population are not the children the real hope of the nation? If they are not properly housed or educated can you expect a good citizenship to grow up?

"One of the astonishing things of this war is the number of persons who are offering their services in the armed forces who had to be rejected. Why? I venture to say that the impairment of constitution did not come in later years or due to excesses, it came from not having a fair start in the beginning of life. There is one place that it is the duty of the government to look to the future.

"It may surprise you to know that in our country most of the homes from which large families come are the homes of those in very humble circumstances. The largest proportion where there are any number of children are from those who are dependent on wages for their living. If a worker has six or eight children compared with the worker who has not any children, it is not fair that those who are to be the workers of the future because they happen to be in humble circumstances that they should not get the same chance and start as others.

"Those who have large incomes are given by the statute exemptions according to the number of children they have. If you are fortunate enough to have a large income and a large family as far as the number of your family are concerned you are given exemption for these children. But if you happen to be so poor that you have not an income large enough for exemption, you have to look after your family yourself.

Social Revolution

"So far as this world war is concerned it has been an international conflict. Also it has been a great social revolution. This world is undergoing changes and in every country in the world those who have not had the same opportunities as others had, are going to see that they get it. If they cannot get it by legislation they will get it by revolution. The reason I am proud I am a Liberal and have been a Liberal and will die a Liberal is that Liberalism to me has always stood for an enlargement of opportunity for the fellow man. We are seeking under this family allowance to give each little child a fairer chance in the battle of life. That is the place where Liberalism will start.

"I said before that 'the quality of mercy is twice blessed, it blesses him that gives and him that takes.' What about ourselves? It is a vast sum of money that will be spent but every dollar of it has purchasing power and will create employment for other men and women in our land. It will help to pay for food and clothing and school books and the things that are necessary in a home and not for one day, but permanently.

"This will not be on the statute books for a few hours, if the Liberal government goes back, but permanently. It is permanent purchasing

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power no matter what depression comes in the country. We don't control depressions in our own country, they come from other lands. But let the cost be what it may, where you have large families they are not going to be left to starve. They will be cared for and whatever measure of employment you have, there will always be demand for the commodities that this money goes to supply. You have a reservoir of purchasing power which will help to give employment. Those are the kind of things that the present government has been giving its attention to. This is coming into effect on the first of July.

New Departments

"Our thought has been running on the lines of continuous employment for the people We have created new departments in the government, the department of veterans affairs, department of reconstruction, which will give all its time to seeing that employment is provided in the most effective way possible. And the department of national health and welfare. This is one that we have to have the co-operation of the provincial governments. I am sure we will be able to do this once we get through with so many elections.

"A national health scheme, also measures to provide funds for health. Agreements between the government and the provinces which will fix a minimum of health which the state will seek to bring about. We will develop a national minimum standard of health for all.

"Some things are inevitable in this age of industry. They are in the nature of hazards. Unemployment is one. If private industry falls short, we are prepared to develop our program of public works of the country, by government works carefully planned. We have an unemployment insurance act put on the statutes by the present government during the period of the war. We did not wait and promise it at an election but put it into force the beginning of the war.

"As I am speaking to you may I recall the fact that it was a Liberal administration that put on the statutes old age pensions not so very many years ago and that provides for another of the hazards of industry. After a man or a woman has devoted a life to the state, just because they got on in years and because we have inventions which make for speed, they have to be thrown out of employment. The state owes it to the people to see that some provision is made as a matter of right to those who spent their years in toil to see they are not left in penury in old age.

"As part of the plan that I have spoken of tonight, if we could make agreements with the different provinces, we are prepared to go farther whereby the age limit will be made less than it is today and the amount of the pension will be bigger, but that will have to be done in conjunction with the provinces.

"I could speak on other things in the nature of reform but I think I have indicated enough to show you that this government realizes that we are in a period of transition and this world will not countenance millionaires and poverty side by side. We owe to our day and generation to see that kind of thing is stopped. People are looking at things differently and when a man can spend his life in idleness and away from his own country and others not able to work, there is something wrong.

For Maintenance

"If these measures are to be put on the statutes and kept there, there will have to be a public opinion back of them which will see they are maintained. A government that is not representing all the provinces of our country cannot begin to achieve the reforms which a government which represents all the different parts of the country, could carry out.

"As regards the results of the Ontario election, what do these results show? They show very clearly that here is a government that has been returned by a large majority that has only 45 per cent of the votes of the province as against 55 per cent. It is the greatest object lesson that this nation can have before it.

The Question

"Ask yourselves, ladies and gentlemen, what particular party in Canada today is able to command a following in every province of the Dominion and is going to be possible for any party other than the party in office today to carry on the government of the country?

"Take the Province of Alberta. We have in Parliament a group of Social Crediters. Do you think they will be able to form a government? They are only in that one province. They can do nothing. It is a run between Social Crediters and Liberals in Alberta. Through the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba do you think the Tory party will sweep that country? You are very much mistaken. In the Maritime Provinces are you going to send the C.C.F. back in power? If you do you won't have many to support them from the other provinces.

"You have got to face the future and I want to say that if the people of this province are as wise as I think they are, I think they will weigh what government can best carry on the affairs of this country in the next five years. A government truly representative of Canada as a whole or a government that will be made up of a certain number of men from two or three provinces while the other provinces give no following at all.

Difficult Years

"The next few years are going to be very difficult years and what we need is a government that is strong enough to be independent of any groups. We have got to have in Ottawa an administration sufficiently supported by its own following to be able to do things without fear or favor.

"This country is one of the great nations in the international arena. The problems we will have will have their solution in the international arena.

"I wanted to say something about trade relations. Canada is in the most favorable position of any country in the world to help play a part in peace. We have the closest association with all parts of the British Empire and we belong to the British Commonwealth of Nations. We have a neighbor to the south, the most powerful country in the world today. No more friendly relations have ever existed between one country and another than exist between Canada and the United States.

Invitation From President

"I have in my hand at the moment a letter which came to me from President Truman in which he asked me to come and talk to him aobut matters of mutual interest. I replied thanking the president for this but said it would be impossible to be there. But I expect to have the pleasure of enjoying the friendship of President Truman and in that relationship will carry on one of the most helpful friendships that any man ever had with another, in my friendship with President Roosevelt for so many years.

"We are a Pacific power, we have

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a large number of people of French descent in this country. Russia is our nearest neighbor on the north. We are in a position to help to maintain friendy relations between different countries that are close to us. We will have to get to love our neighbors as well as ourselves. Let us devote our time to trying to improve conditions among our own people and our relations with the nations of the world, then we will have and not till then, enduring peace."

D 63492

Address by

RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

(Election Campaign Speech - Saint John, N.B.)

June 6, 1945

D 63493

I wish I could begin to tell you the pleasure it gives me to be again in the Maritime Provinces and to address a meeting in Saint John. In the last few years all of us have been under great strain and passed through history the like of which the world has never known before. During the years of war I have had to remain almost constantly at the seat of government. I have a couple of times crossed the ocean and a couple of times gone down to Washington, but outside of these occasions I have been constantly at Ottawa.

May I say first of all that I regret it is not going to be possible for me to visit all parts of the Maritime Provinces. Time and space make that impossible. It is not any lack of desire. When the war began it started with a session of Parliament, a Parliament which lasted five years. That was no sooner over than I had to go to San Francisco and went to Vancouver and from Vancouver here, without an opportunity of really doing anything more than paying a visit to one or more places and addressing audiences in the Western Provinces and Ontario. I would like to have gone to Halifax and Charlottetown and I hope our friends in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island will realize that in speaking in Saint John I am speaking to all the country in this part of the Dominion.

I would like, before acknowledging the kind remarks made by the chairman and my colleague and great friend Mr. MacLaren, to take the opportunity as prime minister of Canada, which I still am and hope to be after June 11th, to extend to the people of the Maritime Provinces my warmest congratulations and highest thanks on behalf of the government of this country for the magnificant contribution which they have made to the winning of the war in Europe.

There is nothing that has impressed any country like the great success of the magnificant war effort and the magnificant contribution of the people of Canada. Wherever I have spoken about the war I have taken great care to say that it is not to the government of Canada that the credit is due, it is to the people of Canada. I would say on behalf of the government that all the efforts of the people of Canada might have been very different from what it was if that effort had not been wisely planned and carefully directed by the government which had that great reaponsibility.

May I speak particularly of the great service that has been rendered our country and many countries by the armed forces of Canada, I would like to speak of the contributions by the Army, Navy, Air Force and Merchant Marine, but may I say that I think all countries will agree having regard to the size of Canada, no country on earth has made a finer contribution to freedom in our time than the men of Canada in this war.

I would like to speak not only of the great service rendered by our armed forces but also by those who have maintained the home front and maintained our armies at the front. A nation is made up at a time of war particularly of warriors and workers and it is to the workers of Canada, those particularly in the Maritime Provinces, those workers in the mines, forest, on the deep and rivers and getting the supplies necessary for our men at the front, that I wish to refer. Men, women and children working on the farms, working in munition plants and working on the great communications on land and sea. To you all may I on behalf of the government express the pride for the achievement which the Maritime Provinces have made. We have still to destroy Japan but we have destroyed Germany.

I wish to refer to another great service and that is the contributions which you have made in money, in the way of savings, contributions to Victory loans. But for these contributions it would not have been possible for the government to finance this war as we have financed it, and I thank you one and all for what you have done in that regard.

The production at home has been greater in this period of war than it has been at any previous time. That speaks magnificently for the people of Canada.

Ladies and Gentlemen, may I take the earliest opportunity I can to thank you for sending to the government of Canada the able and brilliant gentleman who has spoken to you this evening and who is now the minister of national revenue in the Government of Canada. I believe we have in the presence of Mr. MacLaren in Ottawa now, and that is where he is going to stay, one of the greatest citizens of the Maritime Provinces and one of the greatest citizens of the Dominion of Canada.

You may well be proud that this part of the Dominion is being represented by one who has the great ability and experience and the great charm which Mr. MacLaren has, and which goes so far in life. He possesses a quality of getting on with men, and I expect also with ladies, which is very valuable and which I would give a great deal personally to possess. The moment Mr. MacLaren came into the Council Chamber his colleagues felt an addition had been made in the government of Canada and he had not been there five minutes before he began in answer to questions put to him to give us the feeling that we had in our midst one who could speak with authority and one who possessed knowledge.

I want to congratulate Mr. MacLaren on the part he has taken in the Victory loans, but more on what he has done as a model citizen to this part of Canada, not only during the war period but during his whole life. I believe that you will send him back to Ottawa with a very large majority, that the people of Canada may realize that where a man is public-spirited and willing to give his time and he is needed and I am sure you will send him to us.

I want to thank Senator Burchill for his kind words in introduction. I thought I was making a pretty good choice when I selected him along with other colleagues to become members of the Senate, but after listening to him tonight I have come to realize that we have got the right man in the right place. It is indeed a source of pride and satisfaction to know that the Parliament of Canada has been strengthened by the distinguished gentlemen who have been recently appointed to the Upper Chamber. Regarding the candidates in the coming election, there are some of the old members, and also new people who, I am sure, will render good service to this country as a whole.

Now ladies and gentlemen I have no set speech for this evening. I have been travelling very steadily and have also had to keep an eye on matters pertaining to the war. I will speak to you this evening from my heart in regard to the situation that you are facing at the moment. It is a moment of great decision, not for me or the government or Parliament, but for you to make. It is your decision, you are the people who are deciding now what particular government is to be in office from now for another five years.

Do you realize that another five years brings us to 1950? I confess it came as a shock to me when I thought about 1945 and 1950. What this world will witness in those next five years God alone knows. We can only pray that it will not compare with the last five years. Will anyone view this world today without feeling a deep concern as to what lies before us? I remember six or seven years ago looking at Europe at that time and thinking what responsibility might be mine in regard to taking one's country into war, but I felt at that time that we were facing not a conflict that would be local, but a conflict that would spread over the entire world and I used those words when I first spoke about it in the House of Commons.

After nearly six years of terrible conflict we have subdued the enemy that we had to face, but we have still this enemy across the Pacific, but what is worse than all is the condition of hate and mistrust and misery that is the result of the war. I beg of you in choosing the government for the next five years to ask yourselves, of the men offering themselves who are the best qualified to serve us at the present time? We are still in the world war. We are at the moment witnessing nations meeting at San Francisco seeking out a plan which will help to maintain peace, once peace has been secured. The San Francisco meeting will not deal with the making of the peace terms or settle the boundaries of the countries of Europe. All that remains to be done. One of the duties of the new government will be to send to the peace table representatives who will help to make that peace.

You have another great phase of national effort to consider. We have built up over the last five or six years out of a nation entirely at peace, a great war economy. We have organized this whole nation for war. It has been a great effort. When we started we were not doing anything fast enough; criticism was offered on every side in respect to this and that not being right. We held to a definite plan and took each step at a time, and tried to do the work as thoroughly as we could and we have organized Canada as a machine built for war.

We have to change that back from a war economy to a peace economy. We have got to get the war industries changed into industries for peace. Hundreds of thousands of men are coming back from overseas. We have got these problems ahead of us.

What government can we think of is best to undertake this work, a government who has had to do with it from the start or bring in a new group of men who have had nothing in the way of experience in regard to the great war effort of Canada? This is one thing you will have to consider very carefully.

There is the further question---what about the next five years? The thing that I am most proud of in connection with the present administration has been the magnificance of the war effort. That I attribute to the people of Canada. And let me say in regard to the government's part, I leave it to you to judge whether we have been faithful to the trust which you imposed in us five years ago.

Five years ago we were in the midst of war. We came before the people of Canada and asked for a mandate to carry on the war. We told the people if we were returned we would endeavor to make Canada's war effort worthy of Canada and in the years since our minds have been focussed on that end.

There are two things that should be considered as to the government. How has the government discharged the trust given them, and what do they intend to do in the years to come?

Looking at the war effort as a whole that Canada has maintained up to this hour, may I ask you can you think of any other group of men in Canada who could have discharged their responsibility better than we have discharged ours? That, I say to you, is the first ground in which we appeal to you for a renewal of your confidence. The excellent war effort is the best evidence of what you may expect from now on.

There are many men and women today who continue to consider the manpower question. They are not doing it because the war effort has not been a success. They admit it has been a tremendous success. But they want to obscure anything they have to offer and to obscure what the government has done and its program for the future. It is the second part that I wish to speak about tonight because that is what concerns the future.

What I think lies more at the basis of success is that we should have full employment. During this period of the war there has been greater prosperity. Our effort has been directed to destruction but there has been

great prosperity in this war. If prosperity can •ome through employment at a time of war why cannot even greater prosperity come in times of peace when men's efforts and the efforts of the nation are directed not to the work of destruction but to the work of construction?

I want to speak on construction tonight, what the government has been planning so there will be plenty of employment during the years to come. If there is not full employment during that period, we believe the problems, some of these problems, will become incapable of solution. Our government has not just taken up in the last few months the question of looking to the future. We began to lay our plans for employment in the years to come.

In the first place employment will come through the circulation of money plentifully throughout the country. The government has been spending vast sums of money for munitions and vast sums to maintain our armies at the front and vast sums for the payment of food. Vast sums of money have got into circulation. When the war stops in Japan is this employment going to cease? It will cease unless there is very careful planning.

Let me state the first step we have taken. You have all had to put aside a certain amount of savings. You have bought Victory bonds. The government already has large sums of money that you have paid over to it and which is there to your credit. As soon as the war is over these vast sums that have been put aside in savings will be released and that money will flow out through our country, not to purchase instruments of destruction but to purchase things for our homes. There will come at once a great demand for furniture and clothing and utensils and construction of new homes and the money is there. You will have a great demand for these things and these things will give great employment.

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Here let me pause to say we must never forget that if we have freedom today and the enjoyment of our homes and the joy of looking forward to living in a country that is free and happy, we owe it to those men who have gone to the front and put their lives between us and the enemy. We owe our freedom to those who have made the supreme sacrifice. We owe it to the hundreds of thousands of men who are wounded and maimed and we as a people no matter what government may be in power, must realize that the first duty of this nation is to the forces who have served overseas and those who have sacrificed life and limb. Don't let us ever forget that.

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One other great reform we have put into force or which will come into force on the first of July. What has been done in respect to family allowances? Here is a great social reform. I hope you will get clearly in your minds what the government has been aiming at in that direction. After all is not the great asset of a nation its population and of the population are not the children the real hope of the nation? If they are not properly housed or educated can you expect a good citizenship to grow up?

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Those who have large incomes are given by the statute exemptions according to the number of children they have. If you are fortunate enough to have a large income and a large family as far as the number of your family are concerned you are given exemption for these children. But if you happen to be so poor that you have not an income large enough for exemption, you have to look after your family yourself.

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I said before that 'the quality of mercy is twice blessed, it blesses him that gives and him that takes.' What about ourselves? It is a vast sum of money that will be spent but every dollar of it has purchasing power and will create employment for other men and women in our land. It will help to pay for food and clothing and school books and the things that are necessary in a home and not for one day, but permanently.

This will not be on the statute books for a few hours, if the Liberal government goes back, but permanently. It is permanent purchasing power no matter what depression comes in the country. We don't control depressions in our own country, they come from other lands. But let the cost be what it may, where you have large families they are not going to be left to starve. They will be cared for and whatever measure of employment you have, there will always be demand for the commodities that they money goes to supply. You have a reservoir of purchasing power which will help to give employment. Those are the kind of things that the present government has been giving its attention to. This is coming into effect on the first of July.

Our thought has been running on the lines of continuous employment for the people. We have created new departments in the government, the department of veterans' affairs, department of reconstruction, which will give all its time to seeing that employment is provided in the most effective way possible. And the department of national health and welfare. This is one that we have to have the co-operation of the provincial governments. I am sure we will be able to do this once we get through with so many elections.

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As I am speaking to you may I recall that it was a Liberal administration that put on the statutes old age pensions not so very many years ago and that provides for another of the hazards of industry. After a man or a woman has devoted a life to the state, just because they got on in years and because we have inventions which make for speed, they have to be

thrown out of employment. The state owes it to the people to see that some provision is made as a matter of right to those who spent their years in toil to see they are not left in penury in old age.

As part of the plan that I have spoken of tonight, if we could make agreements with the different provinces, we are prepared to go farther whereby the age limit will be made less than it is today and the amount of the pension will be bigger, but that will have to be done in conjunction with the provinces.

I could speak on other things in the nature of reform but I think I have indicated enough to show you that this government realizes that we are in a period of transition and this world will not countenance millionaires and poverty side by side. We owe to our day and generation to see that kind of thing is stopped. People are looking at things differently and when a man can spend his life in idleness and away from his own country and others not able to work, there is something wrong.

If these measures are to be put on the statutes and kept there there will have to be a public opinion back of them which will see they are maintained. A government that is not representing all the provinces of our country cannot begin to achieve the reforms which a government which represents all the different parts of the country, could carry out.

As regards the results of the Ontario election, what do these results show? They show very clearly that here is a government that has been returned by a large majority that has only 45 per cent of the votes of the province as against 55 per cent. It is the greatest object lesson that this nation can have before it.

Ask yourselves, ladies and gentlemen, what particular party in Canada today is able to command a following in every province of the Dominion and is going to be possible for any party other than the party in office today to carry on the government of the country?

Take the Province of Alberta. We have in Parliament a group of Social Crediters. Do you think they will be able to form a government? They are only in that one province. They can do nothing. It is a run between Social Crediters and Liberals in Alberta. Through the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba do you think the Tory party will sweep that country?

You are very much mistaken. In the Maritime Provinces are you going to send the C.C.F. back in power? If you do you won't have many to support them from the other provinces.

You have got to face the future and I want to say that if the people of this province are as wise as I think they are, I think they will weigh what government can best carry on the affairs of this country in the next five years. A government truly representative of Canada as a whole or a government that will be made up of a certain number of men from two or three provinces while the other provinces give no following at all.

The next few years are going to be very difficult years and what we need is a government that is strong enough to be independent of any groups. We have got to have in Ottawa an administration sufficiently supported by its own following to be able to do things without fear or favor.

This country is one of the great nations in the international arena. The problems we will have will have their solution in the international arena.

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I have in my hand at the moment a letter which came to me from President Truman in which he asked me to come and talk to him about matters of mutual interest. I replied thanking the president for this but said it would be impossible to be there. But I expect to have the pleasure of enjoying the friendship of President Truman and in that relationship will carry on one of the most helpful friendships that any man ever had with another, in my friendship with President Roosevelt for so many years.

We are a Pacific power, we have a large number of people of French descent in this country. Russia is our nearest neighbor on the north. We are in a position to help to maintain friendly relations between different

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D 63506

Address by

RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

(Election Campaign Speech - Saint John, N.B.)

June 6, 1945

D 63507

I wish I could begin to tell you the pleasure it gives me to be again in the Maritime Provinces and to address a meeting in Saint John. In the last few years all of us have been under great strain and passed through history the like of which the world has never known before. During the years of war I have had to remain almost constantly at the seat of government. I have a couple of times crossed the ocean and a couple of times gone down to Washington, but outside of these occasions I have been constantly at Ottawa.

May I say first of all that I regret it is not going to be possible for me to visit all parts of the Maritime Provinces. Time and space make that impossible. It is not any lack of desire. When the war began it started with a session of Parliament, a Parliament which lasted five years. That was no sooner over than I had to go to San Francisco and went to Vancouver and from Vancouver here, without an opportunity of really doing anything more than paying a visit to one or more places and addressing audiences in the Western Provinces and Ontario. I would like to have gone to Halifax and Charlottetown and I hope our friends in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island will realize that in speaking in Saint John I am speaking to all the country in this part of the Dominion.

I would like, before acknowledging the kind remarks made by the chairman and my colleague and great friend Mr. MacLaren, to take the opportunity as prime minister of Canada, which I still am and hope to be after June 11th, to extend to the people of the Maritime Provinces my warmest congratulations and highest thanks on behalf of the government of this country for the magnificant contribution which they have made to the winning of the war in Europe.

There is nothing that has impressed any country like the great success of the magnificant war effort and the magnificant contribution of the people of Canada. Wherever I have spoken about the war I have taken great care to say that it is not to the government of Canada that the credit is due, it is to the people of Canada. I would say on behalf of the government that all the efforts of the people of Canada might have been very different from what it was if that effort had not been wisely planned and carefully directed by the government which had that great responsibility.

May I speak particularly of the great service that has been rendered our country and many countries by the armed forces of Canada, I would like to speak of the contributions by the Army, Navy, Air Force and Merchant Marine, but may I say that I think all countries will agree having regard to the size of Canada, no country on earth has made a finer contribution to freedom in our time than the men of Canada in this war.

I would like to speak not only of the great service rendered by our armed forces but also by those who have maintained the home front and maintained our armies at the front. A nation is made up at a time of war particularly of warriors and workers and it is to the workers of Canada, those particularly in the Maritime Provinces, those workers in the mines, forest, on the deep and rivers and getting the supplies necessary for our men at the front, that I wish to refer. Men, women and children working on the farms, working in munition plants and working on the great communications on land and sea. To you all may I on behalf of the government express the pride for the achievement which the Maritime Provinces have made. We have still to destroy Japan but we have destroyed Germany.

I wish to refer to another great service and that is the contributions which you have made in money, in the way of savings, contributions to Victory loans. But for these contributions it would not have been possible for the government to finance this war as we have financed it, and I thank you one and all for what you have done in that regard.

The production at home has been greater in this period of war than it has been at any previous time. That speaks magnificently for the people of Canada.

Ladies and Gentlemen, may I take the earliest opportunity I can to thank you for sending to the government of Canada the able and brilliant gentleman who has spoken to you this evening and who is now the minister of national revenue in the Government of Canada. I believe we have in the presence of Mr. MacLaren in Ottawa now, and that is where he is going to stay, one of the greatest citizens of the Maritime Provinces and one of the greatest citizens of the Dominion of Canada.

You may well be proud that this part of the Dominion is being represented by one who has the great ability and experience and the great charm which Mr. Macdonald has, and which goes so far in life. He possesses a quality of getting on with men, and I regret also with ladies, which is very valuable and which I would give a great deal personally to possess. The moment Mr. Macdonald came into the Council Chamber his colleagues felt an addition had been made in the government of Canada and he had not been there five minutes before he began to answer to questions put to him to give us the feeling that we had in our midst one who would speak with authority and one who possessed knowledge.

I want to congratulate Mr. Macdonald on the part he has taken in the Victory Loans, but more on what he has done as a model citizen to this part of Canada, not only during the war period but during his whole life. I believe that you will send him back to Ottawa with a very large majority, that the people of Canada may realize that where a man is public-spirited and willing to give his time and he is needed and I am sure you will send him to us.

I want to thank Senator Burchill for his kind words in introduction. I thought I was making a pretty good choice when I selected him along with other colleagues to become members of the Senate, but after listening to him tonight I have come to realize that we have got the right man in the right place. It is indeed a source of pride and satisfaction to know that the Parliament of Canada has been strengthened by the distinguished gentlemen who have been recently appointed to the Upper Chamber. Regarding the candidates in the coming election, there are some of the old members, and also new people who, I am sure, will render good service to this country as a whole.

Now ladies and gentlemen I have no set speech for this evening. I have been travelling very steadily and have also had to keep an eye on matters pertaining to the war. I will speak to you this evening from my heart in regard to the situation that you are facing at the moment. It is a moment of great decision, not for me or the government or Parliament, but for you to make. It is your decision, you are the people who are deciding now what particular government is to be in office from now for another five years.

Do you realize that another five years brings us to 1950? I confess it came as a shock to me when I thought about 1945 and 1950. What this world will witness in those next five years God alone knows. We can only pray that it will not compare with the last five years. Will anyone view this world today without feeling a deep concern as to what lies before us? I remember six or seven years ago looking at Europe at that time and thinking what responsibility might be mine in regard to taking one's country into war, but I felt at that time that we were facing not a conflict that would be local, but a conflict that would spread over the entire world and I used those words when I first spoke about it in the House of Commons.

After nearly six years of terrible conflict we have subdued the enemy that we had to face, but we have still this enemy across the Pacific, but what is worse than all is the condition of hate and mistrust and misery that is the result of the war. I beg of you in choosing the government for the next five years to ask yourselves, of the men offering themselves who are the best qualified to serve us at the present time? We are still in the world war. We are at the moment witnessing nations meeting at San Francisco seeking out a plan which will help to maintain peace, once peace has been secured. The San Francisco meeting will not deal with the making of the peace terms or settle the boundaries of the countries of Europe. All that remains to be done. One of the duties of the new government will be to send to the peace table representatives who will help to make that peace.

You have another great phase of national effort to consider. We have built up over the last five or six years out of a nation entirely at peace, a great war economy. We have organized this whole nation for war. It has been a great effort. When we started we were not doing anything fast enough; criticism was offered on every side in respect to this and that not being right. We held to a definite plan and took each step at a time, and tried to do the work as thoroughly as we could and we have organized Canada as a machine built for war.

We have to change that back from a war economy to a peace economy. We have got to get the war industries changed into industries for peace. Hundreds of thousands of men are coming back from overseas. We have got these problems ahead of us.

What government can we think of is best to undertake this work, a government who has had to do with it from the start or bring in a new group of men who have had nothing in the way of experience in regard to the great war effort of Canada? This is one thing you will have to consider very carefully.

There is the further question---what about the next five years? The thing that I am most proud of in connection with the present administration has been the magnificance of the war effort. That I attribute to the people of Canada. And let me say in regard to the government's part, I leave it to you to judge whether we have been faithful to the trust which you imposed in us five years ago.

Five years ago we were in the midst of war. We came before the people of Canada and asked for a mandate to carry on the war. We told the people if we were returned we would endeavor to make Canada's war effort worthy of Canada and in the years since our minds have been focussed on that end.

There are two things that should be considered as to the government. How has the government discharged the trust given them, and what do they intend to do in the years to come?

Looking at the war effort as a whole that Canada has maintained up to this hour, may I ask you can you think of any other group of men in Canada who could have discharged their responsibility better than we have discharged ours? That, I say to you, is the first ground in which we appeal to you for a renewal of your confidence. The excellent war effort is the best evidence of what you may expect from now on.

There are many men and women today who continue to consider the manpower question. They are not doing it because the war effort has not been a success. They admit it has been a tremendous success. But they want to obscure anything they have to offer and to obscure what the government has done and its program for the future. It is the second part that I wish to speak about tonight because that is what concerns the future.

What I think lies more at the basis of success is that we should have full employment. During this period of the war there has been greater prosperity. Our effort has been directed to destruction but there has been

great prosperity in this war. If prosperity can •ome through employment at a time of war why cannot even greater prosperity come in times of peace when men's efforts and the efforts of the nation are directed not to the work of destruction but to the work of construction?

I want to speak on construction tonight, what the government has been planning so there will be plenty of employment during the years to come. If there is not full employment during that period, we believe the problems, some of these problems, will become incapable of solution. Our government has not just taken up in the last few months the question of looking to the future. We began to lay our plans for employment in the years to come.

In the first place employment will come through the circulation of money plentifully throughout the country. The government has been spending vast sums of money for munitions and vast sums to maintain our armies at the front and vast sums for the payment of food. Vast sums of money have got into circulation. When the war stops in Japan is this employment going to cease? It will cease unless there is very careful planning.

Let me state the first step we have taken. You have all had to put aside a certain amount of savings. You have bought Victory bonds. The government already has large sums of money that you have paid over to it and which is there to your credit. As soon as the war is over these vast sums that have been put aside in savings will be released and that money will flow out through our country, not to purchase instruments of destruction but to purchase things for our homes. There will come at once a great demand for furniture and clothing and utensils and construction of new homes and the money is there. You will have a great demand for these things and these things will give great employment.

Some of you at first wondered why the government adopted its policy of a price ceiling. This price ceiling has prevented inflation and it permits the standard of living to be maintained on a certain level. In Vancouver I said that if I had not been in San Francisco at the government expense I would not like to have been there because the cost of living is so much greater than in Canada. There has been a policy to try to maintain purchasing power in a way in which it will serve the needs of the people.

We sometimes hear that we are spending a lot of money for pensions and gratuities. How will you meet it? That money will mean so much more in the way of purchasing power and so much more in circulation and give employment and as people are employed, employers as well as employes get more. The people are helped through this vast sum of money which will be kept in circulation throughout the country.

Here let me pause to say we must never forget that if we have freedom today and the enjoyment of our homes and the joy of looking forward to living in a country that is free and happy, we owe it to those men who have gone to the front and put their lives between us and the enemy. We owe our freedom to those who have made the supreme sacrifice. We owe it to the hundreds of thousands of men who are wounded and maimed and we as a people no matter what government may be in power, must realize that the first duty of this nation is to the forces who have served overseas and those who have sacrificed life and limb. Don't let us ever forget that.

I have not time to speak about what the government has sought to do for the war veterans but I say that no country in the world has its statute laws which mean as much to the men who have served overseas as Canada has at the present time. I do not say that we have done enough, but I do say that no country in the world has done as much. Canada has done more in those matters than any other country. That is all going to come back. It will be distributed into the purchasing power of our country and help to give continuous employment.

Through the war we have helped other nations by supplying them with munitions and giving them mutual aid. We have sent to Britain and Russia and other countries vast quantities of munitions and paid for those out of the treasury. How did we do it? It has given employment to thousands upon thousands of workers and kept up total employment and in the money that has gone to pay these things there is money that has gone into circulation and shows we cannot only help ourselves but others. You remember Shakespeare said "The quality of mercy is twice blessed. It blesses him that gives and him that takes."

If we had not sent the munitions that we have sent abroad, apart from what we did for our own troops, I doubt if the war would have ended when it did. These things have all helped to bring the war to a close sooner than it would have. These countries will never forget what has been done and as the opportunity comes in the future Canada will be blest for what she has done for others. We are facing the reconstruction of Europe. In Europe whole countries have been ravished and houses destroyed and little food and clothing. If someone did not come to their help from outside there would be total misery.

Our nation is sending under the UNRRA large quantities of supplies of food and clothing. Is that helping much? All that food and clothing has to be paid for and every dollar that is paid for it coming out of the public treasury is money put into circulation and that is money giving employment and that is why we are helping today to raise these people on their feet so they can look after themselves and we are being blessed by plenty of employment. This country is dependent on its foreign trade for prosperity. We cannot trade with these people, they have not the purchasing power and cannot take our goods and pay for them. But once they are restored we will have the markets and they come to want more of our goods.

I might speak of our housing policy. The government has made provision which will be helpful to persons wishing to repair or build a new house. In connection with the external trade, we have made arrangements to give credits to these countries.

One other great reform we have put into force or which will come into force on the first of July. What has been done in respect to family allowances? Here is a great social reform. I hope you will get clearly in your minds what the government has been aiming at in that direction. After all is not the great asset of a nation its population and of the population are not the children the real hope of the nation? If they are not properly housed or educated can you expect a good citizenship to grow up?

One of the astonishing things of this war is the number of persons who are offering their services in the armed forces who had to be rejected. Why? I venture to say that the impairment of constitution did not come

in later years or due to excesses, it came from not having a fair start in the beginning of life. There is one place that it is the duty of the government to look to the future.

It may surprise you to know that in our country most of the homes from which large families come are the homes of those in very humble circumstances. The largest proportion where there are any number of children are from those who are dependent on wages for their living. If a worker has six or eight children compared with the worker who has not any children, it is not fair that those who are to be the workers of the future because they happen to be in humble circumstances that they should not get the same chance and start as others.

Those who have large incomes are given by the statute exemptions according to the number of children they have. If you are fortunate enough to have a large income and a large family as far as the number of your family are concerned you are given exemption for these children. But if you happen to be so poor that you have not an income large enough for exemption, you have to look after your family yourself.

So far as this world war is concerned it has been an international conflict. Also it has been a great social revolution. This world is under going changes and in every country in the world those who have not had the same opportunities as others had, are going to see that they get it. If they cannot get it by legislation they will get it by revolution. The reason I am proud I am a Liberal and have been a Liberal and will die a Liberal is that Liberalism to me has always stood for an enlargement of opportunity for the fellow man. We are seeking under this family allowance to give each little child a fairer chance in the battle of life. That is the place where Liberalism will start.

I said before that 'the quality of mercy is twice blessed, it blesses him that gives and him that takes.' What about ourselves? It is a vast sum of money that will be spent but every dollar of it has purchasing power and will create employment for other men and women in our land. It will help to pay for food and clothing and school books and the things that are necessary in a home and not for one day, but permanently.

This will not be on the statute books for a few hours, if the Liberal government goes back, but permanently. It is permanent purchasing power no matter what depression comes in the country. We don't control depressions in our own country, they come from other lands. But let the cost be what it may, where you have large families they are not going to be left to starve. They will be cared for and whatever measure of employment you have, there will always be demand for the commodities that they money goes to supply. You have a reservoir of purchasing power which will help to give employment. Those are the kind of things that the present government has been giving its attention to. This is coming into effect on the first of July.

Our thought has been running on the lines of continuous employment for the people. We have created new departments in the government, the department of veterans' affairs, department of reconstruction, which will give all its time to seeing that employment is provided in the most effective way possible. And the department of national health and welfare. This is one that we have to have the co-operation of the provincial governments. I am sure we will be able to do this once we get through with so many elections.

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
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99		1945 General Elections, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 63398 - D 63476	
99		1945 General Elections, Saint John. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 63477 - D 63519	
99		1945 General Elections, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 63520 - D 63562	
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For release when broadcast 10.30 p.m. E.D.T. June 8th, 1945.

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D 63520

Nation-wide Broadcast by The Rt.Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada - Ottawa, June 8, 1945.

Mr. Chairman,

Ladies and Gentlemen, in all parts of Canada:

Seven weeks ago, I left Ottawa to be present at the Conference of the United Nations at San Francisco. After three weeks at the Conference, I returned to Canada. At Vancouver, by the waters of the Pacific, I made my first speech in the present political campaign. I have since travelled across Canada, and on Tuesday night of this week, spoke at Saint John, by the waters of the Atlantic.

[redacted]. The time at my disposal, unfortunately, did not afford me the opportunity of speaking in all three of the Maritime provinces. May I tonight renew to the people of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island the expression of my regret that it was not possible to visit their provinces. They will, I am sure, understand that, in campaigning, I have not enjoyed the freedom of my political opponents. I have had, throughout, to carry the responsibilities of the offices of Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs. The duties of these offices have each day continued to demand a portion of my time.

Throughout the years of war, I have given unreserved attention to the duties of these two offices and to my responsibility as Leader of the government in Parliament.

How free the leaders of other political parties have been to roam at large during the present campaign, and how much of their time, during these years of war, has been given to party political organization, you have been able to see for yourselves.

Political campaigns are, to some extent, a physical endurance test. It is not, however, with quantity of talk but with the force of what is said that the electors should be most concerned. I mention these facts because I have noticed, that my opponents have sought to stress the point that I have not been here and also there, that I have not visited this part of Canada or that, that I have not been in Europe and in Canada at the same time. My reply to all this is I was not seeking to win elections at a time when I regarded the winning of the war as the first duty of every citizen, myself most of all. As the leader of a political party entrusted with the management of your affairs, I also felt that I had a duty to Parliament, to participate in its debates, to state the position of the government and the principles and policies of my party on the floor of the House of Commons. I have not kept out of Parliament altogether in an effort to conceal my limitations as a leader.

D 63522

Since Mr. Bracken has devoted most of his time in the present campaign to criticizing my leadership, it may not be amiss if, before the elections are over, I return the compliment. Up to the present, I have not felt it necessary to say very much about him one way or the other.

Do you realize that John Bracken, the man whose career is described in modest terms by the publicity bureau of his party as "a political career without parallel in the Empire during this century", and who is himself described as "the most continuously successful leader the Empire has produced in this century", became leader of the Progressive-Conservative party of Canada in 1942. Do you realize that, before that time, Mr. Bracken had never been a member of the Parliament of Canada; and that, since that time, he has avoided any and every opportunity to enter the House of Commons. If this is to be the new type of leadership in national affairs, it would be much better quite openly and at once to abolish Parliament altogether instead of having our parliamentary institutions sabotaged by those who prefer invisible government by special interests. The people would then come to see clearly what has actually been designed by the men who have been financing all the publicity and propaganda we have had to endure over the past two and a half years concerning "Bracken the man, Bracken the farmer, Bracken the worker, Bracken the progressive, Bracken the Administrator, Bracken the

great
Progressive-Conservative". If Mr. Bracken had possessed a small part of the peerless qualities attributed to him he would surely have demonstrated some of them by leading his party in the House of Commons. He would surely have been prepared to employ his many statesmanlike qualities in co-operating with others in parliament to make Canada's war effort as effective as possible.

Is it not strange that the nominal leader, Mr.Bracken, has not made a single nation-wide broadcast in the present campaign? How has it come about that the Progressive Conservative party chose the publisher of the Toronto Globe & Mail and not Mr. Bracken, or Mr. Gordon Graydon, the Leader of the Opposition, or any one of Mr. Graydon's lieutenants in Parliament, as its spokesman in its final nation-wide appeal to the people of Canada? You will do well to ponder over that question before you cast your ballots on Monday next.

Is it not only too apparent that neither Mr.Bracken nor any of those who ought to be in the forefront of what once was a great national political party have any real place in that party today" Is it not only too apparent that control of the party affairs has been seized by small financial groups who are doing all that lies within their power to gain control of the government of Canada?

I hope you have observed the methods of the new combination during the past two and a half years. The word

that went out from the high command was, apparently, not to bother about Parliament, not to be unduly concerned about principles or policies, not to mind about other members of the party, but to concentrate on John Bracken, to build him up by every means that money could command and, at the same time, to spare nothing in the way of detraction which might help to destroy Mackenzie King and the Liberal administration. You cannot, I am sure, have failed to observe the extent to which these methods have been employed. It is now perfectly clear that there has been a highly financed campaign of modern publicity, with special write-ups in the press, endless photography in the magazines; with radio, films, posters and the like, to sell John Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive Conservative party, by the same methods that are used in selling a new breakfast food, or a new brand of soap. For two and a half years, Mr. Bracken has appeared everywhere, except in Parliament.

Mr. Bracken changed the name of the Conservative party in December 1942. One would have thought that some people would have learned the wisdom of not repeating in 1945 the name changing and the name-calling tactics that so lamentably failed in the elections of 1940.

You will notice that I have not bothered, in this campaign, to reply to the misrepresentation, the abuse and the vituperation which has been heaped upon the Liberal government and particularly upon myself as its leader. In my many years in public life I have grown accustomed to personal abuse from a certain type of Tory. I am prepared to allow my record of public service to speak for itself. I am equally prepared to have the record of the government speak for itself.

Why has the Tory campaign been confined almost entirely to abuse and misrepresentation of the government, to appeals to passion and prejudice; to harping on the past? The answer is plain. The Progressive Conservative party has no programme for the future except promises based on Liberal performances. The Liberal government has a programme for the years ahead, much of which is already on the statutes and in operation. The Tory publicity barrage is intended to hide both these things from you. They do not want you to know that their party has no definite programme, nor do they want you to know that the Liberal party has the most advanced and practical programme of social progress ever offered to the Canadian people.

In making the decision as to how you will vote in the forthcoming election, it will be well to remember the tasks which will face the new Parliament, and the administration which is to carry on the government of Canada in the

next few years. The war has still to be won on the other side of the world. The peace has still to be made. The organization which will keep the peace when it has been made has still to be completed. World trade has to be restored and expanded.

The present government has much in mind that total victory against the Axis Powers has still to be achieved. In the international arena, the prosecution of the war against Japan is our first task. In planning and organizing our national war effort against Japan, the present government has been working throughout in closest consultation and co-operation with our principal allies, the United Kingdom and the United States. This is precisely the same course as was followed by Canada in planning and organizing the war effort against Germany.

But the defeat of Japan as well as of Germany is only one stage in the task of restoring and ensuring international peace and world prosperity.

It is perhaps not going too far to say that the immediate prosperity of our country and, indeed, the whole future of Canada will, over the next five years, depend more than all else upon our international outlook. From now on, Canada's prosperity and security will depend upon the policies we adopt to maintain and advance the high place our country has won among the nations of the world by her magnificent

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record of world service throughout the years of war.

We believe that lasting prosperity will come only through international co-operation. Export markets are essential to the efficient employment of vast numbers of our people. Likewise, larger imports are needed to maintain and improve the Canadian standard of living. That is why, without waiting for the war to end, the government, for months past, has been exploring with other countries, the means by which peaceful international commerce may be revived and developed.

As you have recently seen in the press, President Truman has already extended a personal invitation to me to come to Washington in the near future to continue the informal talks I formerly had with the late President Roosevelt on matters of common interest to our two countries, and which President Truman stated in his invitation have in the past done so much towards creating the warm friendship and close understanding between our two countries.

I hope I may live to see, so far as Canada is concerned, the extension to all nations of the kind of relationship which exists between Canada and the United States and which also exists among the nations of the British Commonwealth.

Coming more particularly to the domestic problems with which Canada is faced, I am proud to be able to say that,

next to the prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion, the first care of the government, as it was our first duty, has been to make provision for the future of our fighting forces, and for the security of their dependents. It is generally agreed that Canada leads the world in the provision we have made for our returning veterans.

But, it is not enough to make special provision for the re-establishment of our fighting men. If the veterans are to be assured of prosperity and social security, we must make sure that the whole nation remains prosperous.

The cornerstone of the present government's policy for the future is the maintenance in peacetime of the full employment our country has enjoyed in wartime. I cannot, tonight, attempt to outline the many directions in which action has already been taken to ensure a high level of employment and income for all our people. The programme of the government, most of it already in operation, has been outlined over and over again. There is one aspect however, which has not received the attention it merits.

The Progressive-Conservative party, throughout t is campaign, has loudly proclaimed that it is the party of private enterprise, of capitalism; the C.C.F. has equally loudly proclaimed that it is the party of public ownership, of socialism. The Liberal party has never accepted extreme positions. We do not believe that more employment and

prosperity will be created by the mere fact of changing the ownership of property from individuals or corporations to the state. Nor do we believe that our free way of life is threatened by the ownership and development by the nation of certain great undertakings. For the Liberal party, the test is what will best serve the general interest, rather than special interests, whether those special interests be the interests of a financial oligarchy or a particular class.

Let me remind you that Liberal governments have been responsible for great national enterprises like the Canadian National Railways which have served vitally in the defence of freedom in this war; like the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which our Conservative opponents now seem prepared to hand over completely to private interests; like Trans-Canada Air Lines whose opportunity to develop civil aviation in the public interest has been safeguarded by the present government, despite every effort of our Tory opponents to hand this great national development over to private interests.

The Liberal party believes that the largest part of the employment required must be provided by private undertakings and the present government is taking vigorous steps to encourage private and corporate enterprise; but, we are equally convinced that, in certain fields, the public interest calls for public enterprise in national development. In those fields, we have not, and, in the future, will not hesitate in the general interest to promote bold

action by the state.

Time does not permit me to elaborate tonight on the programme of the government for the achievement of full employment and social security in Canada. In a nation-wide broadcast from London, Ontario, on May 30th, I outlined measures already adopted and the programme proposed by the present government to help to secure a national minimum standard of human well-being for all. In a word, may I remind you that the post-war objectives of the government are:

1. Useful employment for all who are willing to work;

2. Standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population;

3. Social insurance against privations resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill-health and from old age.

4. For the children of the nation, a closer approach to equality of opportunity in the battle of life.

These objectives, of course, require to be set in the frame work of Canada's position in the world. Full employment and social security would mean little in a world living constantly in the shadow of impending war.

Let me add, therefore, as another of our post-war objectives:

5. National security through international co-operation.

All this is part of a larger programme which aims at world prosperity and world security.

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Let me simply say that, for the coming years I regard as more important than all else the building of an era of security and peace — a new world order based on international understanding, on mutual aid, on friendship and good-will. Perhaps the most important of all the considerations on which to base your decision on Monday next, should be to what administration you wish to entrust the task of seeing the victory over all our enemies achieved and peace fully restored; who you desire to have represent Canada at the conference which will finally draw up and settle the terms of peace; and to what administration you wish to entrust the great task of reconstruction and the solution of those problems which will arise in the period of transition and in the building of the new world order. Upon the successful outcome of these tasks the fate of our own and future generations will very largely depend.

In considering to what party you should give your support on Monday next, please remember that however desirable you may consider its programme, no party can be sure of being able to carry out that programme unless it has a majority in Parliament over all other parties and groups. What took place in the provincial election in Ontario on Monday of this week should be an object lesson to all of us. We have seen in Ontario how with 45% of the total vote a Tory government was able to wipe out an opposition which represented 55% of the votes cast, simply because the forces opposed to Toryism in that province were divided.

If you have been thinking of voting for the C.C.F. or for some other third party, because there is some item in its programme which particularly appeals to you, or which you believe will provide more in the way of social reform and social justice, ask yourself this question: "Who is really going to profit by my vote?" Surely the answer is plain enough. It must now be apparent that neither the C.C.F. nor any other third party can hope to win enough seats to form a government. If you vote for any of the third parties and, thereby, split the vote for social progress and social reform, what you will really be doing is to help elect Tory candidates.

The Liberal party is the only party which can hope for a majority over all others and thus be strong enough and independent enough to form a government that can carry out its own programme. This is so because it is the only party with substantial support in every province of our country. With the world situation what it is today, it would be little short of a national tragedy were Canada to be left at this time without a strong government, strongly supported in the House of Commons.

Any uncertainty as to the authority and power of the government which is to conduct the affairs of Canada during the next five years, will render government itself next to impossible in times like these.

This is what a large number of the people of Ontario who were not ordinarily supporters of the Conservative party saw would be the situation in that province unless one party or another secured a majority over all. They recognized that of the three parties contending for office, only the party in power had a real chance of securing a majority sufficient to ensure stability in government.

In order to avoid a continued state of uncertainty and confusion in government, thousands of men and women, of all parties and of no party, voted for the government in office because it alone gave any promise of stable government. It was unfortunate that, in Ontario, the government in office

happened to be a Tory government.

Thousands of Canadians of all parties and of no particular party, who are concerned for the future of their country, and who desire strong and effective government, will support the present administration on Monday next for the same reasons the government of Ontario received similar support on Monday last.

While in my own mind I have no doubt that the people of Canada will express their confidence in the present administration, I want to impress upon you that, as a consequence of the many parties in the present contest, and the number of candidates in most constituencies, the choice on Monday next is not between a Liberal majority and a majority for some other party. No party but the Liberal party has the remotest chance of securing a majority in the next House of Commons. The choice, therefore, is between a Liberal majority, and no majority for any party. I appeal, therefore, to men and women of all parties, in the interests of our country and in their own interests, to take the only course which will ensure a continuance of a strong and stable government in Canada in these very critical years.

May I close by repeating what I said in my opening address in the present campaign. If I did not believe that, out of my long experience, I have gained a certain knowledge and understanding of national and international problems which can be useful to my country at this very critical period in world affairs, I should not be appealing for your support tonight. My life's interests, I need not tell you, have been with the cause of peace - and the promotion of human welfare and social reform. It is because I see so close at hand unparalleled opportunities to further these great ends that I am prepared to serve and would like to serve in another Parliament.

It is as the leader of a government pledged in the international arena to the promotion of world security and world prosperity, and in our country to policies which aim at full employment and social security, that I am seeking once more an expression of the confidence of the people of Canada.

Draft for Broadcast

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The Liberal Programme

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The Liberal Programme

I - The Achievement of Final Victory

For more than five years, the Liberal programme has been directed steadily to the winning of the war as the first of all objectives. Victory has been won over Nazi Germany and her European satellites. It was to direct the war against Nazi Germany to the utmost of Canada's strength that the present government was given a mandate in the general election of 1940. That mandate has been faithfully discharged. It has been discharged with the greatest honour to our country.

A new mandate is needed for the new tasks ahead. I made that very clear in a nation-wide broadcast on March 2nd last. At that time, it was impossible to fix the date of the election, because it was impossible to predict the date of the victory over Germany. But I ventured to express the hope that, before the close of the San Francisco Conference, organized resistance in Germany would have been crushed. I felt strongly, and expressed the feeling, that, if the holding of the general election could be delayed until Germany was defeated, the whole of Canada, and our armed forces in particular, would be in a better position to decide who should be entrusted with the administration of Canada's affairs over the next five years.

The first question you will ask of those who seek to direct the administration of our country is: what are your policies and what is your programme? What mandate are you seeking?

Those questions I am now going to answer. I begin my answer by saying that the present government proclaimed from the first that the war against Japan and the war against Germany were all one war. Germany has been crushed; but that statement is still true. The winning of final victory remains the first of all our tasks. Until Japan, too, has been beaten, the Liberal party will continue to direct its programme to the winning of the war as the first of all objectives.

In that struggle, geography, strategy and the hard facts of world shipping will prevent our country from making as large a contribution as we made to the victory in Europe. But the present administration, if continued in office, is firmly resolved that Canada will have a just and worthy share in defeating Japan and thwarting the insane ambitions of her milirarist leaders.

There is more to winning the war than military victory. If a durable peace is to be established the sufferings of the liberated peoples must be relieved and their countries restored. During the war, Canada has provided

our allies with mutual aid in the form of war supplies to be used to defeat the common enemy. In the period of transition from war to peace, it is the policy of the Liberal party to provide mutual aid for the relief and restoration of our liberated allies. We believe this policy will have a two-fold benefit to Canada. By helping to restore the economies of the European nations, we shall be helping to restore the markets for our primary producers and to build new markets for our new manufacturing industries. Meanwhile the provision of international relief will help to maintain remunerative employment for Canadian manpower and resources.

II - The Establishment of World Peace

Next to the winning of the war, the government has regarded the winning of the peace as the supreme end to be achieved. The Liberal view is that peace can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations. Since it is highly desirable to have the widest possible measure of agreement on the external policies of our country, I am happy to add that it is a view which is shared by all major political parties. That was demonstrated at the recent session of Parliament. It is, I am sure, the view of the vast majority of our people.

Throughout the war, the government has striven to do all in its power to make sure that the nations which were united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace. We welcomed the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a world security organization. We acclaimed the agreement of the great powers reached at the Crimea Conference. We accepted with enthusiasm the invitation to the Conference at San Francisco which I have been attending for the past three weeks. The purpose of the San Francisco Conference is not the making of peace -- a task which could not be started until the fighting was over. Its purpose is to establish an organization to maintain peace and security in the world. To further that end, the Canadian

delegation has been labouring unitedly at San Francisco. I have the highest hopes for the success of the Conference.

But the drafting of a charter for the world security organization is only the first step. The work of the conference must be ratified by the governments of the United Nations. In Canada, under our constitutional practice, Parliament must first approve. Of the overwhelming desire of the Canadian people to do their utmost to prevent another war, I have no doubt at all. For ten of the past thirty years our country has been at war. In a shrinking world, a country situated as Canada is, and with its world-wide interests cannot hope to keep out of a major war. The only way to keep out of war is to keep war from happening. That is what we are earnestly trying to establish effective means to accomplish.

It will not be enough to organize international force to meet the threat of war. That is a preliminary step in establishing world peace. The present government and the Liberal party hold the view that once confidence has been established among nations, co-operation in many fields will be needed if peace is to endure. It is our policy to do all we can, in the name of Canada, to see that the strong bonds of comradeship and co-operation developed under the stress of war are made stronger than ever in the making of peace.

We believe that world security is the only basis of lasting prosperity and social security for our own country.

In this global war the lesson was driven home to all nations that no nation can find security in isolation. We Liberals maintain that prosperity, like security, cannot be the possession of any nation in isolation. Lasting prosperity will come only through international co-operation. In particular, Canada's prosperity and the well-being of our people in all regions and among all classes, are bound up with the restoration and expansion of peaceful world trade. Export markets are essential to the efficient employment of vast numbers of our people.

- - - Larger imports are, likewise, needed to maintain and improve the Canadian standard of living. In the firm belief that the restoration of world trade is one of the most vital Canadian interests, the government has been exploring with other countries for months past, the means by which peaceful international commerce may be revived and developed.

The liberal government has recognized in other ways the vital importance of our export trade in keeping up employment in Canada. The trade commissioner service has recently been expanded and the Department of Trade and Commerce at Ottawa strengthened to cope with its post-war task. Provision was made at the 1944 session of Parliament for the insurance and guarantee of export credits, and a government corporation established for this purpose is already doing business.

During the same session, all customs duties on farm implements were removed, thereby helping to keep down production costs on the farm, with benefit alike to farmers and to consumers of farm products. In addition to its direct advantage, the government believes that the removal of these duties will furnish other countries with concrete proof of Canada's readiness to further international trade by the reduction of tariff barriers. Knowing how greatly Canada's prosperity depends upon the level of our trade, it is a major policy of the government to work for enduring international economic arrangements under which our own country in common with the other nations of the world can share prosperity and plenty rather than poverty and depression.

The Liberal Programme

III - Full Employment

The assurance of opportunities of employment for all who are willing and able to work is the corner-stone of the present government's programme to achieve lasting prosperity and social security. We recognize a special responsibility to establish the men and women of our armed forces in remunerative activities. Of what has been done to discharge that responsibility I shall speak in a moment. The government has acted on the principle that the first essential of a policy which aims, as ours does, at a rising level of human well-being is the maintenance of a high level of employment and production -- of what is usually briefly called full employment. There is no difference, despite what some critics say, between what is meant by the expressions "full employment" and a "high level of employment." Neither means that every man will be employed every day of the year. Such a state of "full employment" could only be realized in a completely controled and regimented state. If men are to be free to change their occupations and if there is to be economic progress, there will always have to be some margin of unemployment. What we do not want and do not intend to have is a recurrence of mass unemployment with all the misery it brings in its wake.

The 1944 session of Parliament, although it was a war

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session of a war Parliament, passed more important measures to help us maintain full employment and achieve social security than were ever enacted before in any one session and probably more than were ever enacted before by any single Parliament. Viewed collectively the achievement of that session is most impressive. In their comprehensiveness and inter-relation the government's measures at this one session alone constitute a major instalment of a programme to prevent the recurrence of unemployment and insecurity in post-war years. And all this was done in its fourth year by a Parliament which, in its first year, had already built a mighty bulwark of social security in the establishment of unemployment insurance.

V - The Department of Reconstruction

The directing and co-ordinating agency of the government in its efforts to ensure full employment is the new Department of Reconstruction. It is a department whose responsibilities will grow rapidly in the next few months.

One very large task on which that department is actively engaged is in making preparation for the speedy conversion of war industries to meet peace-time needs and to maintain industrial employment. The department is also promoting and co-ordinating programmes of national and regional development, housing and community planning and other projects which may be needed to keep up employment.

Just before the dissolution of Parliament, the Minister of Reconstruction presented a White Paper on Employment and Income which sets out the government's policies for the maintenance of full employment. I hope the White Paper will be widely read. It shows how very broadly the government is planning to do its part in ensuring a high level of employment.

The government, in the words of the White Paper, does not believe it to be either desirable or practicable to look to the expansion of government enterprise to provide to any large degree, the employment which will be required to provide work for our war veterans and war workers. An

early task of reconstruction is, therefore to encourage an expansion of private industry, so that our industries, including agriculture, fisheries, mines and forests, as well as manufacturing, transport and service industries, will be in a position to provide the bulk of this needed employment.

The government does not believe that the post-war employment problem can be solved by huge expenditures on "public works." But it is our intention to use public works expenditures as one feature of an employment and income policy. The policy of a Liberal government will be to manage its capital expenditures so that they may contribute to a stable but expanding level of national employment and income.

Now that Germany has been defeated, manpower and resources will begin to become progressively available for new kinds of employment. The government anticipates and will encourage an expansion of employment to meet:

1) the demand for relief and rehabilitation in Europe;

2) the demand which we shall do all we can to encourage and stimulate for Canadian exports;

3) the rapid conversion of war industries to peacetime production and the expansion and modernization of Canadian manufacturing and service industries generally;

4) the improvement of the equipment on our farms and in other primary industries;

5) the provision of urban and rural housing; and

6) the expanding market in Canada for consumer goods.

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The government attaches the greatest importance to scientific research and the contribution research can make to full employment. The Department of Reconstruction and the National Research Council are actively planning for the development of research which will raise the whole technical level of Canadian industry and, thereby, enlarge the national income.

I might mention briefly certain other Liberal measures which will help to keep up and expand employment. An Industrial Development Bank is in operation to provide credit facilities for medium and small industrial ventures.

The National Housing Act was greatly expanded in scope to provide for the construction of new homes, the repair and modernization of existing houses, and the improvement of urban and rural housing and living standards.

The Bank Act was revised in 1944 and the credit facilities and banking services, so important in stimulating employment, were greatly improved. Special provision was made for intermediate and short term credit to farmers for the development and improvement of farms and farm homes.

Time does not permit me to enumerate all the measures being taken by the Department of Reconstruction and other agencies of the present government to ensure full employment. I think I have said enough to show you that we

are not relying on any simple formula or panacea, but are moving ahead on a broad front to create conditions in which the bulk of employment will be provided by industry, supported and sustained by intelligent governmental action where needed.

VI - The Department of National Health and Welfare

The third new department of government established last year was the Department of National Health and Welfare. The new department is engaged in organizing and administering important activities of the federal government in the fields of public health and social welfare.

Although its scope embraces a large part of the field usually described by the term "Social Security," the new department does not administer all the government's social security measures. I have already mentioned the enactment of the Unemployment Insurance Act in 1940. That alone would have marked a great social advance for one Parliament. But its enactment was followed by the establishment of Parliamentary Committees to consider other advances in social security and to work out a comprehensive national scheme in which federal and provincial activities would be integrated for the advantage of all. The new department is continuing with the work of planning towards the goal of nationwide and inclusive insurance against social hazards.

But the government has not stopped with planning. The Liberal party is committed to the support of a measure for federal assistance in a nation-wide system of health

insurance, to include assistance to the provinces for preventive medicine. The Liberal party is, likewise, committed to support a national scheme of contributory old age pensions on a basis more generous than the basis of existing pensions. These measures would already have been enacted if it had been possible, amid the distractions of war, to reach suitable financial agreements with the provinces. If the present government is returned to office, we shall proceed with these measures as soon as agreements with the provinces can be concluded.

But there was one great social advance which could be and was made in 1944. I refer to Family Allowances. In the belief that the family and the home are the foundations of national life, the present government introduced into Parliament and secured the unanimous enactment of a Bill to provide for Family Allowances. Although Family Allowances were adopted unanimously I am not altogether sure the Progressive Conservative party was whole hearted in its support of the measure. In fact, the members of that party - or most of them - talked one way and voted another.

Family Allowances will help to ensure a minimum of well-being to all the children of Canada. We have long recognized in the Income Tax that a man or woman with children should have a tax allowance. In the Family Allowance Act we

have extended that same principle down the scale to the parents with lower incomes who, incidentally are the great majority. Family Allowances are accordingly intended to gain for their children a closer approach to equality in the battle of life. Family Allowances were designed to come into effect as soon as possible after the close of the war in Europe. Although that date could not be predicted a year ago, the government selected July 1, 1945 as the date from which the allowances were to be paid.

In addition to the social benefits from Family Allowance, the present government believes that family allowances, veterans' gratuities and social security payments generally will aid materially in providing new markets at home to take the place of the disappearing war-time demand for goods and that they will thereby aid substantially in maintaining production and employment. Two hundred million dollars a year in Family Allowances in the hands of those who are certain to spend the money will create a very large demand for things which we grow, make and want to sell in this country.

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VII - Dominion-Provincial Relations

A large part of Canada's success in waging war is due to the fact that all of us shared a common purpose, and that the whole responsibility for directing the war effort rested in a single government. Neither of these conditions will prevail in post-war government. We must seek, of course, to find as large a measure of unity of purpose as we can. In the Liberal objectives of full employment and social security the government has sought to provide common ground for all. But in the achievement of these goals, there can be no single governmental direction. The federal government and each of the nine provincial governments must have its appropriate place. It is the policy of the Liberal party to work for the greatest possible harmony between federal and provincial governments, regardless of the political complexion of the latter. Harmony between the Dominion and the provinces depends upon two things: goodwill and good arrangements. To further the latter, it will be out purpose to hold a Dominion-Provincial Conference as soon as possible after the election. We shall seek to reach arrangements with the provinces under which all provinces, the poorer as well as the richer, will be financially competent to perform their proper constitutional functions, because we realize that, without financial competence provincial autonomy is a sham --

and we want the provinces to be really free and able to stand on their own feet. We shall also seek to preserve for the Federal Government adequate financial competence to enable it, at all times, to take appropriate action to protect the Canadian people generally against major economic as well as military dangers. Finally we shall seek financial arrangements with the provinces ~~to~~ which will impose the least possible burden upon the tax payers as a whole, whether they pay taxes to province or Dominion. The financial relationships between the Dominion and the provinces will largely influence the measure of prosperity and social security we are able as a nation to attain. Preparations are already far advanced for a Conference which will profoundly affect Canada's future as a nation.

VIII - Protection of Basic Standard of Living

Throughout the war, the basic standard of living and the purchasing power of money have been protected more successfully in Canada than in any other country. That is one of the present government's most successful achievements. We intend to continue the price ceiling and other controls which protect the consumer as long, but only as long as they are really needed.

But, at the session of Parliament last year, the Liberal government recognized the need of another form of protection for the basic standard of living of a large section of our people. The farmers and fishermen of Canada have in this war, patriotically expanded their production of foodstuffs. We felt they were entitled to be insured against the hazard of a collapse of markets or prices after the war. To provide that insurance, we placed a floor under farm and fish prices. These floor prices are just as truly a social security measure as unemployment insurance. Both are designed to protect the family income and both are achievements of a Liberal government.

IX - Building a New Social Order in Canada

The aim of Liberal policy is the building of a new social order in Canada. In outlining the programme of the government to that end, I have tried to show that our policies seek "to expand prosperity not to ration poverty." The Liberal policy recognizes that social security and national prosperity are indivisible. Markets and reasonable prices are a basic condition of social security for primary producers; work and reasonable wages are a basic condition of social security for labour. That is why we put full employment first and social insurance second in priority in our post-war policies. But the truth is that they are inter-dependent. Adequate social insurance will contribute to full employment, and full employment in turn will reduce the burden of social insurance. They are the twin pillars of the new social order the Liberal party is seeking to build in Canada.

D 63558

Only the Liberals can win a majority

I have told you about the far-reaching problems which will have to be solved by the government in the next few years. I have stressed the importance in the interests of the people - in your own interests - of having a government strong enough, united enough and independent enough of special groups and interests to approach the tasks of government boldly and decisively.

The first requirement of such a strong, united and independent government is that it should have a majority in Parliament and that its majority should be representative of all provinces and all major interests in our country.

Let us examine the various parties who have candidates in this election. Do you think the Social Credit group could form such a government? What strength that group has is confined to the province of Alberta; it has no following in any other province. Do you think the Bloc Populaire could form such a government? It is a group which is not even making an appeal outside the province of Quebec and, even in that province, it has no candidate in about half the constituencies. Do you think the so-called Labour Progressive party could form such a government? It has no strength in any province - and its own leader himself stated it could not hope to elect more than five members.

Do you think the C.C.F. has any chance of winning enough seats in Parliament to form such a government? After the provincial elections in Ontario, it must be apparent to many of the most convinced supporters of the C.C.F. that the most their candidates will do in many parts of Canada is to split the vote of the foward-looking Liberal minded people and give a chance to reactionary candidates to win seats on a minority vote.

That leaves the Progressive-Conservative party - the old Tory party in its latest new disguise! What chance have the Conservatives of winning a clear majority of the 245 seats in the House of Commons.

Most of you, I suppose, have seen the advertisement published by the Tories on Tuesday morning after the results were known in the provincial election in Ontario. Those results, of course, gave a lift to Tory hopes. Evidently the publicity experts of the party hoped to mislead the people of Canada as to the real significance of the Ontario results. Will you permit me, therefore, to examine carefully what their own claims are, as they are disclosed in the advertisement.

The heading of the advertisement reads as follows:

"NOW ONLY BRACKEN CAN WIN".

"The People of Ontario proved that Monday."

Next it shows what is represented as a telegram

D 63560

from the people of Ontario addressed to their fellow-Canadians. I won't quote all of it, because/the last two sentences have any significance. They read:

only

"Ontario Canadians send more members to the "House of Commons than any other province and will "elect 82 next Monday STOP Only 44 more needed for "a majority."

I ask you to note how deceptive these words are. The Telegram does not say Ontario will elect 82 Conservatives; all it says is Ontario will elect 82 members. Of course, Ontario will elect 82 members, but you all know - everyone knows - a very large number of these members will not be Conservatives.

In the provincial legislature of Ontario, there are 90 seats. Mr. Drew won 66 of the 90 seats. Now if Mr. Drew could win only 66 seats out of 90, what could be more absurd than to try to suggest that Mr. Bracken can win 82 seats out of 82. Yet that is how, in this advertisement, the party publicity bureau is trying to mislead you.

Even more significant is the final sentence which I have just read. Let me repeat it: "Only 44 more needed for a majority." What does that disclose? It seems to show that the Conservatives themselves only claim 44 seats outside Ontario.

But, where do the Conservatives expect to win even 44 seats outside Ontario?

Certainly not in the Maritime Provinces where there is every prospect of their ~~present strength~~ being reduced, rather than increased.

Certainly not in Alberta where everyone is agreed that the fight is between the Social Credit ~~Govt.~~ and the Liberals, with other parties nowhere.

Certainly not in Saskatchewan where the contest is between the C.C.F. and the Liberals and where not a single Conservative was elected in the recent provincial election.

Certainly not in Manitoba or British Columbia which only have 33 seats between them, and in most of those the Conservatives themselves know they have no chance at all.

Surely it is not in Quebec that Mr. Bracken expects to win most of the 44 seats! In that province there are only some 25 candidates running as Progressive-Conservatives. It is true that Mr. Bracken's Quebec organizer has stated that the Conservatives are supporting 33 Independent candidates in the province. These candidates have repudiated Mr. Bracken's manpower policy. Surely these are not the men the Conservatives are counting on to gain them a victory. Yet, if they are not, who are the candidates who are going to be elected, in order to

give the Progressive-Conservatives 44 seats outside Ontario.

It is perfectly clear that the whole message is misleading. Not only will the Conservatives not win all 82 seats in Ontario or anything approaching that, but they will not win anything like 44 seats outside Ontario.

The advertisement continues with the words:

"Canada will answer".

Of course, Canada will answer. And I believe Canada's answer is going to be the return of a clear majority for the only party with substantial support in every province, including Ontario, and that party is the Liberal party.

The real lesson of the Ontario provincial election, I believe, is that a large number of the people of Ontario decided that they wanted an end to uncertainty and confusion in government, that they wanted a government with a clear majority in the legislature; and that the only party they believed could get a clear majority was the party already in power.

As a result, a great many men and women of other parties and of no party voted for the party in power, in order to have strong and effective government. Even so, the Progressive Conservative candidates received only 45% of the vote.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
99		1945 General Elections, London. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 63326 - D 63397	
99		1945 General Elections, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 63398 - D 63476	
99		1945 General Elections, Saint John. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 63477 - D 63519	
99		1945 General Elections, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 63520 - D 63562	
99		General Elections, Results of. Speeches outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 63563 - D 63588	
99		Glengarry, By-election. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 63589 - D 63664	
100		Second Session, Japanese in Canada. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 63665 - D 63761	
100		Second Session, Meat Rationing. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63762 - D 63777	
100		Second Session. Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament.	1945	D 63778 - D 63783	

D 63563

Ottawa, 11th June, 1945.

Statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King.

To the People of Canada:

May I address a few words to the people of Canada on the result of the general election held throughout our country today.

There is no longer any doubt that the result of today's voting means the continuance in office of a Liberal administration with a majority over the combined total of representatives of all other parties in the House. For this expression of confidence in the present administration, I cannot thank you too warmly on behalf of all members of the government.

We, in Canada, have passed together through nearly six years of the strains and sacrifices of war. No one could have been too greatly surprised if you had blamed the government for all that has been experienced of inconvenience, of privation and of sacrifice during these years of war.

The present administration came into office with a very large majority in 1935. We were confirmed in office by a still larger majority

in the general elections of 1940. Moreover, this has been the second war-time election. It would not have been surprising if, after ten years of unbroken service which have included the entire years of the war in Europe, many of you had asserted it was time for a change. At no time did the opponents of the present administration adopt such a slogan. That was one of the most noticeable features of the campaign.

The result of today's elections discloses that most of our people, not only are justly proud of Canada's contribution - their own contribution - to victory, but that it is recognized that our country's effort was wisely planned, organized and directed by the present administration. You have observed that in expenditures running into billions, there has been no profiteering, no scandal, no tax-free bonds at high interest rates. You have seen that by the price ceiling we have been spared the evils of inflation; that your basic standard of living has been safeguarded, and that your dollar today continues to be worth 100 cents. Our veterans and their dependents and those who receive pensions have not been robbed by inflated prices.

You have shown that you approve of the provision made for the veterans and the dependents of those whose lives were given in the cause of freedom, a provision I am proud to say not equalled by any other country; also that you recognize that in the legislation to give to little children more in the way of equality of opportunity in the battle of life, a right beginning has been made toward the building of a new world order which will place its emphasis on human rather than on material values.

The result of today's elections also disclosed that you are appreciative of the place which, under successive Liberal administrations, Canada has won in world affairs. You have made clear your desire to have Canada represented at the Peace Conferences and other international conferences by an administration whose external policies are based upon international friendship, understanding and goodwill.

What perhaps has brought to the present administration in such measure the support which has come to it today from all parts of Canada, is the extent to which national unity has been maintained throughout the years of war. You have been pleased to have an opportunity to show to the world that while appeals to race, creed and economic interests,

D 63566

economic interests, and the arousing of passions and prejudices may be the stock-in-trade of a certain order of politicians, every true Canadian regards all who make such appeals as enemies of their own country, and, indeed, as enemies of mankind.

By your verdict in this election you have repudiated the efforts of those who have ignored Parliament and parliamentary methods, and who have sought by high pressure publicity methods, to gain control of the government of our country. You have made apparent that you continue to value our parliamentary institutions. You do not wish to see the invisible control of a few wealthy men, and the monopolies they seek to create or maintain, replace the authority of your representatives in Parliament, and set at naught parliamentary methods of securing the people's freedom.

Your faith in the present administration is founded on the government's record of honest administration and far-reaching achievement. I believe, however, that it is because of the government's program for the future, already largely in operation, that you have given the administration the support which you have given today. You have recognized that, at one of the most critical moments in the history of the world, the solution of Canada's problems is increasingly bound up with the solution of world problems. You have seen that the threat of war

threat of war can be removed and enduring peace maintained only as relations between nations are improved, and as a greater measure of social justice for all is secured. You have seen that the same careful planning, organization and direction will be required to deal with post-war problems as was essential to success in war; and that the Liberal program has been framed to meet the changed needs of Canada in a new kind of world.

A new world order must be based on a program which will help to achieve national security through international co-operation, and to secure a national minimum standard of human well-being for all.

The mandate the government has received today is a mandate to strive, above all else, for full employment and social security in our own country, and a new world order based on international understanding, on mutual aid, on friendship and goodwill - an era of world security and world peace.

In the necessary but destructive tasks of war, we in Canada have amazed the world by the magnitude of our achievement. Let us now unite in a determination to make and to keep our country the finest in the world in which to work and to live.

Ottawa, 11th June, 1945.

D 63588

Statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King.

To the People of Canada:

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The present administration came into office with a very large majority in 1935. We were confirmed in office by a still larger majority

D 63569

in the general elections of 1940. Moreover, this has been the second war-time election. It would not have been surprising if, after ten years of unbroken service which have included the entire years of the war in Europe, many of you had asserted it was time for a change. At no time did the opponents of the present administration adopt such a slogan. That was one of the most noticeable features of the campaign.

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You have shown that you approve of the provision made for the veterans and the dependents of those whose lives were given in the cause of freedom, a provision I am proud to say not equalled by any other country; also that you recognize that in the legislation to give to little children more in the way of equality of opportunity in the battle of life, a right beginning has been made toward the building of a new world order which will place its emphasis on human rather than on material values.

The result of today's elections also disclosed that you are appreciative of the place which, under successive Liberal administrations, Canada has won in world affairs. You have made clear your desire to have Canada represented at the Peace Conferences and other international conferences by an administration whose external policies are based upon international friendship, understanding and goodwill.

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economic interests, and the arousing of passions and prejudices may be the stock-in-trade of certain politicians, every true Canadian regards all who make such appeals as enemies of their own country, and, indeed, as enemies of mankind.

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D 63573

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A new world order must be based on a program which will help to achieve national security through international co-operation, and to secure a national minimum standard of human well-being for all.

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In the necessary but destructive tasks of war, we in Canada have amazed the world by the magnitude of our achievement. Let us now unite in a determination to make and to keep our country the finest in the world in which to work and to live.

D 63573

Ottawa, 11th June, 1945.

Statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King.

To the People of Canada:

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Ottawa, 11th June, 1945.

Statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King. D 63578

To the People of Canada:

May I address a few words to the people of Canada on the result of the general election held throughout our country today.

There is no longer any doubt that the result of today's voting means the continuance in office of a Liberal administration with a majority over the combined total of representatives of all other parties in the House. For this expression of confidence in the present administration, I cannot thank you too warmly on behalf of all members of the government.

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Your faith in the present administration is founded on the government's record of honest administration and far-reaching achievement. I believe, however, that it is because of the government's program for the future, already largely in operation, the administration that you have given and the support which you have given today. You have recognized that, at one of the most critical moments in the history of the world, the solution of Canada's problems is increasingly bound up with the solution of world problems. You have seen

threat of war can be removed and enduring peace maintained only as relations between nations are improved, and as a greater measure of social justice for all is secured. You have seen that the same careful planning, organization and direction will be required to deal with post-war problems as was essential to success in war; and that the Liberal program has been framed to meet the changed needs of Canada in a new kind of world.

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K/22

D 63583

Ottawa le 11 juin 1945.

Déclaration du premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King.

Au peuple canadien:

Qu'il me soit permis d'adresser au peuple du Canada un message à l'occasion de l'élection générale tenue aujourd'hui par tout le pays.

Il ne fait pas de doute que le résultat du scrutin d'aujourd'hui signifie le maintien en fonctions d'une administration libérale détenant la majorité sur l'ensemble des représentants des autres partis à la Chambre. Au nom des membres du Gouvernement, je vous remercie du fond du coeur pour ce témoignage de confiance.

Pendant près de six années, nous avons, au Canada, éprouvé ensemble les sacrifices imposés par la guerre. Personne n'aurait été trop surpris si vous aviez blâmé le gouvernement pour tous les inconvénients, les privations et les sacrifices subis durant ces années de conflit.

La présente administration est montée au pouvoir en 1935 avec une très forte majorité. Nous y avons été maintenus, par une plus forte majorité encore, à l'élection de 1940. De plus, la présente élection a été la deuxième tenue en temps de guerre. Personne n'aurait été étonné si, après dix années d'administration ininterrompue, qui ont englobé l'entière période de la guerre européenne, plusieurs d'entre vous se soient prononcés en faveur d'un changement. Jamais nos adversaires n'ont adopté un tel mot d'ordre. Ce fut là un des traits les plus remarquables de la campagne électorale.

Les résultats de l'élection d'aujourd'hui démontrent que la plupart de nos concitoyens, en plus d'être fiers à juste titre de la contribution canadienne à la victoire — contribution qui a été la leur — ont reconnu que l'effort de notre pays a été conçu, organisé et administré avec sagacité par la présente administration. Vous avez remarqué que les dépenses atteignant les milliards, n'ont jamais donné lieu à l'exploitation, aux scandales, aux obligations à intérêt élevé et exemptes d'impôts. Vous avez vu qu'au moyen de plafond des prix nous avons évité le fléau de l'inflation; que votre niveau normal de vie a été préservé et que notre dollar, aujourd'hui, vaut encore 100 cents. Nos anciens combattants et les personnes à leur charge, de même que ceux qui touchent des pensions n'ont pas vu leurs

ressources anéanties par les prix inflationnaires.

Vous avez manifesté votre approbation de la disposition pourvoyant aux anciens combattants et aux familles de ceux qui ont donné leur vie pour la cause de la liberté, une disposition qui, je le déclare fièrement, n'a d'égale en aucun autre pays. Vous vous êtes montrés conscients, en outre, de ce que dans les lois que nous avons adoptées en vue d'accroître les chances qu'auront les petits enfants de réussir dans la lutte pour la vie, nous nous sommes judicieusement engagés dans la voie d'un nouvel ordre mondial où les valeurs humaines prendront le pas sur les valeurs matérielles.

Le résultat de l'élection d'aujourd'hui démontre aussi que vous ne vous méprenez pas sur la place que le Canada, sous les diverses administrations libérales qui se sont succédé au pays, s'est taillée dans les affaires internationales. Vous avez clairement signifié votre volonté que le Canada soit représenté aux conférences de la Paix et aux autres conférences internationales par un gouvernement dont les politiques étrangères soient fondées sur l'amitié internationale, sur la concorde et sur la bienveillance.

Mais ce qui, peut-être, a valu à un tel degré au gouvernement actuel, l'appui qui lui a été accordé aujourd'hui dans toutes les parties du Canada, c'est la mesure dans laquelle l'unité nationale a été maintenue durant toutes les

années de guerre. Vous vous êtes réjouis de l'occasion qui vous a été fournie de démontrer au monde que, si les appels fondés sur des questions de race, de croyance religieuse et d'intérêts économiques, et si le soulèvement des passions et des préjugés, sont le jeu d'une certaine catégorie de politiciens, tout Canadien digne du nom considère que ceux qui lancent de tels appels sont les ennemis de son pays et, en fait, les ennemis de l'humanité.

Par le jugement que vous avez rendu dans la présente élection, vous avez répudié les machinations de ceux qui ont passé outre au Parlement et aux procédés parlementaires et qui ont tenté, à grand renfort d'une publicité tapageuse, de s'emparer des rênes du gouvernement de notre pays. Vous avez montré que vous n'avez pas cessé de priser nos institutions parlementaires. Vous ne tenez pas à ce que la régie occulte d'une poignée de richards, et à ce que les monopoles qu'ils tentent d'établir ou de maintenir, se substituent à l'autorité de vos représentants au Parlement, et aillent à l'encontre des moyens parlementaires d'atteindre à la liberté du peuple.

Votre confiance dans le gouvernement actuel, vous la fondez sur ses antécédents d'une loyale administration et de réalisations aux vastes conséquences. Je crois cependant que c'est à cause du programme [illegible] que le gouvernement projette pour l'avenir, un programme dont une grande partie est déjà en oeuvre, que

vous avez apporté au gouvernement l'appui que vous lui avez accordé aujourd'hui. Vous avez reconnu que, à une des périodes les plus critiques de l'histoire, la solution des problèmes du Canada se rattache de plus en plus à ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ celle des problèmes d'ordre mondial.

Vous avez vu que la menace de guerre ne peut être dissipée et qu'une paix durable ne peut être maintenue qu'en améliorant les rapports entre nations et en instaurant une plus grande mesure de justice sociale. Vous avez vu que l'organisation, la conception et la direction soigneuses qui étaient essentielles au succès de la guerre seront requises pour traiter des problèmes qui surgiront dans l'après-guerre, et que le programme libéral a été établi afin de répondre aux nouveaux besoins du Canada dans un monde nouveau.

Un nouvel ordre mondial doit être fondé sur un programme qui contribuera à la sécurité nationale grâce à la coopération internationale et procurera à tous un minimum national de bien-être humain.

Aux termes du mandat que le Gouvernement a reçu aujourd'hui, il doit s'efforcer, par-dessus tout, à assurer l'emploi intégral et la sécurité sociale dans notre propre pays, ainsi qu'un nouvel ordre mondial fondé sur la compréhension internationale, l'aide mutuelle, l'amitié et la bonne entente.

Il faut que règne une ère de sécurité et de paix mondiales.

Dans l'accomplissement des tâches destructrices mais nécessaires de la guerre, nous au Canada avons étonné le monde par l'ampleur de nos réalisations. Unissons-nous maintenant dans la résolution de faire du Canada le plus beau pays du monde où l'on puisse travailler et vivre.

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99		1945 General Elections, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 63398 - D 63476	
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99		1945 General Elections, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 63520 - D 63562	
99		General Elections, Results of. Speeches outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 63563 - D 63588	
99		Glengarry, By-election. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 63589 - D 63664	
100		Second Session, Japanese in Canada. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 63665 - D 63761	
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Press Release 6th August, 1945.

D 63589

Prime Minister's Office.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King on receiving the results of the by-election in Glengarry constituency sent the following message to Mr. W.J.Major, President of the Glengarry Liberal Association, North Lancaster, Ontario:

I have just received the final figures of the voting which has taken place today in the constituency of Glengarry. I cannot express too sincerely how proud I feel that the electors should have turned out in the numbers they have to give me so splendid an expression of their confidence and regard. I shall be grateful if you will extend, to one and all, my warmest thanks for electing me as their member, thereby honouring me with the representation of the historic riding of Glengarry in the Parliament of Canada and also making possible my presence in the House of Commons in time for the opening of the Twentieth Parliament which assembles on the twenty-third of this month.

I regret that the country should have/been put to the expense, and the people of Glengarry subjected to the inconveniences of a wholly unnecessary by-election contest. It is to be hoped that the results of today's polling may serve to avoid in other constituencies futile contests born of a love of notoriety and publicity.

Will you please tell my friends in Glengarry that I am doubly grateful to them for presenting me with the magnificent majority they have, entirely on their own. They and others will have noticed that since Dr. Monahan made known his intention to contest the by-election, I have not thought it necessary to utter a single word. There, too, perhaps is something which may not be without benefit to some who wish to retain public confidence.

I also thank the good people of Glengarry for making me so handsome a gift of their ~~xxxxx~~ good-will on the eve of the twenty-sixth anniversary of my election as leader of the Liberal party of Canada. Had today's majority been given to me when I entered public life, I might well have felt that, being unknown and untried, there were those who were generous enough to give me a chance to merit their confidence. Today's results have, however, a wholly different significance.

It is now thirty-seven years since I was first elected to the House of Commons. At the end of this length of time I can think of no reward of public service more to be desired than to have been honoured as I have been today by so generous an expression of good-will on the part of members of all political parties in Glengarry constituency. For this I am deeply grateful.

W.L.Mackenzie King.

D 63590

Speech by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
at
Alexandria, Ontario,
July 17, 1945.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

This is indeed a memorable day in my life. As I have been sitting here this evening looking into the faces of this vast audience, watching what has been taking place and listening to those who have addressed you thus far, my thoughts have gone back to the day thirty-seven years ago when, after having filled the position of Deputy Minister of Labour for eight years I resigned that position to run as a candidate in the election of 1908, to contest the constituency of North Waterloo, in which I was born.

Thirty-seven years is a long time in public life. I recall well on that occasion being the youngest candidate of all the Liberals running at that time. Sir Wilfrid Laurier came up to Waterloo county to open the meeting and speak on my behalf. Little did I think then that the day would ever come when I would have the great responsibility, as well as the great honour, of being his successor as leader of the Liberal party. At that time Sir Wilfrid had been leader of the party for twenty-one years. Little did I think the day would come when I would be leading the party, not for twenty-five years, as my friend Mr. Chevrier has just told you, but for twenty-six years, and it will be in the twenty-seventh year when the

7th of August rolls around.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, it delights me to think, recalling that long association with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the great purpose of his life, that we are united into one great nation, with one Canadian feeling; that the peoples who are descendants of the two great races have become so united; that I should find it part of my good fortune to be about--I hope--to represent a constituency in which the two great cultures are joined, as has been said tonight. If there is one constituency anywhere in Canada that may be spoken of as a symbol of Canada as a whole, as we would like to see Canada at all times, it is the constituency of Glengarry in which I am tonight, for here, as has been said from this platform this evening, there are found the descendants of the two great races who have laid the foundations of our country.

There are found here also the representatives of those from other countries, particularly other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, so that we have in miniature, as it were, something which represents this great dominion from coast to coast, in the form of a united people with one voice, all serving their constituency and their country with one great aim and purpose.

That, as I have said, was the hope of Sir Wilfrid Laurier for the future of Canada. That hope, I believe, is being realized in increasing measure as the years go by.

On the night of June 11, when the returns were coming in, when before the evening was over I saw that the Liberal party had again been returned to power, I was congratulating myself that I had fought my last political battle. Since Confederation there have been twenty general elections in Canada. In ten of those elections I have been in the thick of the conflict and, as you may recall, in the last contest I mentioned that it would be the last time I would be participating in a general election. So I say I was congratulating myself because that would be the last political battle I would be called upon to fight. But when more complete returns came in I found that what had looked like a victory in the constituency of Prince Albert unfortunately turned into a defeat. Instead of having the small majority which resulted from the civilian vote, when the final vote was announced I found myself in a very small minority, on the wrong side of the sheet. So then I had to consider what it was best for me to do.

Had the party met with my misfortune; had the Liberal party itself not been returned to power, I think I should have felt that my duty by my party and by the country had been done, and probably I should have retired into private life. But realizing that the party had received such a splendid endorsation from all parts of Canada; realizing that nation-wide support had been given to the party, I felt it to be my duty, and indeed I found it generally believed that it was advisable and necessary, that I should continue if possible at the head of the

administration. So this made it necess ry that I myself, or by leaving it to others, should in some way find another seat, and if possible be returned to the Parliament of Canada once more.

Well, they say it is an ill wind that does not blow some good, and they also say that every cloud has a silver lining. As I look at this great gathering tonight I cannot but believe in the wisdom of both those sayings; for certainly the wind that has blown me into the constituency of Glengarry, a constituency with such a historic note, so near to the capital of Ottawa, has been indeed one of the best breezes I have experienced in the course of my days. And no cloud has ever had a brighter lining than the one which has given me at this moment the happy place which I enjoy among the descendants of the Scotch, the French and the other races who go to make up this great audience this evening.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, let me say just a word about Prince Albert before I begin to speak on Glengarry and to reply to the different addresses to which you have listened this evening. You will be anxious, no doubt, to know how it was that after having represented the constituency of Prince Albert for nineteen years I should meet with the misfortune of losing the seat at this particular time. Well, I think the explanation is simple. We have been passing through years of war, the most terrible years that the world has ever known;

and during those years I have had the responsibility of being at the head of the administration which was carrying on the war effort of Canada. I felt it my duty, during that long period, to be at the seat of government at all times when it seemed necessary to be there, not to spend my time travelling around seeking what I could do in the way of making secure my political future but thinking only of the future of our country and of the great problems with which it was faced during this period of time.

So, unfortunately, between the general election of 1940 and the general election of 1945 I had opportunity to visit my own constituency of Prince Albert only on one or two occasions. Well, now, can you wonder that in that period of five years, when almost another generation had been added to the voters' lists, there should have been found many who had not seen, and perhaps a great many who had not heard much about the member for the constituency?

More than that; when it came to the period of the general election, as you all know I had been obliged to attend the conference at San Francisco, the conference which has been dealing with world security; and having been present at that conference there were left only four weeks in all, between four and five weeks, in which it was possible for me to give attention to the general election. Being the leader of my party I felt it was my duty to consider the party's interest above all else and to make a tour from one side of Canada to the

other, to speak in different cities all the way from Vancouver on the Pacific to Saint John by the waters of the Atlantic. That left me without opportunity of spending more than between three and four days in the constituency of Prince Albert, one of which happened to be a Sunday, and we didn't do much electioneering on that day.

So you will see that, after all, what took place in Prince Albert was not so great a surprise. Indeed, I can imagine almost the feeling of consternation which the Liberals of the constituency must have had when I was obliged to tell them at the time the general election was announced that I would not be able to spend more than three or four days at the most in the riding. I cannot begin to tell you what a magnificent battle I think was put up by the Liberals in that constituency. Far from being a defeat, in the light of all the circumstances it was a great triumph for the men and women who sought to elect a Liberal in the constituency under those conditions. They came so near it that I cannot but feel with them a great disappointment that victory was not achieved at that particular time. On the other hand, I shall always feel that the Liberals of Prince Albert, while they lost the seat, helped to gain the victory over the Dominion of Canada as a whole by making it possible for the leader of the party to speak in all parts of the country, along with his colleagues and members of the House of Commons.

So, ladies and gentlemen, while I have been defeated in

Prince Albert, I shall always have a warm place in my heart for that constituency; and never was it warmer than it is tonight, as I think of the disappointment that may rest in the breasts of some of those who fought so bravely to be represented in Parliament by the member who had been their representative, as I say, for nearly twenty years, but who find today that their representative is in the opposition; and that he is not only in the opposition, but that he is a member of one group the influence of which in Parliament over these next few years is not likely to be anything comparable to the influence of the large party that comprises the government side of the house at this time.

Now ladies and gentlemen, may I say that the results had scarcely been given to the public when three gentlemen from Glengarry called upon me at Laurier House at Ottawa and said they had been talking that day and the day before with Doctor MacDiarmid, the member elect of this constituency, who had suggested to them that he would be willing to step aside and have the constituency of Glengarry offered to me if the members of the executive and others of the Liberal Association were willing that this step should be taken. They told me that they themselves were members of the association and that they felt sure that if I would be willing to accept the nomination in the constituency of Glengarry the good people of this constituency would be prepared to have me as their candidate.

It so happened that Doctor MacDiarmid was in the city at the same time. He came to my office in the afternoon and repeated what those gentlemen had said, that he would be happy to step aside and allow me to run in the constituency of Glengarry, if I would be prepared to accept the nomination if it were offered to me by the constituency. He said, as he has said to you this evening, that he felt there was a certain duty owing to the party as a whole that its leader should find a seat in Parliament, and not only in Parliament during the time of the session but that he should be able to take his seat as soon as the session opened.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I need not say to you how deeply touched I was by that expression of friendship, loyalty and good will on his part and on the part of the others who called upon me. I reported the matter to my colleagues in the cabinet and told them of the kind offer which had been made. I told them also of offers which had come from members elect and the executives of a number of ridings in different provinces of Canada; and just here I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the many constituencies which have offered me the possibility of a seat, if I should be prepared to run there, a word of very sincere and deep appreciation for that offer. I said to my colleagues in the cabinet that it was necessary for me to return to San Francisco in order to sign, along with my colleague Mr. St. Laurent, the Minister of Justice, the United Nations Charter which was about to be completed at that time, and that I would

leave it with my colleagues to decide in which constituency they thought it would be best for me to seek the nomination. When I returned from San Francisco I was delighted indeed to find that it had been arranged that I was to run in this constituency of Glengarry; that Doctor MacDiarmid not only had again signified his readiness to step aside but had actually accepted or agreed to accept an office of emolument under the crown in order that he might thereby create a vacancy through having accepted office while a Member of Parliament. That office is not a very lucrative one, but the heart which was prepared to make that decision is a very large one, and tonight I should like to thank Doctor MacDiarmid with all my heart for his generosity, his loyalty and his friendliness in making that decision.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, almost immediately following that the electoral officer at Ottawa announced that there was a vacancy in the constituency of Glengarry and that a by-election would be held on August 6, with official nominations to take place on July 30. Following that I learned that the Liberals of the constituency were arranging for a convention to nominate their candidate and that in all probability the nomination would be tendered to myself. Well, here we are assembled together this evening. This has been the day of the convention and I must confess to you that it is a day I shall remember with gratitude and pride as long as I live. I should like to take advantage of this moment to say to each of the gentlemen who visited me on the morning to which I have referred how deeply

I was touched at the time by the expression of their friendship and what they brought to me of the friendship of the people of this constituency. May I say to you first of all, Mr. Major, how proud I am that you should be presiding over this gathering tonight. Of course I have known of your part in public affairs for many years. Few citizens of any constituency have been more active and more in earnest in regard to municipal, provincial and dominion affairs than you have been. You have been a stalwart among stalwarts in holding high the flag of Liberalism in our country, and I am proud indeed that as President of the Liberal Association of this constituency you should be presiding here this evening extending the words of welcome which you have so very generously expressed.

May I say the same to Mr. Donald Macdonald, K.C., who has spoken to you so eloquently from this platform tonight. Mr. Macdonald is another of the leaders of Liberalism in our land, a man who has taken a great part in shaping public opinion, not only in this constituency but throughout different parts of our province and different parts of the dominion. I should like to be able to dwell at length on some of the things he was kind enough to say this evening, but I wish to refer to other speakers also, so must limit what I have to say at this time. But let me say to him that I shall always remember with deepest gratitude the earnest manner in which, on the day he came to Laurier House, he told me about the opportunity which the con-

stituency of Glengarry would offer to the leader of the government, particularly since the constituency itself is so near Ottawa. I shall remember also what he said about the affairs of our country and the desirability of the leader of the government being in the House of Commons when Parliament met. For this and for much else, particularly for what he has said to this great gathering this evening, I wish to thank him and very warmly and with all my heart.

There was another gentleman who was present on that occasion. He was another Mr. Macdonald, the son of the late Archie Macdonald, an old colleague and friend in the House of Commons, a former member for this constituency. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it did my heart good to find that the son of an old colleague was among the number who had come to speak to me about representing the constituency which his father had represented. There was a note about that which struck pretty deep into my heart. It said to me that men who were the sons of those who had been associated with me years ago were prepared to give the same confidence to the leader of the Liberal party that their fathers had given in years before. Could any man wish for a greater compliment than that? It made me recall for the moment that I had passed my three score years and ten, that I had got into a different class than the one I was in when I first entered Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet at thirty-three years of age. I was then the youngest member of the cabinet. For some little time past I have been the oldest member of the

present cabinet, but may I say that to me no greater compliment could be paid than that which was paid by young Mr. Macdonald when he spoke of his father's loyalty and allegiance and the loyalty and allegiance which he was prepared to give me if I ran in his constituency. And may I say in passing how pleased I am this evening to have the honour of being welcomed by Mr. MacRae, a former member for the constituency, who was also a colleague in the House of Commons. That these gentlemen should have shared with you the confidence which they have expressed in this way is something for which I am indeed most grateful.

Now, Doctor MacDiarmid, I do not feel that I have begun to say to you what I really would like to say. After all, to give up a constituency for which one has been returned in two war-time elections in order to enable another to come in and represent one in that seat is a very great act of generosity, of kindness, of loyalty and of good will. For that generosity, that loyalty and good will I thank you with all my heart. You, ladies and gentlemen, know the doctor; he has lived here all his life. The fact that you have returned him on these occasions indicates the high esteem in which you hold him. Therefore, perhaps you will not be surprised at the public spirit which caused him to perform an act which is of service not only to me as an individual but which I believe will be also of service to the party and, may I venture even to say, of service to Parliament, because I do think it will be of some advantage that the leader of

the government, the leader of the House of Commons should be in his seat when Parliament opens, particularly at the beginning of a new Parliament. But it was not altogether a surprise to me that the doctor should have taken this stand, for during the five years and more that we have been together in the House of Commons there have been many occasions when we have had difficult times to encounter, difficult passages to cross; and from the beginning to the end of our association he has been one of the members of Parliament always at one's side, always supporting without equivocation; and when moments of discouragement came, he was among the first to come forward with a word of good will which helped give one new spirit and new energy. So I say I am not surprised that at this time he should have shown his public spirit and the great generosity he has shown to me and to my colleagues in the government in having come to the decision at which he has arrived.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have been very deeply impressed, as you could see, by what has been said and what has taken place here this evening, but there is one thing above all others which I will remember always, because to me it has been one of the finest illustrations of the way in which self-government is carried on in a country that it would be possible to give to a people as an example. I refer to the part which has been played this evening by the delegates who have come from the different polling divisions of the constituency. I am greatly honoured indeed that every polling sub-division should

have sent its delegation to this convention. I am particularly honoured that the senior members of the delegations, the chairman or some members of the executives, should have come forward with their credentials and stated to this gathering that they had only one nominatio to offer, and that was the nomination of my humble self. I think you know how strongly I feel in the matter of self-government, how strongly I feel that we should preserve above all else the right of the people to govern themselves. If ever there was a case, here is evidence that there has been nothing in the way of dictatorship, that there has been no pressing of a candidate from above by those who, for one reason or another, felt they had to accept him. It is an evidence of a free people in a free country making a free choice, and as long as that is preserved from one end of our country to the other we need have nothing to fear for the preservation of our freedom and the growth of our liberty. These gentlemen come here tonight with the voice of the people themselves. All of you who are here of the Liberal party, whether men or women, young men or elderly, have had your say. Any one of you was free to make any other nomination. If the right choice has been made, you have helped to make that choice. That is self-government in the truest sense of the word and tonight, ladies and gentlemen, I feel a very great pride that after all the years I have spent in public life-- and they run now between the thirties and the forties-- I should come so near the very voice of the people itself, and

have them express, after all that period of time, such great confidence as they have expressed in me at this time. I thank you one and all for this great honour, this great tribute, this highest compliment that could possibly be paid to any public man. If I am successful in my efforts to be your representative in Parliament I shall seek never to forget the trust you have placed in me and to do my utmost to protect your liberties and further to the best of my ability the interests of this constituency.

This is perhaps the point at which I should say that I am very happy indeed to accept the nomination of the Liberals of Glengarry to be their candidate in the by-election for the Parliament of Canada which takes place next month. I look forward with the greatest possible interest and delight to the opportunities which will be afforded me in representing this historic constituency, should I be so fortunate as to be returned, as the leader of the government and as one who is charged with very heavy responsibilities at this particular time. Never forget, ladies and gentlemen, that a representative and those whom he represents to all intents and purposes are one in the management and conduct of public affairs. What is done by me will be shared with you, as what you have done this evening is shared with me. Our political fortunes will be cast together in the one common endeavour to serve our country to the utmost of our abilities, and I should like you to feel that in all things it may be my privilege to undertake in the

high office which I hold at the present time, whatever I may be able to accomplish will be as a result of the confidence and support which I have from you. That means very much to a leader in public life, particularly to one who seeks to lead his country in times like the present.

One or two others have spoken this evening and I wish to make reference also to what has been said by them. I want to refer for a few moments to my friend and colleague Hon. Lionel Chevrier, the Minister of Transport, who has spoken to you so eloquently tonight. Before doing so, however, I want to tell you of one little thing of which perhaps most of you have not known but which helps to link this constituency very closely, not only with what inevitably must be the last of my years in public life but with the years in which I first entered upon the leadership of the Liberal party. Some of you will recall the great convention that was held at Ottawa in 1919, at which I was chosen as leader of the Liberal party. At that time, like the present, I was without a seat in Parliament and I had to find a constituency if I was to be in Parliament as leader of my party. I recall very well that at the close of that great convention some of the delegates who were present came to me and said: "Mr. King, you will have to find a constituency, and before you make a final decision think about the county of Glengarry." I do not know whether they had any authority from any source to extend that word

at that time, but it is a word that has remained in my memory and always will; and it gains a new significance tonight because, as I say, it seems to complete the circle which links the year 1919 with the year 1945, and the association between Glengarry and myself.

As a matter of fact what happened on that occasion was this. Even before the final ballot had been cast Mr. John Bell, who was then the Premier of Prince Edward Island and who was on the platform while the votes were being counted, came over to me and said: "You are going to be chosen as leader. Now, before I return to Prince Edward Island let me ask you not to give a decision to anyone as to where you are going to run because we have a vacancy in Prince county in Prince Edward Island and I am sure our friends there will be glad to offer you the seat." When Mr. Bell returned to Prince county I received a telegram offering me the constituency of Prince in Prince Edward Island and I accepted that offer. I am telling you tonight a little secret which has remained in my memory ever since, but which I am happy to disclose openly this evening.

I wish also to refer to the welcome which I have received since coming to Alexandria tonight. From all sides it has been one of the happiest days that I can recall. When our train came in at the station I was delighted to see there so many little children who were good enough to come up to the car and extend a welcome on their own behalf. As you know, I have reached these seventy years without having any children of

my own, but that only makes it the more delightful for me when these little children recognize that they have in me a friend and are prepared to come and share some of their happy hours with me. I shall remember that welcome by the little children as I came into the constituency of Glengarry tonight.

Then in regard to the welcome I have received since then, I must speak at once of the Highland pipers band. There is nothing in this world that will tell a Scotsman what blood he has in his veins quicker than the pipes or the sound of the pibroch. If I had not known with the best of reasons that the blood within me is blood from that old land, shared with many who are present in this audience tonight, certainly I should have known it as soon as the pipes began to play when I was greeted at the entrance to the armouries here.

Speaking of the pipes reminds me that what I wish to speak of particularly this evening is the magnificent part which has been played overseas by the brave men who have gone from this and adjoining constituencies. They have taken part in the battles of Europe. No finer body of men has ever crossed the Atlantic to participate in a great war than the men and women from this county and from adjoining counties, banded together as the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, whose name has become famous in the pages of history. All of us have had our blood stirred as we read the account of the invasion of Europe and the part which this great regiment took at Caen and other places all through France and into Germany, as well as the part they played

in Holland. No braver men, no men of finer valour, according to those who speak with highest military authority, have appeared on the battle fields of Europe than the men who have gone from this very part of our great dominion. With their battle cry of "Up the Glens!" they have struck terror into the breasts of the enemy. They have lost no opportunity to seize any position it was necessary to seize, to hold any position it was desirable to hold; and they have won every conflict in which they have taken part. They have helped to cause the enemy much in the way of loss of life. They have helped greatly in bringing to the world freedom which has been the result of the efforts of those engaged in this present world conflict.

What is most in my thoughts and my heart tonight, however, is the fact that they also have had heavy losses, and those losses weigh heavily in many homes in this constituency. Many a fireside is bereft tonight because some one who has been a hero in the fight for liberty has not come back from across the ocean. I should like to express a word, as has been done by others this evening, of deepest sympathy to those who have been bereaved; sympathy to the wives, to the parents, to the children of those whose lives have been sacrificed in order that you and I might enjoy the sense of freedom which we all enjoy tonight and that our country might remain secure during the years to come.

I do express to you my deepest sympathy; but this I wish to say above everything else. You and I and all the citizens of this country must never forget that if we enjoy freedom tonight it is because of the part which has been played by the armed forces of this country, on land, at sea and in the air, the men and women who have been prepared to give their lives and those who have given them, in order that a tyrant might not conquer this world and in order that men and women might remain free.

Never let us forget that above all else the first duty of Canadians, the first duty of the government of Canada, the first duty of the people of Canada is to see that the men who are spared to return to this country shall never lack for anything that we can do on their behalf, to show the gratitude of the nation as it ought to be shown, at all times and on all occasions, to them. Let us remember also that there is an equal duty to the dependents of those who have lost their lives or who have suffered impairment of health or limb in this great war. Let us understand and realize that our first obligation as a nation is to care for them as long as they need our care, and do for them all that it lies within our power to do.

This may not always be an easy task, because the next few years, with their readjustments and the like, are going to be difficult years. However, I am happy to say that the present government has not waited until the men have begun to return to make provision for their future welfare. Years ago we realized that they would be the greatest of the obligations which would

be placed upon this country and we sought then to make provision. While there is not time tonight to discuss the various measures that have been put through in order to help the veterans as they return, I can say without fear of contradiction that a finer body of legislation has not found place on the books of any country in the world.

There is one other association of which I would like to speak. This meeting tonight has brought many things to my memory, and as I was referring to the Highland band I could not help recalling that many of those whom I would meet this evening and who are before me at the present time are descendants of the men who two hundred years ago this very year were surrounding Bonny Prince Charlie and giving him their support in his great endeavour at that time. I recall to mind the fact that more than one of my own ancestors were with Prince Charlie at that time; that one of them was a Highland officer who had received a commission from his prince and who, after the battle of Cullodon, when Prince Charlie had to flee to the continent of Europe, went with him and remained with him during the years following his adverse fortunes, while he was on the continent.

Two hundred years ago in the highlands of Scotland a great political struggle was going on. Here today, two hundred years later, we, the descendants of those who fought in the Scottish highlands at that time, are joined together having participated in the greatest struggle for freedom which this world has ever known. That is a link with this constituency; and

I never forget that the Scotch and the French have always fought and stood together when the time and need required it. So between the associations that I have with old Scotland and the equal associations which my ancestors had with that country, the close association I had for so many years with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the very loyal support which at all times I have received from the French Canadians of this country, I feel very proud that in all probability I shall very soon be representing a constituency in which those two great races and these two great cultures combine to make the citizenship of this riding a splendid example to all parts of Canada.

Now, Mr. Chevrier, may I say a word of thanks to you. Let me say at once, ladies and gentlemen, that if I have been fortunate in the years I have been leader of my party, particularly in the years I have held the office of Prime Minister, which are now eighteen years and will soon be nineteen, it is because I have had the good fortune to be surrounded by men of exceptional character, great ability and great loyalty. As I look back over the number of those who have sat around the council table in the years that I have presided over the council, I can see only one picture; that is of a group of men all of whom were united in one great purpose, that purpose being the service of their country to the best of their ability. As time goes on changes become necessary in an administration. Before the last general election, as you are aware, additions were made to the cabinet of Canada. I cannot tell you how fortunate I think our country is and how for-

tunate I think I am in having at the council table, in the persons of a number of the younger men of our country, statesmen who will do honour to their name and to the name of our country, in increasing measure as the years go by.

You have heard Mr. Chevrier speak to you tonight. I need not tell you that there are few men anywhere who could begin to address an audience with such eloquence as he demonstrated on this occasion. I am not referring to what he said about myself. I know what these young colleagues mean when they say some of the things they do. I am far from meaning that they are not wholly sincere, but I say they know that a word to the old man helps to gladden his heart; and I can assure you that my heart has been greatly gladdened this evening in listening to my young colleague say some of the things he has said, not only what he said about myself but particularly what he said about the problems of Canada.

Here may I take occasion to say to Mr. Chevrier, Senior, the father of our distinguished Minister of Transport, how glad I am that he is on this platform tonight. May I extend to him my warmest congratulations upon the position his son holds in the public life of our country today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I can think of nothing which would have filled the hearts of my father and mother, and of those who preceded them, with greater pride than to have witnessed this gathering here tonight, to see one of their own receive the honour which I am receiving from you on this occasion. I want to thank

you not only for the honour you have done me but for the honour you have done my name.

What I feel most deeply of all is that if there has been anything in myself which you have found worthy of recognition at this time, it is due more than all else to the example and training which I have received from my father and mother and what some of my ancestors have left me of tradition in the history of our country and in their fights for freedom.

It delights me greatly to see this younger generation taking hold of the government of Canada. You may be perfectly sure, ladies and gentlemen, that schooled as they have been for years in the traditions of the Liberal party, running back to the beginnings of Liberalism in this country, and above all with the noble example of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the greatest of all political leaders of our country; I say, having those examples before them, and the example too I would say equally of men like Sir John A. Macdonald and others, who have played such great roles in the history of our country, you may expect to see the affairs of this country governed in the way which we need.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have taken a long time in expressing the thoughts which I feel at this time. I have not felt that it was necessary tonight to go into political questions. You have heard them discussed very completely in the recent election, but before I conclude I would just like to say a word

or two about the recent election. Before I forget to do so may I at once say to the members of the Progressive Conservative party in this constituency and to the members of the C. C. F. party in this constituency who have kindly indicated that they do not intend to offer opposition to my election when the day of election comes around, how very deeply obliged I feel to them. I thank them most heartily for this expression of their friendship and good-will. I feel as though I should not say anything again against either the Tories or members of the C.C.F., but I am going to wait until the election is over before I do say anything. I will say this: If they all continue to do as well for the rest of the time they will find me most agreeable.

I do wish that we might have more of this kind of thing in our public life. I think you will agree with me that while I have not hesitated to speak my mind on the questions of the day I have never found it necessary to descend into personalities. I have never found it necessary to speak ill of my opponents. I mean by that, to say the kind of things that one hears said about men in public life at the time of general elections. That does not help to make a country great, but it does help to demean the man who descends to that kind of thing.

I hope, ladies and gentlemen, as the years go by we may begin to consider more and more simply the issues and questions and never mind personalities. They will tell their own story as the days go by.

May I say one other thing while I am speaking to you tonight. I do hope that we will hear less and less of this business of the Liberal party being controlled by the Province of Quebec. I think there can be nothing more unpatriotic than that any citizen of Canada should try to set one part of Canada over against the rest. Through western Canada I heard over and over again, "Oh, don't vote for Mackenzie King, he is simply doing what pleases them in the Province of Quebec."

Well, ladies and gentlemen, may I say this: In the last parliament of Canada, if you had taken every member of that parliament who came from the Province of Quebec from the House of Commons, the Liberal party would still have had a majority over all other parties in the House of Commons. The Liberals from the Province of Quebec have helped us to put through the legislation that has helped all parts of this country. I wish to say this, that never in the course of the whole of my public life have I done anything for that province which I have not done in equal measure for every province of this Dominion of Canada.

Just so there may be no mistake about the future, may I point this out to you that if you take away today all the members who have been returned from the Province of Quebec you will find that the Liberal party has a majority over any other party in Canada at this time in our House of Commons. They have a majority over the Progressive Conservative party, over the C.C.F. party

and over all the other parties. So let us have an end to this business of trying to set one part of Canada over against the other. Let us on the contrary seek to do the opposite and see if we cannot come to understand more of each other and realise that our national life is enriched by having many men and women of different races and of different creeds, but all of whom have great common sympathies and great objectives in common-- to serve.

Looking back at the last election may I take advantage of this moment again to thank the people of Canada for having returned the Liberal party once again to power. When one thinks of the fact that that party has been in office for a long time, that we have gone through two war-time elections, that the whole of the last five years have been years of war in which the people had to undergo privations, in which they had to suffer restrictions of one kind or another-- everyone has felt something of the strain and stress of war--it would not have been strange if the administration had had to bear the inevitable result of that kind of discontent. But when one considers the results one realizes that what has really taken place is this, that the people of Canada have realized that it is to the advantage of our country to have one national party, one party that has as its representatives members from every province of this dominion and thereby help to make a united Canada, a Canada that is stronger than it has ever been before.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

I believe, ladies and gentlemen, reflecting on the recent election, the reason we have been returned as we have to power is because in all our policies we have sought to avoid extremes. What we have sought to do is to give expression to the average Canadian opinion. It is only the government that continues to avoid extremes and to have regard for the average Canadian opinion that can hope long to hold office in this country or to hold office at all.

We have avoided extreme measures in the course of these years of war. We have not been able to please everyone--that is impossible--but by avoiding extremes and seeking to take, as I have said, the view that we believe to be the average view of Canadian opinion, we have taken a course that has been appreciated by people from one part of Canada to the other.

Then again I think the people of Canada felt that the present administration had a wonderful war record. Not that the government was responsible for what was done in time of war. I have said from every platform I have spoken on that it is the people of Canada who made the war effort what it is. Then there are those who have served in the forces overseas. Those are the ones to be thanked for what has been achieved in the way of victory. But the war effort of Canada was planned, was organized, was directed by the late administration and the people of Canada realized that that planning had been careful, that that directing had been with wisdom, that that organizing had been efficient and

they felt that a government that had so conducted the affairs of the country at a time of its greatest peril was a government that should be sustained in office at least as long as the war continued, for do not forget that this war is not over yet.

There was that fact. Then again I think there was another thing of great importance. It was that the people of Canada realized that we had not left the problems that were to follow the war until the time the war itself was over, but that we had a programme already outlined, not only outlined but already in part in practice; that we had considered carefully the position of the veterans, that we had considered carefully the other social problems that were arising, and that we had sought to meet them in an efficient way and having a constructive programme, particularly a programme which has to do with the health and well-being of the people of Canada as a whole. Having begun on that programme, the people were desirous of seeing us returned to office that we might carry it out.

And I think there was this further. I think the people of Canada realized that under the present administration Canada has come to have a position in the world more respected, and more highly honoured than at any previous time in her whole history. They have come to see that Canada has the respect of nations everywhere today, and that as far as the future is concerned all our problems are going to be increasingly world problems.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is a thought I should like to leave with you and with the people of this country. We no

longer can regard our problems as being simply domestic. They are all part of the great international problem; and it is only as we are prepared to work with other nations and to seek a solution along the lines of international cooperation that we will be able to satisfactorily carry on the government of the country and to solve the different problems that may arise.

In speaking of the social programme Canada has had, I am happy to say that we have considered as far as we can all classes in the community. We have sought to improve the condition of the working man by passing legislation with respect to unemployment insurance; by old age pensions and the like we have been seeking to serve the older people of the country. In our legislation in the nature of family allowances we have sought to give to the little children of our country a greater opportunity in the battle of life. For the farmers of our country we have considered that they too in times like the present may be faced with great uncertainty, begetting fresh fears with respect to their incomes; and in order that they may be assured and insured against loss of income through unforeseen happenings that may come at any time we have passed legislation, as you know, fixing floors for the prices of agricultural products so that at all times there may be guaranteed to the farming community a sense of security in regard to their own livelihood and the income which must support their homes.

And I am happy tonight to think that the legislation is certain to be of great value to the people of this constituency,

which holds such a high place in the agricultural life of our country, to the splendid dairy industry which is carried on here, the production of cheese and other like commodities. I will hope, ladies and gentlemen, as the time goes on, to learn more and more about your needs here and, as far as I can, to support them in the best way I can in parliament.

There is one other thought and that is this. I think the people of Canada have felt that there is nothing in which we are all more concerned than the future peace of the world, and I think they have felt that the present parliament, the present government, has been specially interested in the problems of peace; that we are specially interested in furthering the basis of relations with other nations; that we wish to expand trade with other nations; that we wish to understand their problems and have them understand ours. And I believe that they have felt that in the hands of the present administration, when it comes to peace conferences, when it comes to international conferences on world security and the like, Canada will be best represented by the administration which has been conducting these affairs for the last few years.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion may I say that the coming session of parliament will be one of the most important in the history of Canada. This war has run on for over five years. As far as Europe is concerned it is over, but not the effects of the war. There is still a terrible war prevailing in the Orient, and the government that is in office at the present

time, and the new parliament that comes into existence in the course of the next few weeks, will have to deal with these problems. The first great problem is the war, and all that arises out of the war. Secondly, is the great problem of demobilization, to bring back all the men from the battle fields and reestablish them in civil pursuits in our own country. It is a time of transition.

The last elections, it seemed to me, were a point of division between the past and the future which was very marked indeed. May I illustrate it to you in this way. If you go west toward the Pacific coast you come to a point in the Rocky mountains which is spoken of as the Great Divide. Until you reach that point you are going uphill all the way. Then you reach the peak and you begin to go down again on the other side, toward the Pacific ocean. You come to the great divide. The problem on the one side is pushing up; on the other it is coming down and dealing with the situation as you come down.

I had the same thing in the constituency of Prince Albert which I represented. There, as one went to the North, one kept climbing up. Then you came to a great divide, right in the constituency of Prince Albert, right beside a spot where I had a little cottage. From there on the waters began to flow down into the Arctic ocean, instead of flowing south as they did in the other part.

So it has been with the periods that preceded and will follow the last general election. The last general election --

and it is quite remarkable that this should have been so, but I wish to assure you that it was not all a matter of chance; it was part of the planning and arrangements at the time -- the last general elections came after the war in Europe was over and before the war in the Orient was over. It came at a moment when it was possible for our men overseas to study the problems which this country is facing in the future. It came in a moment of relative quiet between, as I say, the period when we were all striving harder and harder to win the victory and the time that will follow, when our striving will be to make sure of our steps as we proceed again to get everything on the level.

This is a period of transition, and all periods of transition are difficult. As I say, we have the demobilization. Then we have what is most important of all, the working out of a great programme of social reform. What we must seek to do in this country is to continue what the Liberal party has already begun to do, to seek to bring about a minimum standard of human well-being throughout the whole of Canada. By that I mean that there must be an effort made to provide against the hazards in the lives of people, whether they are those who are living on farms or those working in factories, those who are in employment of different kinds, to see that when great hazards come there is something in the way of protection to help meet them. That is why we have unemployment insurance, to help meet the moment when unemployment may come. That will have to be supplemented

by other means as well, and what we shall seek to do above all also is to maintain a high standard of employment in Canada through the years. We have had that during the period of this war. Now we must seek to see that this standard of employment which has meant employment for all to all intents and purposes -- I am not saying every soul, but I am speaking generally -- is maintained during the years to come.

We must seek also to do something to help in the matter of the health of the population; the prevention, as far as possible, of disease in as many directions as possible and giving assistance where assistance is required.

There is that great work of social reform, and then finally this great work of peace, peace as between the different nations. At San Francisco they have worked out a great plan known as the United Nations Charter which will help serve to maintain peace in the years when the war is over. That can be worked out only if all nations do their full part. One of the first duties of the next parliament will be to ratify that charter, to help take on the part of Canada those steps which may be necessary for full cooperation with other countries in the world.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, during my life I have had two great purposes. One has been to lend whatever influence and power I might have to a furtherance of the cause of peace; peace in industrial relations, peace in international relations. The other great purpose has been to further the well-being of my

fellowmen; to try to so enlarge the opportunities for men and women in the battle of life that we may all come to share in greater measure, in a measure much nearer to the equality of blessings which God has given to us when he gave to this world the resources which it has today and the possibilities which should be open to all who are in the land.

So I return now to Ottawa to take up these tasks anew, but with a new sense of strength, of power, and of hope, because of what has taken place within these walls tonight. I go back feeling that in the endeavour to further these great policies of which I have spoken the Prime Minister of this country will have at his back a body of men and women who he knows holds in their hearts views similar to his own, and who will be prepared to support him at all times in every effort that he may put forth to make this better condition for our human society prevail.

So, ladies and gentlemen, let my last words be these to you tonight. Never forget, as I have said, that from now on, should I be returned to parliament as your representative, we are no longer strangers. We are partners, partners in the great business of the government of our land. Let us make up our minds now that for such time as we may be spared to work together in this great joint effort for better human well-being, and, for the good of our country, we will put into it the best that our minds and our hearts are able to give.

RE: G LENGARRY D 63625 Miss Gregoire W.L.M.K.

Re Speech at ALEXANDRIA, Ont. - July 17, 1945

1. Speech should contain reference to

significance of recent elections,
and problems to be solved as a result of,

e.g. national unity.

This should disclose Liberal Party as a national party and influences particularly to provincial govts.

2. Reference to conclusion of European war -

war with Japan.

3. Immediate domestic problems -

question of repatriation;
" " housing.

4. Indicate my work for next 5 years -

what I hope to see accomplished in this Parliament.
(See speech night of victory - June 11 -
also last speech at Auditorium)
(a) ending of the war entirely;
(b) carrying out our programme of social reform;
(c) Peace Conferences and San Francisco -
working out plan of World Security.
(See main outlines of "Industry and Humanity".)

5. Reference to relations with Prince Albert.

6. " " Glengarry - significance of.
Relations I hope to have with the Constituency.

RE: GLENGARRY

D 63626

W.L.M.K.

Re Speech at ALEXANDRIA, Ont. - July 17, 1945

122

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D 63627

Note re Silver Spoons of the Glengarry Fencibles

As Prime Minister I have been brought into touch with an interesting link with the original Glengarry Fencibles. While this regiment was stationed in Ireland, a set of very fine silver spoons was made for the officers. They bear the Dublin Hallmark of 1799-1800, and were acquired some years ago by Mr. Thomas L. Galloway, of Auchendrane, by Ayr, a well-known Scottish antiquarian.

Last autumn Mr. Galloway wrote me to enquire if they were not a continuing unit of the Glengarry Fencibles to which he might present this very beautiful silver. I was happy to tell him of the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, of the badge on their head-dress bearing the motto "Glengarry Fencibles", and that they had landed in France on D-Day and until May of this year had been engaged in much of the hardest fighting in Northwest Europe.

I am very glad to add that Mr. Galloway personally presented the set of spoons, at Auchendrane on March 9 of this year, to Major C. A. Beattie, E.D., of Cornwall. Auchendrane Castle itself has been during wartime a convalescent home for Canadian and British soldiers.

Mr. Galloway was kind enough to send me one of the spoons as a personal gift. It is one which I treasure highly.

JAG/

D 63623

Note re "The Men of Glengarry:"

There is a story that on one occasion Sir Walter Scott was asked to suggest a motto for a book in which were gathered together stories of the exploits of men of Glengarry in the the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. He replied by quoting the following excerpt from Shakespeare:

'T is wonder
That an invisible instinct should frame them
To royalty unlearn'd; honour untaught,
Civility not seen from other, valour
That wildly grows in them but yields a crop
As if it had been sow'd.

CYMBELINE, Act IV, sc. 2.

D 63629

Electoral district of Glengarry

established under Redistribution Act of 1924, comprising territory formerly belonging to Glengarry & Stormont;

the former divisions of Glengarry and Stormont (established 1914) joined the two then existing constituencies of Glengarry and Stormont;

in the original Confederation riding of Glengarry, the representation was

Liberal	between	1867 and 1878
Conservative	"	1878 and 1882
Liberal	"	1882 and 1887
Conservative	"	1887 and 1896
Liberal	"	1896 and 1917
Unionist	"	1917 and 1919
United Farmers	"	1919 and 1921
Progressive	"	1921 and 1925
Liberal	"	1925 and 1930
Conservative	"	1930 and 1935
Liberal	"	1935 to present

Thanks to country for return of government.

No surprise at reduced majority.

A majority over all.

Experience 1921-25 - majority of one.

Count by ayes and nays.

Significance of result of Elections.

To hold office

avoidance of extremes;

average Canadian opinion.

A united Canada

that average Canadian opinion deserves.

Success in Campaign due to:

I. Avoidance of extreme measures and thereby maintaining National Unity.

2. War effort carefully planned and directed.

3. Post-war policies already in effect in part.

4. Place Canada has gained in world - representation at Peace Conference and furtherance of peace.

Solution of problems dependent on international outlook.

These ends we will pursue.

Outstanding aspects of results.

Liberal Party a national party.

Other parties largely sectional.

Conservatives 18 outside Ontario
C.C.F. 10 outside Saskatchewan
Social Credit none outside Alberta
Others extinguished.

Unfortunate for country to have emphasis of special interests or sections.

Liberal or Conservative minds.

Nature of a political party.

Advantages of two parties -

to make policies prevail.

Striking illustration of results of Elections -

3 western provinces.

What becomes of these interests if dependent on:

(a) done;

(b) of any one if dependent on its followers in Dominion.

Canada not made up of separate compartments.

Danger of many parties, -

France.

In House of Commons recognition of too many parties.

Should be government and opposition.

Hope new House will restore,

government and opposition,

not government and multiplicity of groups.

Criticism should be constructive.

Opposition should be prepared to act as an alternative government.

D 63632

revised

early a date, but for what they have since done in helping to bring into being the convention which has met here tonight.

word to Mr.Major

May I say to you Mr. Major how proud I am that you should be presiding over this vast gathering this evening, and how deeply touched I have been by the welcome which you have extended to me. I have, of course, known of you for many years as one who has been most active in municipal, provincial and Dominion affairs - a stalwart among stalwarts in the Liberal party.

to Mr. Donald Macdonald

May I say to you Mr. Macdonald that your place of leadership in the party affairs in the constituency has also been long known to me. If I am not mistaken you came within one of our friend, Dr. MacDiarmid, in being the party's choice as candidate at the last convention. I thank you also for the exceedingly kind words which you have addressed to me and to this audience tonight. They are words which I shall always gratefully remember.

to son of Archie MacDonald

To Mr. MacDonald, the son of my old friend and former colleague in the House of Commons, from 1925 to 1930, Archie MacDonal I would say that it fills me with exceptional pride to realize that young men of the second generation should continue to extend toward myself the friendship and confidence which their fathers before them gave me in so great a measure. No man could wish for a finer expression of loyalty than this.

feature of evening: delegation from polling sub-divisions

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, there has been one other feature of this evening's proceedings which I am sure you must have felt as I have, which could not have been more significant or impressive. I refer to the many delegates (150 or over) who represent the several municipalities of the constituency and who, in each instance, through the person of the senior and next-senior delegate - the chairman and vice-chairman of the polling sub-divisions of each of the municipalities - have placed my name in nomination to the exclusion of any other, thereby making me in the present by-election the unanimous choice of the convention as the candidate of the Liberals of Glengarry for the Parliament of Canada. Truly, there is no element of dictatorship in all this, nothing superimposed from above or under pressure, but makes me, as your candidate, not only the unanimous choice but the free choice of a free people. No expression of trust can be greater than this. No higher honour can be paid a public man.

a deeply moving experience

To me this has been a deeply moving experience. You all know how strongly I believe in government by the people themselves, in democratic government, - in representative government. Some of you have heard me say in Parliament itself, that while Parliament may be supreme in the making of

laws, it is not the final authority in the nation. That for the final word in government, we appeal from Parliament to the people.

Striking illustration of self-govt.

You gentlemen who have spoken for the men and women of the several municipalities of Glengarry constituency, in making the nomination of your candidate tonight, have given to the people of our country, and indeed of other countries as well, a striking illustration of the foundation of democratic government, of representative government and of self-government.

Significance of unanimouse choice

To be within immediate hearing of the voice of the people, to be the unanimous choice of my own party in this particular constituency, to be assured of their whole-hearted support as I look forward to continuing to serve my country in the Twentieth Parliament of Canada, and this after twenty-six years of leadership of my party, and a lifetime of public service, is something that affords me more pride and satisfaction than words can begin to express.

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Significance of unanimouse choice

To be within immediate hearing of the voice of the people, to be the unanimous choice of my own party in this particular constituency, to be assured of their whole-hearted support as I look forward to continuing to serve my country in the Twentieth Parliament of Canada, and this after twenty-six years of leadership of my party, and a lifetime of public service, is something that affords me more pride and satisfaction than words can begin to express.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Revised

the C.C.F.

Absence during election

During the general elections themselves, because of the necessity of being present part of the time at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, I was unable to give more than four weeks in all to the nationwide campaign. Of that time I was able to be in Prince Albert constituency only between three and four days in all, one of which was a Sunday. Is it any wonder that the Liberals in the riding were almost in despair when the elections themselves were announced, and

Position of Liberals in riding

I was obliged to inform them that at most I could hope to be present in the constituency only for a day or two before the day of polling. It was indeed an uphill fight for them and I cannot speak too highly of the magnificent battle they waged and of the results they achieved against the tremendous odds with which they were faced. I shall always have a warm place in my heart for Prince Albert. Toward my supporters there, it is warmer today than ever.

nationwide confidence necessitated continuing at head of govt. & new seat

Having lost Prince Albert seat which I personally held over so many years, had the government been defeated I should not have sought another seat but would have retired from public life. The nationwide expression of confidence given by the people in the government not only justified but seemed to render advisable and necessary my continuing at the head of the administration, and knowing this to be the wish of my colleagues and the party generally, it necessitated finding a seat in some other constituency.

Please return to P.A.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

D 63636

Election Figures.

Mr. Gordon Fogo gave me the following figures this morning:

Progressive Conservative

Ontario 48
Outside Ontario...18

(1 - P.E.I., 2 - N.S., 3 - N.B., 1 - Que.,
2 - Man., 1 - Sask., 2 - Alta., 5 - B.C.,
1 - Yukon.)

C.C.F.

Saskatchewan 18
Outside Saskatchewan.. 10

(1 - N.S., 5 - Man., 4 - B.C.,)

Social Credit

Alberta 13
Outside Alberta.. -

Liberals

Mr. Fogo thinks safest overall figure is 127 as follows:
118 straight Liberals, plus Mr. Power, plus
7 Independent Liberals, plus one independent in B.C.
(Gibson of Comox-Alberni who has applied to be admitted to Liberal caucuses.)

In addition there are four Quebec independents whom, for policy reasons, you may not wish to include (Arsenault of Bonaventure, Dubois of Nicolet Yamaska, Gariepy of Three Rivers, Gagnon of Chicoutimi.

P.A.

16th July, 1945.

W.L.M.K.
16.VII.45

D 63637

Thanks for offers of seats elsewhere

Opening: Thanks to Liberals of Glengarry

and to Dr. McDiarmid.

Appeal to Scotch and French.

Need of a seat -

To be in H. of C. when House meets -
and 20th Parliament assembles.

Present Parliament certain to be a most important one.

War in Europe over - but reconstruction of Europe
restoration devastated areas
rehabilitation of peoples.

War in Japan not over:

rapid progress being made

Position becoming desparate for Japan.
Have overrun China - 9 years.
" " British, Dutch and American
possessions.
Out of the Philippines - now Borneo, etc.
Unconditional surrender.
Who started war?
vs Poland
vs China and United States.

Demobilization of our armed forces.
(Europe and Asia)
Large numbers - 5½ years of war.
Army, Air and naval -
merchant marine.
Transportation problem - West and East.
Rehabilitation, housing, work, etc.

Reconversion of industry from war economy to peace econ
Get rid of controls, restrictions.

Peace Conferences - re Europe and Asia
To determine boundaries
To move populations
To determine reparations.

United Nations Conference -

Complete San Francisco Conference.
Establish Council Assembly.
Economic and Social Council.
International Court.
Prevention of war, maintenance of peace.

Domestic problems.

National unity.
Full Employment.
Social Security.

A new order - World
National

These are tasks we must work on together.

D 63639

General Elections in Canada

Sir John A. Macdonald -			
	1867 - 73	: 1 gnl.	
	1878	: 1	
	1882	: 1	
	1886	: 1	
	1890	: 1	
			5
Sir Wilfrid			
	1896	: 1	
	1900	: 1	
	1904	: 1	
	1908	: 1	
			4
Sir Robert Borden -			
	1911	: 1	
	1917	: 1	
			2
Alex. Mackenzie -			
	1873	: 1	1
Bennett	1930	: 1	1
Arthur Meighen			0
Other P.M.'s			0
Self:			
	1921		
	1925		
	1926		
	1935		
	1940		
	1945	:	6
			19

General election	1908	
By-election	1909	(Acclamn.)
General election	1911	
" "	1917	
By-election	1919	(")
General election	1921	
" "	1925	
By-election	1925	(Acclamn.)
General election	1926	
" "	1930	
" "	1935	
" "	1940	
" "	1945	

13 in all
plus 1 (Glengarry)
14

of which 10 genl. elections
3 by-elections (Accl.)
13

Conclusion

A memorable day in my life - long political career

1900 - came to Ottawa to enter Civil Service
1908 - resigned Deputy Minister of labour - age 34
contest North Waterloo
Sir Wilfrid opened campaign (37 yrs. ago)

Comparison Sir Wilfrid and Sir John

Sir Wilfrid in 1908 had been leader Lib. Party - 21 years.
died Feb. 17, 1919 " " " " " 32 "
Prime Minister - 15 "

Sir John Macdonald - Leader of his party - 24 "
Prime Minister - 19 "

Sir Wilfrid's term as Leader of Party
longest known in Br. Empire.

Sir John's term as Prime Minister
longest known "- " "
except younger Pitt, 19 years
Walpole - 20 yrs. 10 mos.

Political lives of Sir John and Sir Wilfrid -
July 1, 1867 to Aug. 7, 1919.

Difficult to realize - on Aug. 7, I will enter on 27th year as Leader of Party. Have already entered on 19th as P.M.

Have outrun Sir Wilfrid in years as Prime Minister
" " Sir John " " " " leader of Party.

Cannot hope to outrun Sir Wilfrid as leader of party.

Whether equal or outrun Sir John as Prime Minister depends on (1) Providence - health and strength.
(2) Glengarry's decision in by-election.
(3) H. of C. - continued confidence of H. of C. in present administration.

Significance of present by-election

Have run this last General Election

expect this to be my last by-election

Since 1919 - of general elections - Liberal Party won 6 out of 7 - a record not equalled by any political party

Personal record - 10 general elections (won in 7 lost in 3) 1911 1912

4 by-elections (counting Glengarry - an acclamation) 1930

Why Tories say nasty things

divine right to rule.

2 elections during war - won both -

expression of public confidence.

Moral for party - Maintain a good record and people can be relied upon to support.

(re Conclusion)

Tories sometimes seek to make political capital out of the fact that I have represented so many constituencies instead of continuing to hold only one. It is true that, if during the 31 years in all that I have been in Parliament, I have represented four different constituencies:

North Waterloo, Ontario - which I represented from 1908-11
Prince, P.E.I. - " " " " 1917-21
North York, Ontario - " " " " 1921-25
Prince Albert, Sask. - " " " " 1925-45

With all of these constituencies there were memorable associations:

North Waterloo was the county in which I was born, and in which I lived to the age of 17. While representing North Waterloo, I had the honour of becoming Minister of Labour in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. When I ran in North Waterloo it had been a Conservative stronghold.

Prince, Prince Edward Island: was the constituency which offered and provided me with a seat when I was chosen as leader of the Liberal Party. I had never been in the constituency till the period of the by-election. I might have received a perfectly safe Liberal seat, had I sought to do so, in the general elections of 1921, but I felt my place to fight was not in a safe Liberal seat, in a Liberal province, but in a Tory

seat in the Tory province of Ontario, so I ran in North York.

North York: I had run in North York in 1917, knowing there was no chance to win out. My place was at the side of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in that election. I did not win the seat, but I was chosen leader of my party at the Liberal Convention of 1919, for having taken the course I did. At the time and prior to the rebellion of 1837-38, North York had been represented in the Parliament of Upper Canada by my grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie. I had the honour of representing the constituency as Prime Minister of Canada. North York, too, had been held by the Conservatives when I first ran in that constituency.

Prince Albert: I was unable to hold North York in the general elections of 1925, because of being obliged, as Prime Minister, to give my time to the party as a whole, visiting and speaking in all parts of Canada, and having opportunity to speak in North York only for a day or two in the course of the elections. Prince Albert was one of many constituencies in which I was offered a seat. At the time, I felt it would be to the advantage of the country, the party, and myself, as its leader and Prime Minister, if I were to represent a constituency in one of the prairie provinces, thereby gaining a fuller knowledge of the Dominion and its problems than it would otherwise have been possible to obtain. I have never regretted the

choice then made. Nor, indeed, shall I have feelings other than of deepest gratitude to the splendid people of Prince Albert constituency, who not only gave me, to them a total stranger, so warm a welcome in the by-election which provided me, by acclamation as well, a seat in Parliament, but who returned me with handsome majorities in four subsequent general elections: those of 1926, 1930, 1935 and 1940, thereby making possible my representation of that constituency for 19 years. Had it not been that during the years of war my duties as Prime Minister prevented me from visiting the constituency more than once or twice between the periods of the general election, and that between absence from Canada at the San Francisco Conference and the time I was obliged to give to the nation-wide campaign I was unable to spend more than three or four days in all in the constituency at the time of the elections, I would certainly have been returned again.

I have not in the course of my public life sought the path that was easiest for myself. I have at all times subordinated my own personal interests to the interests of the party. I have never shirked a fight when I believed the situation demanded it. I have never been afraid of defeat. I don't believe that any one can claim that I have been arrogant in victory, or in victory or defeat vindictive towards

D 63646

those who have differed from my opinion in or out of Parliament or opposed me in political conflict.

Had I consulted my own personal feelings, I might, at the age of 70, after more than a quarter of a century in the position of leadership of my party, and eighteen years in the office of Prime Minister, over five of which have been at a time of war, have decided that I had gained the right to withdraw from the strife of tongues and enjoy a little of the quiet of life, with friends and books and nature, doing a little of writing and travel, giving some attention to one's own personal affairs and obligations that in the storm and stress of public life it has not been possible to give. That would have spared me all the uncertainties and strains of another general election. Had the times been other than what they are, had the party's fortunes not also been a consideration, that is the course I probably would have followed. I never doubted, however, that so long as the party wished me to continue to lead, it was my duty to carry on, and that so long as there was a need, it was my duty to serve to the utmost of my ability and strength. That alone was not what decided me to take any and every chance in the campaign. The determining factor was that I saw in the present and in the immediately following years an unparalleled opportunity to gain, through the medium of Parliament, the fulfillment in larger measure than at any

other time of the objectives I have had most at heart from the time that I began to take an interest in public affairs up to this very hour.

D 63643

Notes

1. Re acceptance of the nomination

2. Word about Chevrier - new colleagues

3. Reference to Glengarry's offer earlier

4. " " renewed association with Scotland
and to Glengarry being the epitome
of the Dominion in the two races,
work for unity.

D 63649

J. A. G.
12.7.45

GLENGARRY SPEECH

National Unity

during wartime the provincial governments relinquished some of the taxing privileges they had previously enjoyed;

care will now have to be taken in adjusting the burden of taxation

(a) as between the federal and provincial governments

(b) in accordance with individual ability to pay

(c) in the light of the expanded program of social reform to which the present administration is committed

this program involves some projects which can be properly and usefully directed only on a national basis

What we need is

not duplication of services but simplification of administration

These are all matters for forthcoming Dominion-Provincial Conference to consider

(we must at the same time take care that what are federal issues are kept as federal issues and not controlled locally).

Glengarry Speech

JWP

MAG/
13:vii:45

D 63650

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

a) In International Affairs

1) The winning of the war against Japan

- Canada's effort planned and organized in close consultation with
  United States
  United Kingdom

- some ships of Canada's Navy already in action in Pacific waters;

- the Pacific Force (Army) will shortly be assembled in Canada preparatory to moving for advanced training to camps in U.S.A;

- air force plans already under way - some details of strength and equipment necessarily still secret.

2) The outlawing of war altogether

- through development of the world security organization of which the Charter was signed at San Francisco last month (June 26, 1945)

- peace-keeping as important as peace-making

- peace based upon the certainty of an overwhelming preponderance of force on the side of peace;

- peace based upon principles of justice
  and the rule of law

  supplemented by the fullest measure of consultation and co-operation among all peace-loving nations.

3) In this process of peace-keeping

Canada will have an important share

- at San Francisco a member of the Exexutive Committee of the United Nations Conference

D 63651

- under its new organization a potential contributor of military, naval or air forces toassist in peace-keeping if the need should arise

- an especial interest in the work of the Economic and Social Council

an international agency for the continuous consideration of the material needs and physical welfare of freedom-loving peoples, and how these needs can best be met through international co-operation.

4) The expanding interests of Canada as a world power of major rank

Since 1939 diplomatic representation abroad has been increased until

22 missions now reach 25 nations

* High Commissioners in United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland, Newfoundland

Embassies in Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Mexico, Peru, U.S.S.R., U.S.A.

Legations to Allied Governments in London (Czechoslovakia, Greece, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia), Argentina, Cuba, Netherlands, Luxembourg

Consular offices in New York City and Greenland

Extensions of representation are in contemplation to

India

sparately to Czechoslovakia
Greece (agreement already reached)
Norway
Poland
Yugoslavia

Sweden
Turkey

To this end, extensions in organization and personnel of Department of External Affairs
(partly through recruiting of eligible candidates who have served overseas in armed forces).

Similar extensions in Department of Trade and Commerce in keeping with expanding outlook for international trade of Canada abroad -

one satisfactory indication of more normal relations arises from knowledge of the re-opening of a number of offices of Canadian Trade Commissioners, closed during the years of war.

The ultimate interest of Canada in every way lies in the maintaining and fostering of international goodwill

through our external trade
through the development of cultural relations
through the extension of diplomatic contacts
through participation in the agencies of the United Nations which have been functioning in wartime -

- Relief and Rehabilitation (UNRRA)
- Food and Agriculture Organization

in all of which Canada has had an important part.

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS:

b) In Domestic Affairs

1) A national minimum of standard human well-being.

This involves:

full employment,
adequate housing,
proper nutrition,
freedom from the fear of unemployment and other industrial hazards.

2) A broad and continuous programme of social reform.

Family allowances already in effect.

The outstanding measure in prospect is a national scheme of health insurance.

(This involves close co-operation between provincial governments and the government of Canada).

(The emphasis should be as much upon preventive medicine as upon medical services).

Public recreation and the development of community centres.

(The unrivalled beauties of Canada in the open air ought to encourage us to take advantage of the facilities in such a way that all the people may enjoy them.)

3) The removal of certain anomalies in the nationhood of Canada.

A clear and comprehensive definition of Canadian nationality.

(This will involve considerable revision and clarification of existing legislation.)

3)

A distinctive Canadian flag.

(This is a matter for the Parliament of Canada to decide.)

4) The conservation and wise use of the natural resources of Canada.

(Legislation if necessary to preclude the possibility of selfish individuals exploiting for private gain any part of our national resources which ought to be for the use and enjoyment of all the people.)

National projects, eg., highways,
national parks,
beautification of Ottawa
as the Capital city.

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5) Underlying all these proposals is the continuing and urgent need of insuring the rehabilitation and re-entry into civilian life of the men and women of Canada discharged from the armed services. This is a matter which will occupy the best efforts the government can put forward over the next few years. (It will take until well into 1946, on the basis of the shipping now available, to complete the repatriation of service personnel eligible for return to Canada. We must be prepared meanwhile to accept as a necessary part of this work of repatriation, limitations upon travel facilities.)

Some wartime controls have already been relaxed. Others, and particularly the rationing of certain kinds of foodstuffs, will have to be continued for a considerable period of time. I think the people of Canada will readily accept the rationing of sugar, butter and meat, once they realize that the surplus from Canadian production will go to feed the armed forces of the United Nations still engaged in battle, and to the peoples of liberated areas of Europe who for over five years lived constantly on the brink of starvation.

W. L. M. K.
16.7.45
D 68655

Winnipeg

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When, on the night of June 11th, it was apparent that the government had been again returned to power, I was congratulating myself on having fought my last political battle. There have been 20 general elections in Canada since Confederation. In 10 out of the 20, I have been in the thick of the battle. That takes us back to 1908 - 37 years in all. That ought to be enough for any man.

As you are aware, I made it clear to the electorate that the campaign of the present year would be the last general election in which I would ~~accept~~ to be returned to Parliament. When the returns first came in and for some days after, it looked as if not only had the government been sustained, but also as if I had been so fortunate as to have been again returned as the Member for Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, a constituency which I have had the honour of representing in Parliament for all but twenty years. It is true that on the civilian vote I carried the constituency by a majority of ... However, when the service vote for Saskatchewan was counted, Prince Albert Constituency ~~was~~ was lost, like every other constituency in Saskatchewan except two, was lost to the government

and the majority of ... became a minority of ... How Saskatchewan went haywire in the elections is a story by itself. I think I can give you the explanation, but that would take a little too long. I shall have to reserve that for some other occasion and possibly some other place. Suffice it to say that so far as the constituency of Prince Albert is concerned, while the results were disappointing, all circumstances considered, they surpassed I think all expectations.

Prince ALBert, as you are aware, is about 2000 miles from Ottawa - about as far from Ottawa as Cairo is from London. The years between 1940 and 1945, being years of war, I was unable to visit the constituency on more than one or two occasions and then only for a day or two at a time. I was unable to give any attention whatever to party organization. Indeed, the attention of the government and its supporters was directed throughout those years to the winning of the war and not to the winning of elections. To what extent the time of our opponents, both of the Progressive-Conservative and the C.C.F. parties was given to political organization during the last two years of war, the country generally is pretty well aware. Nowhere in Canada was the time given to political organization during the war years to a greater extent than in Saskatchewan by

the C.C.F.

During the general elections themselves, because of the necessity of being present part of the time at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, I was unable to give more than four weeks in all to the nationwide campaign. Of that time I was able to be in my own constituency only between three and four days in all, one of which was a Sunday. Is it any wonder that the Liberals in the riding were almost in despair when the selections themselves were announced and I was obliged to inform them that at most I could hope to be present in the constituency only for a day or two before the day of polling. It was indeed an uphill fight for them and I cannot speak too highly of the magnificent battle they waged and of the results they achieved against the tremendous odds with which they were faced. I shall always have a warm place in my heart for Prince Albert. Toward my supporters there, it is warmer today than ever.

Having lost the Prince Albert seat which I personally held over so many years, the nationwide expression of confidence given by the people in the government made it necessary for me ~~more~~ I to continue at the head of the administration, to find a seat in some other constituency.

D 63653

It seemed to be taken for granted that another seat should be found.

Here, may I express at once, my deep appreciation of the offers of a seat which have come to me from the Members-elect of many constituencies and the Liberal executives of constituencies in several of the provinces. This latest expression of the good-will, the confidence and the loyalty of the members of my party is something that I shall never forget. And that brings me to what, above all else, I wish to say to you tonight.

Even before the final results were published, when it was apparent that there was a possibility that the final count might place the constituency in the C.C.F. column, a delegation from this fine old constituency of Glengarry came to Ottawa and called upon me at Laurier House. They told me that they had come to say that my good friend Dr. MacDiarmid, the Member-elect, had said to them and to others that in the event of my being defeated in Prince Albert he would be quite prepared with the consent of the Liberal Association of the riding to resign as Member and make way for my return to the House of Commons as Member for Glengarry in the twentieth parliament of Canada.

Later in the day Dr. MacDiarmid himself came to see me in my office and made the same statements to me. Meanwhile the three members of the delegation had told me they felt perfectly sure if I would agree to accept the nomination as the Liberal candidate in a by-election that the Liberals of the constituency would be glad to have me run in Glengarry and they believed they could assure me that there would be no doubt of the result. They believed that there might even be the possibility of an election by acclamation. The visit came just about the time I was obliged to return to San Francisco to sign, along with my colleague the Minister of Justice, the Charter of the United Nations. I told my colleagues in the Cabinet of what Dr. MacDiarmid and members of the delegation had said to me. At the same time I made mention of other constituencies from which offers of a seat had been secured, and said I would leave it to them to decide for which constituency I ought to seek election. When, some days later, I returned from San Francisco I learned to my delight that it had been decided that I was to seek election in Glengarry constituency, that Dr. MacDiarmid had agreed to accept an appointment under the Crown - not a lucrative one, but one sufficient to disqualify him from continuing to represent the constituency, thereby creating a vacancy, which would necessitate a by-election

D 63680

and that this course of procedure had been agreed to by members of the Liberal Association of the constituency. That was some three weeks ago.

On Tuesday, July 2nd, the Chief Electoral Officer announced that owing to a Member-elect having accepted an office of emolument under the Crown a vacancy had occurred in the constituency of Glengarry and that a by-election to fill the vacancy would be held on August 6th, official nominations to take place a week earlier, July 30th. Tonight members of the party representative of the several municipalities have met here in convention to select a candidate and as you have just seen and heard have honoured me by inviting me to become the Liberal candidate in the present by-election.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not always easy to find words wherewith adequately to express one's feelings. It is most difficult of all where those feelings are a mixture of gratitude and pride. You will not be surprised therefore when I tell you that in the course of the thirty-seven years I have been in public life, there are few occasions, if any, where I have found it more difficult to say just what I should like most to say to those who have expressed so great a measure of confidence in me and have paid me so high a tribute and so great an honour.

Of the gentlemen who came to call on me at Laurier House, all are present on this platform tonight. I should like my first words to be words of very sincere thanks to each of them in turn.

First of all may I say to you Dr. MacDiarmid how deeply I appreciate the expression of your personal friendship and your fine loyalty, not less to our party than to myself. By your generous act, you and those who have been associated with you, have made possible my return to Parliament and not only that but my being in the House of Commons when the new Parliament opens its proceedings, as it will on the 23rd of next month. To me, as the Leader of the Government in the House of Commons, I believe I may say to Parliament itself that is a very great service, one for which I thank you not only personally, but in the name of the Government itself. You, Ladies and Gentlemen, whoeknow Dr. MacDiarmid so well and have known him all his life, and who in the two wartime elections have returned him to Parliament as your representative will not be surprised at the public spirit which he has shown in being willing to forego continuing to be your member in the House of Commons, that I may have that honour in his stead. May I say that, recalling as I do, in the five years of our close association in the House of Commons, the Doctor's unfailing loyalty and support, the many generous expressions

of his personal good-will and the encouragement which in trying hours and days he has always been ready to give, I am not surprised at this latest expression of his generous nature, his personal regard and his public spirit. In your presence I desire to thank him most warmly and in deepest sincerity.

Should it be my good fortune to represent this constituency in the new Parliament, I shall continue to count upon the Doctor as a guide, philosopher and friend in all that pertains to the interests of the constituency and the well-being of its members. He and I will continue to work together in the constituency as during the past five years we have worked together in Parliament.

I come now to the gentlemen who have comprised the delegation that waited on me at Laurier House. You, Mr. Major, as President of the Glengarry Liberal Association, were one of the three. Mr. Donald MacDonald, who as President of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association has addressed this gathering this evening, was another of the three. The third member of the delegation was Mr. MacDonald, son of my old friend and the former representative of the constituency, Archie John MacDonald. To all three I wish also to express my warmest thanks not only for the initiative taken at so

early a date, but for what they have since done in helping to bring into being the convention which is met here tonight.

May I say to you Mr. Major how proud I am that you should be presiding over this vast gathering this evening, and how deeply touched I have been by the welcome which you have extended to me. May I say the same to you Mr. Macdonald and thank you also for the exceedingly kind words which you have addressed to me and to this audience tonight. They are words which I shall always gratefully remember. To the son of my old friend and former colleague in the House of Commons, Archie MacDonald, I would say that it fills me with exceptional pride to realize that young men of the second generation should continue to extend toward myself the friendship and confidence which their fathers before them gave me in so great a measure. No man could wish for a finer expression of loyalty than this. But Ladies and Gentlemen there has been one other feature of this evening's proceedings which I am sure you must have felt as I have which could not have been more significant or impressive. I refer to the many delegates who represent the several municipalities of the constituency and who, in each instance, through the person of the senior and ex-senior delegate of each of the municipalities, has placed my name in nomination to the exclusion of any other, thereby making me the unanimous choice of the convention as the candidate of the Liberals of

Glengarry for the Parliament of Canada in the present by-election.

To me this has been a deeply movning experience. You all know how strongly I believe in democratic government, in representative government. Some of you have heard me say in Parliament itself, that while Parliament may be supreme in the making of laws, it is not the final authority in the nation. That for the final word in government we appeal from Parliament to the people.

You, gentelemen who have spoken for the men and women of the several municipalities of Glengarry constituency in making the nomination of your candidate tonight, have given to the people of our country and indeed of other countries as well a striking illustration of the foundation of government, of representative government and of self-government in a democratic gountry.

To hear the voice of the people at my very side, to be assured of the unanimous support of those who are members of my own party, as I look forward to serving after twenty-six years of leadership, in the Twentieth Parliament of Canada, as representative of this constituency, is something that affords me more pride and satisfaction than words can begin to express.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
99		1945 General Elections, London. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 63326 - D 63397	
99		1945 General Elections, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 63398 - D 63476	
99		1945 General Elections, Saint John. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 63477 - D 63519	
99		1945 General Elections, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 63520 - D 63562	
99		General Elections, Results of. Speeches outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 63563 - D 63588	
99		Glengarry, By-election. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 63589 - D 63664	
100		Second Session, Japanese in Canada. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 63665 - D 63761	
100		Second Session, Meat Rationing. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63762 - D 63777	
100		Second Session. Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament.	1945	D 63778 - D 63783	

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D 63685

Statement on Orders in Council Concerning the Japanese.

I wish to table three Orders in Council, P.C.7355, P.C.7356, and P.C.7357 of December 15th, all of which have been passed under the War Measures Act to carry out the policy announced by the government with respect to Japanese people in Canada on August 4, 1944, and November 21, 1945. ~~I think~~ It will assist in understanding these orders if I give a brief explanation of their purpose and effect.

The general outline of the government's policy with regard to the Japanese was given in my statement of August 4, 1944, to which I have referred. As a first measure in its implementation, the government sought to determine which of the Japanese now in Canada did not wish to remain here after the war ~~and~~ On November 21 the Minister of Labour referred to the number of applications that had been received for movement to Japan. The Minister announced that the government intended to order the removal from Canada of Japanese nationals who had applied for repatriation; of naturalized persons of Japanese origin who had similarly applied and who had not revoked their applications prior to midnight on September 1, 1945; and of Canadian-born Japanese who wished to go to Japan and who did not renounce such intention before an order for their deportation was made. The first Order in Council ~~which I~~

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~~am tabling,~~ P.C.7355, simply provides that the Minister of Labour may ~~execute~~ carry out this policy. He is not ordered to have the persons deported, but he is given the power to arrange for their movement.

In all cases in which removal from Canada is to be effected, it is provided that the persons involved shall be able to take out their personal property and all cash and other movable assets, and that they shall be able to sell or otherwise dispose of their real property or of anything else they do not wish to take with them. In addition, they are to be assured minimum liquid assets to assist in their re-settlement to the extent of $200. for each adult ordered deported, and $50. for each dependent. In cases where the person going to Japan has a certain amount of cash, but less than $200. plus $50. for each dependent, he will be advanced the difference in order to bring his cash assets up to the minimum I have mentioned. In those cases where the persons to whom cash is advanced have assets with the Custodian, the Minister will recover his advances out of such assets.

The ~~remainder~~ other clauses of the Order simply provide the necessary administrative machinery to carry out the terms of the Order.

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The second Order in Council [redacted], P.C.7356, provides for the removal of British and Canadian status from any naturalized persons who now leave Canada for residence in Japan, or are deported from Canada pursuant to applications made and orders issued under P.C.7355. It has, of course, no application to Japanese nationals, nor does it apply to persons born in Canada. Its application is only to persons naturalized in Canada who have expressed a wish to go to Japan and who have not, as I have said, revoked this application, and also to naturalized persons who come under the third order which I shall now describe.

The third Order in Council [redacted] is P.C.7357. Honourable Members will recall that, in my statement to the House on August 4, 1944, I said that the government intended to establish a "quasi-judicial commission" to investigate the loyalty of certain of the Japanese in Canada "to ascertain those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here". The time has now come when this Commission should be appointed. We now know with certainty that some persons do not wish to remain here. There is no object in examining them. There are, however, among the Japanese nationals and naturalized Japanese who wish to remain, a number whose behavior casts doubt upon their loyalty and before deciding

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what should be done about them, it is ~~desired~~ to have a full and fair examination of their cases. Some of these are persons who were interned during the war and whose conduct in wartime has been such as to raise question as to whether they should not be deported in the national interest.

In general, the Order in Council provides that the Governor in Council shall appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into the loyalty of "Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the Commission by the Minister of Labour." It will be noted from this that the Commission will examine only Japanese nationals and naturalized persons. It will not examine any persons born in Canada. It will, moreover, have the power, where recommended by the Minister of Labour, to examine the cases of naturalized Japanese who applied to be sent to Japan and who did not renounce such application prior to midnight on September 1, 1945.

The Commission will, where it deems fit after examination, have the power to recommend deportation. In such cases, any Japanese national or naturalized Japanese who is ordered deported will be deemed to come within the terms of the two Orders in Council ~~I have now tabled~~ previously mentioned. ~~That is,~~ The conditions with regard to property and minimum assets

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will apply and, in the case of naturalized persons, they will be divested of their British and Canadian status as of the time they leave this country.

The problem of dealing with the question of the Japanese is difficult in the extreme. In its solution, the government is endeavouring to avoid unnecessary hardship. The Orders that have been passed involve no change in principle from the general provisions that already exist under our statute law. The Immigration Act contains provisions for the deportation of "enemy aliens or persons who have been alien enemies" in certain case. In general, the deportation of certain "prohibited classes" is a recognized principle. The Naturalization Act similarly recognizes the principle of revocation of the status of a naturalized person who has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal. The circumstances of war and the peculiar character of the present problem require more expeditious and broader action than the present statutes allow. But the Orders that have been passed to permit effective action raise no new principles, nor do they depart from any established principles.

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REFERENCE ROOM
Prime Minister's Office

CALL FOR A NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: THE PROBLEM OF PRICES

ADDRESS

by

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister and Leader of the
Liberal Party of Canada

on the occasion of

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

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THE CHATEAU LAURIER, OTTAWA,

JANUARY 20, 1948

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CALL FOR A NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION

ADDRESS BY

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

On the occasion of

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

OTTAWA, JANUARY 20, 1948

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

I: THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

MR. KING SAID:

Let me speak first of the international situation.

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

The Menace of World Domination

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

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

Signs of the New Tyranny

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

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

The Supreme Task of Liberalism — Defence of Freedom

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

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

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

The Appeal of Communism

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

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

Opposition to Communism must be Positive

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

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Liberalism's foremost aim

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

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II: THE PROBLEM OF RISING PRICES

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

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

Rising prices a world-wide phenomenon

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

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

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

Liberal policy on prices

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

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

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

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

Why no over-all price ceiling

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

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

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

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

Peacetime objective — expansion of production

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

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

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

Desire of Labour and Agriculture to relax wartime controls

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

Why not merely control food prices?

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

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

Why not subsidies?

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

Reasons for increased prices

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

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

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

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

Public outcry against rising prices

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

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

Cure for profiteering

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

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

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

Interests of Community paramount

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

The need for Information

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

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

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

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

Investigation by Special Committee of House of Commons

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

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

Aim of Committee

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

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

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

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

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

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

No Panacea for Cure of Social Ills

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

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

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

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

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III: THE CALL FOR A CONVENTION

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

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

Previous Liberal Conventions

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

Reasons for Convention in Present Year — New Problems

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

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

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

The need for effective Party Organization

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

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

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

The Question of Party Leadership

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

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

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

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

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The Stress and Strain of Leadership

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

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

The length of Leadership

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

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

The decision to call a Convention

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

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

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

Selection of Party Leader should be by a Convention

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

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

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

Federation requested to arrange for Convention

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

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

Severance of Party Relationships not pleasing to contemplate

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

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

Many opportunities for service

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

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

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

Some glimpses of Public Life

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

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

Present Duty and Plans for the Future

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

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

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA

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POLITICS AND THE WAR

Address by

The Rt. Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

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Address by

The Rt. Honourable

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Prime Minister of Canada

to

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Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

On August the 8th, 1939, members of the Liberal party from all parts of Canada met in Toronto. The memories of that vast gathering are much in my thoughts tonight. It was the last occasion on which I had the privilege of meeting with other leaders and supporters of the party, at a social political gathering—a gathering which permitted of a review of the party's record in the past, of its present fortunes, and of its aims and cherished ambitions for the future.

Confidence of party towards its Leader during past quarter of a century.

I had just completed twenty years of leadership of the party, and the occasion was in part to commemorate that event. More than four years—the average life of a Parlia-

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ment—is a long time to be allowed to lapse between any kind of meeting between the leader of a political party, and those to whose confidence he is primarily indebted for the position of trust he enjoys. The intervening years have been years of war. They have permitted of only occasional contacts, and the briefest of contacts, with members of the party, other than immediate colleagues in the Cabinet. These circumstances considered, it is indeed surprising to find, in the numbers here assembled, a gathering no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago. It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war.

This continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal Party of Canada in my leadership of the party is something for which I am indeed profoundly grateful. I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters. That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight.

Whatever the future may have in store for you and for me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as the leader of my party for now—almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life.

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Confidence of people in Liberal Party during quarter of a century.

This loyalty and co-operation between the party and its leader has made possible yet another expression of confidence which I may be pardoned perhaps if I regard as even greater still. I so view it because it is not limited in any personal way, but is something which belongs to the Liberal party, to the principles which it has advocated, and to the policies to which it has sought to give effect. It is the confidence which, over the past quarter of a century, the people of our country have expressed in the Liberal Party, in the capacity of the party to sense the needs of the nation, and in the ability of Liberal administrations to govern in accordance with the will and wishes of the majority.

When, on August the 7th, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave the country the opportunity to say to which party it wished to entrust the administration of the nation's affairs. From that time to the present, with the exception of a little over five years out of the last twenty-two, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada. In the last two parliaments, the present administration has commanded a larger majority than that enjoyed by any government since Confederation. This is an expression of confidence which, also, I am anxious to acknowledge tonight. It is a debt which, on behalf of the Liberal Party of Canada, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude to the people of Canada. It is a record of which all present, and members of the party everywhere, may indeed be proud.

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Confidence in the administration continues.

Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation.

Parallel of political situation with that of 1940.

In 1939, the war had scarcely begun before we were told that our administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. We were told that a so-called national government, not a party government, was what the country required at a time of war. We were told that our war effort was not adequate. Of myself, it was said that, while I might be all right as a leader of the government, in times of peace, I was not the one to lead a government at a time of war. That was what our political opponents said. What did the Canadian peopie say? What was the national verdict when the appeal was made to the electorate in March of 1940? Not only was the government returned to office, but every member of the administration was re-elected. Nearly all or those who ran as National

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Government candidates were defeated. As leader of the party, I was given a following never before equalled in the Canadian House of Commons.

In the general elections of 1940, the issue was unmistakable. The people were asked to which of the political parties in Canada they wished to entrust the carrying out of Canada's war effort. The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government. From that day to this, the government has never lost sight of the mandate it was given by the people. As was our duty, we have centred our attention, first and foremost, on the winning of the war. In doing so we have sought as well to meet, from day to day, and from month to month those domestic problems to which the war has inevitably given rise. We have also endeavoured to look beyond into the future and to prepare to meet the many problems which will present themselves in the post-war period.

Canada's war effort magnificent.

I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificient. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country. Should this assertion be disputed, I would ask, not that the word of any public man in Canada be accepted, but that we seek the verdict of any of the allied nations. In particular, I would ask, what is the view held by the Chiefs of Staff of Great Britain and the United States who, but yesterday, were assembled in conference at Quebec? And, what is the opinion of those great men, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States, who today share in the supreme direction of the war?

It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the people of Canada; that it means nothing to the fathers and mothers who have seen their sons and daughters leave their homes in Canada to serve in all quarters of the globe; that it means nothing to the fighting forces themselves. Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have not lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

The winning of the war still the supreme task of government.

Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on the winning of the war. Their aims and their ambitions lie in other directions. They cannot, even yet, have grasped the significance of this war—that, among nations, it is a war of survival; that the free nations of the world are still opposed by the most powerful forces that have ever menaced the freedom of the human race; that it is a war that threatens all that is best in a civilization it has taken centuries to create. Those who say or believe that there is today any duty of government superior to the continued direction of the country's utmost effort in the winning of the war can have no appreciation of the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won.

If, as a government or as a party, we had failed in our supreme duty, we might today have reason to feel we were

no longer worthy of the trust we had accepted. If instead of devoting our time and thought and energies to the winning of the war, we had turned the minds of the people away from the concerted effort that is needed to win the war; if we had concerned ourselves with party politics, with those things which tend, not to unite, but to divide, and had sought to undermine the efforts of others, we might indeed have cause to feel not only that we no longer merited the confidence of the people of Canada, but that we had forfeited all right to that confidence at any time in the future. Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people do not know and understand all these things; that they do not comprehend where their own interests lie. Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country.

Cause of the commotion.

What then, may I ask, has occasioned all the commotion which has arisen in some political circles? The cause is not far to seek. On August the 4th, there was a provincial election in Ontario, and on August the 9th there were four federal by-elections. In the Ontario provincial contest, the government in office was defeated; in the federal by-elections, opposition candidates were returned.

By the parties opposed to the present government, an effort has since been made to link together the Ontario provincial elections and the four federal by-elections, and to attribute the results in all cases to dissatisfaction with policies of the federal administration.

On September 15th, following the provincial elections in Ontario, and the federal by-elections, there was another pro-

vincial election, this time in Prince Edward Island. What was the result? The Liberal Government of that province was returned to power by a majority of two to one over members of the Progressive-Conservative Party. The C.C.F. Party had entered candidates in the campaign. Not one of them was elected. Every one lost his deposit. During the elections it was repeatedly stated that Premier Jones of Prince Edward Island has been conferring with the administration at Ottawa. I have not noticed that members of the Progressive-Conservative party or of the C.C.F. have been telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal administration in Prince Edward Island is evidence of renewed endorsation, by the electors of Prince Edward Island of the policies of the Ottawa administration.

The Provincial Elections in Ontario.

It is not my intention, at this time, to hold an inquest into the causes of the defeat of the provincial government in Ontario, or of the defeat of government supporters in the recent federal by-elections. I do not mean, however, to allow either to pass unnoticed. All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years, just as, in Prince Edward Island, the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of that province of the manner in which their affairs had been administered. In each case, the electors expressed their opinion, not on federal issues, but on matters of provincial concern. In Ontario, they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration—that, however, was no fault of Harry Nixon's—in Prince Edward

Island, they made it equally apparent that they believed the provincial administration was deserving of a continuance of their confidence.

Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the Government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in Office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

The Gallup Poll.

In forming their estimate or circumstances which account for political results, there are many persons who attach considerable importance to the findings of the Gallup poll. I personally am not as yet prepared to substitute the responses to a Gallup poll, for my own judgment. Nor would those who conduct the Gallup poll expect this of any one. We must not ask more of the Gallup poll than it professes to provide. There are, however, many things on which it may help to throw considerable light. While not infallible, the Gallup poll has its uses. An estimate of factors which account for the outcome of the recent elections in Ontario is, I believe, a case in point. In a poll which was confined to the province of Ontario, one reason after another was given for the defeat of the Ontario administration, and for the votes received by the Progressive-Conservatives and the C.C.F. respectively. The most significant of all the findings was that in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration.

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As to the size of the vote actually polled in the provincial election by each of the three parties, that I believe is to be accounted for, in the main, by the effectiveness of their respective organizations.

The Federal By-elections—Party organization discontinued by Liberals.

Let me speak of the federal by-elections. Here one has has not to go far afield to find the explanation of why government candidates were not returned.

When the elections of 1940 were over, even the semblance of a federal Liberal party organization was discontinued. The party's offices were closed. No party literature was published or distributed. In constituencies in which there were by-elections, no attention was paid to local organization until within a few weeks of polling. Since the war began, as I have already reminded you tonight, no nation-wide meetings or conventions of the party have been held. So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise.

I am not saying at the moment whether, from the point of view of national interest, or of party interests, this course of action, or rather, I should say, lack of action, has been the wise or right one. I am merely stating the facts so far as party organization and the dissemination of information on the party's policies are concerned.

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Had the other political parties followed the same course, I should, at the moment, have nothing further to say on this point. But what, in fact, has been the course pursued by the other parties?

Party Organization and tactics of the Conservative Party

Let me speak first of the Conservative party,—now called the Progressive-Conservative party. I must be pardoned if I occasionally fail to use its latest name. During the years I have been in Parliament, that party has had a long succession of names and leaders. The elections of 1940 were scarcely over before the storm signals of party controversy began to make their appearance on the benches of the official opposition in parliament and throughout the country. In their secret conclaves, the Conservative party—it was not Progressive-Conservative then—began to organize a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing its forces, and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority. Throughout 1941, the issue of conscription for overseas service was forced to the fore, and talk of a national government to enforce conscription was revived. In July and August of that year, the then leader of the Conservative opposition, with members of his party, made a tour of western Canada for the purpose, amongst other things, of seeing that constituencies were properly organized. In November of 1941, a meeting of Conservatives in Ottawa chose a new leader for the Conservative party. No longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the government in its war effort, but instead out-and-out opposition to the administra-

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tion on the floor of the House of Commons. That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February 1942. A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to another, and vastly impaired Canada's war effort, was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament. It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time, if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary. Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time, when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas, the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere. The same has been true with respect to the transportation of available supplies of munitions.

In September of last year, at a meeting held at Port Hope, the Conservative party made a fresh start at political organization. That meeting was followed by a National Convention at Winnipeg in December, at which time the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies. From that day to this, the Progressive-Conservative party has been most active in publicising its new leader, in building up its organization at headquarters in Ottawa, and throughout Canada in the different constituencies.

It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, has made cooperation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective. Because of his position as leader of the party which constitutes the official opposition in parliament, Mr. Bracken, throughout the past session, should have been the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Commons. Instead, he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Pro-

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gressive-Conservative party, and of himself as its leader. The party, at the same time, has retained the services of organizers, whose whole time is being given to the work of party organization aud publicity.

I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs. All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda, in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite to that followed by the government and its supporters.

Party organization and tactics of The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. Members of that party, during all the years of war, have steadily built up their party organization. They have, throughout, maintained offices for the publication and dissemination of party literature. They have had annual or semi-annual meetings of their National Council. In the summer of last year, they held a largely attended National Convention. They have been indefatigable in the work of political propaganda.

The propaganda of the C.C.F. has been very subtle. Today, that party professes its desires for an all-out war effort. I do not need to remind you of their attitute in 1939. In those days, the C.C.F. stood for a stay-at-home war effort. But while, in very general terms, they talk today about a total effort, when it comes to supporting the measures needed to achieve an utmost effort, their actions fail to measure up to their words.

The C.C.F. would have the people believe that they are the sole champions of the interests of Labour and of the poor and the depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization. They tell the people that the C.C.F. policy is based on the policy of the New Zealand government and they speak of the lot of Labour in Australia. But they don't say that New Zealand has adopted the same system of price and wage control as Canada, and that Australia has also done the same.

C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience and hardship. They talk as though the people at home are entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices which the men at the front are being called upon to endure? How many times have you heard them say that all must be prepared to bear increasing burdens, if this war is to be brought to an end before the destruction of the youth of Canada has reached devastating proportions!

The C.C.F. have been boring into the Labour organizations of the country, that through the medium of organized Labour they may further their political ambitions and aims. They are doing their utmost to make Labour believe that the present administration is hostile to labour. They have thus been making more difficult—one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and Labour, and confidence and co-operation between all classes. They have not been content

to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labour become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim, and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end. The leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labour have already announced their acceptance of this alliance. To strengthen this very questionable alliance while the war is on, the C.C.F. have been taking advantage of every irritation and grievance it is possible for them to exploit. The very controls which, in war-time, are necessary to protect Labour, in common with the entire community, are cited as evidence of the government's hostility.

The C.C.F. appeal to Labour is coupled with deceptive propaganda about profiteering by wealthy interests. No war-time government in any country, in this, or in any other war, has adopted a more complete programme to prevent profiteering than has the present government. And no government has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

No one could object to a political party in opposition advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own programme, even in wartime. That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war.

A Word to Labour.

Let me say to Labour that, for some years before 1900, when I entered the public service to undertake the organization of a Federal Department of Labour, and became the Deputy Minister of that department, and, later, in 1909, its Minister and in all the years that have since intervened, I have watched,

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with an interest, second to none in my life, the steady advance of Labour into a fuller recognition of its rights and dignity. I have been interested in its struggle for economic freedom because I believe Labour represents, in its aims and aspirations, the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity, against want and misery—the one fight surely, that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellowmen. But, I have yet to see an alliance made by Labour with any political party, or Labour itself become a political party, seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to Labour and to the country.

Labour needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. The claims of Humanity are superior to those of Industry; they are superior to the special claims of either Capital or Labour. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today. That is as true of political parties, as of the parties to Industry. Political parties will only survive as they seek to serve the general, not the particular interest, and are broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all conditions of economic circumstance, and of all walks of life.

Let Labour remember that it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war. Its own struggle is reflected on a world scale in this titanic conflict between the forces of tyranny and those of freedom. The battle

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which is being fought out with such appalling suffering and terrible destruction of human life in every quarter of the globe today is nothing so limited as a struggle between individual nations, or between peoples of different origins or race or colour. It is a struggle to decide whether the general interest of mankind is to be superior to all special interests, be the special interest the military might of Germany or Japan; or the special interest of Nazi, Fascist, or some other form of single political control.

The Bloc Populaire Canadien and other minor parties.

There is a third opposition group of which I should now like to speak. It is the most recent and for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived. I refer to the so-called Bloc Populaire Canadien. Its self-appointed leaders who are a small group of malcontents are indifferent to the good name of Canada, and to the security of Canada. They pretend that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war. The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non". That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences

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and stirring racial animosities. This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of the government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early. I am perfectly certain that any appreciable numbers of the population of that province will not allow themselves to be misled by these false prophets. They have already been denounced by the overwhelming majority of the members of parliament from Quebec. But let there be no mistake about it, the poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously, by all who believe in the unity and the destiny of Canada as a great and free nation.

I shall not take time to refer to other parties such as the Social Credit Party, which is shrinking rapidly, and the most recent of all, the latest Progressive party—the Labour-Progressive party. The existence of these minor parties does, however, point to a danger which threatens the effective working of our Parliamentary democracy. It is the tendency to multiply parties and groups. The fate of unhappy France should be a terrible warning against this trend. It constitutes a national peril.

I have said enough to let you see how I account for the defeat of government candidates in the recent by-elections.

Undermining forces at work.

I do not think anyone can say that, from the beginning of the war, I have failed to keep before the people of Canada the appalling seriousness of the world situation and the magnitude of the conflict itself. I can truthfully say that I have done all that lies within my power to avoid and to

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discourage unnecessary political controversy at this time of war, and to keep Canada united. No one can accuse the government of not having concentrated its energies upon the winning of the war, and upon making Canada's war effort just as effective as it could be made. But while the government has been giving its time and attention, all but exclusively, to the promotion of Canada's war effort, and to the solution of the problems which arise from day to day out of the war, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course. Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war, they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations, disseminating their party propaganda and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restrictions of any kind. For the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue.

The question of a general Election

At Toronto, on Saturday the 18th instant, at a dinner which opened the four day conference of the Ontario Council of the C.C.F. Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a signpost of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes,—that may be any time now,—Ontario will decide the issue." Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick

election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before". So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

It must be evident that, for Canada's armed forces abroad, the present year and whatever period may follow represent, if not the middle of the stream of war, certainly its most turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different from the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that, to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration. Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada, be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, in the elections they have held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor General to grant an

immediate dissolution of Parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be. Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government, found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have. At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Canada's fighting men must be her first concern.

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the West. On the East, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before Parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces of freedom had the initiative.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of Parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before Parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approach-

ing Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections, should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved Accordingly, I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:—

> "While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

> "Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of Parliament's adjournment on July 24th, that I felt any

question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

Circumstances governing the date of an election.

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as Mr. Churchill told the British House of Commons the other day, the bloodiest fighting is still to come. Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one. But a general election may, nonetheless, prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over.

First of all, there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, It will be necessary, regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

Apart from the constitutional limitation, circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion

of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the Government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarrented and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention, and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country.

Possible difficulties in parliament.

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the Opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties—the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been added a miscellaneous group composed of members of The Bloc Populaire, so-called Independents, and Labour Progressives—all of which have ambitions of their own. At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors, or in criticizing the administration. Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more, could, if desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the

government policies as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on. Such a situation would be bad enough at any time. It would be an impossible situation for an administration charged with the responsibility of governing at a time of war. An experience of the kind would leave the government no alternative but a dissolution.

There is another possibility which might arise. It is that even within the government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile. In such a situation the only solution would be the verdict of the people themselves. Personally, I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring. But it is a possibility which, with the problems of government what they have become after four years of war, and in an atmosphere of strain and tension such as war engenders, no leader of a government can afford to overlook.

To all this must be added, in considering the date of a possible election, happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary, a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Support of fighting men the first consideration in deciding upon elections.

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-importan as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back, to their own homeland, those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the

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ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time, I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision.

We owe it to our fighting men to ensure, by our united support, the success of their arms. We owe this no less to the memory of those men who at sea, on land and in the air already have given their lives; and to those also who have given their strength or their liberty that we may continue to enjoy the freedom we have, and to provide for others a larger freedom than most men have yet enjoyed. This can, I believe, be realized if, until victory is achieved, our fighting men command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds and the utmost that our country can give in their support.

The Task of Liberalism

Fellow members of the Liberal Party of Canada:

In my opening remarks, this evening, I referred to that memorable gathering of our Party which was held in Toronto on August 8th, 1939. In my address on that occasion, I concluded with the following words:

> "Liberalism began with a struggle to extend and to defend freedom. Its work through the years has been to continue the effort to extend and to defend freedom. In the past, in Canada, that effort has been primarily in relation to freedom within our own country. So far as the future is concerned, we, as Liberals, if we be true to our cause, will seek to extend and defend freedom, not only for ourselves in our own land, but will be prepared

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> to do so, as circumstances may determine, in the interests of mankind."

In those words, I was telling the people of Canada, no less than the members of my own party, that I believed the country was already under the shadow of war and that when war came, it would menace the freedom of all men.

Looking back, tonight, over four years of war, we may all feel the deepest satisfaction that Liberalism in Canada has been true to its fundamental principle—the defence of freedom. The task of Liberalism will not be finished when the war is won. That great moment will but mark a place of new beginning. In its defence of freedom, the future of the Liberal Party will not be found in defending the privileges of the few, or in arousing the prejudices of the many. It will be found in serving the whole community, and in promoting the security and freedom of all the people. In meeting the problems of the post-war period, the task of Liberalism will remain the preservation and the extension of freedom.

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Statement regarding Persons of Japanese origin in Canada by the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King

D 65720

Concerning the Japanese.

I wish to table three Orders in Council, P.C.7355, P.C.7356, and P.C.7357 of December 15th, all of which have been passed under the War Measures Act to carry out the policy announced by the government with respect to Japanese people in Canada on August 4, 1944, and November 21, 1945. It will assist in understanding these Orders if I give a brief explanation of their purpose and effect.

The general outline of the government's policy with regard to the Japanese was given in my statement of August 4, 1944, to which I have referred. As a first measure in its implementation, the government sought to determine which of the Japanese now in Canada did not wish to remain here after the war. On November 21, the Minister of Labour referred to the number of applications that had been received for movement to Japan. The Minister announced that the government intended to order the removal from Canada of Japanese nationals who had applied for repatriation; of naturalized persons of Japanese origin who had similarly applied and who had not revoked their applications prior to midnight on September 1, 1945; and of Canadian-born Japanese who wished to go to Japan and who did not renounce such intention before an order for their deportation was made. The first Order in Council which I

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em tables, P.C.7355, simply provides that the Minister of Labour may carry out this policy. He is not ordered to have the persons deported, but he is given the power to arrange for their movement.

In all cases in which removal from Canada is to be effected, it is provided that the persons involved shall be able to take out their personal property and all cash and other movable assets, and that they shall be able to sell or otherwise dispose of their real property or of anything else they do not wish to take with them. In addition, they are to be assured minimum liquid assets to assist in their re-settlement to the extent of $200. for each adult ordered deported, and $50. for each dependent. In cases where the person going to Japan has a certain amount of cash, but less than $200. plus $50. for each dependent, he will be advanced the difference in order to bring his cash assets up to the minimum I have mentioned. In those cases where the persons to whom cash is advanced have assets with the Custodian, the Minister will recover his advances out of such assets.

The remainder of the Order simply provides the necessary administrative machinery to carry out the terms of the Order.

The second Order in Council [redacted], P.C.7356, provides for the removal of British and Canadian status from any naturalized persons who now leave Canada for residence in Japan, or are deported from Canada pursuant to applications made and orders issued under P.C.7355. It has, of course, no application to Japanese nationals, nor does it apply to persons born in Canada. It's application is only to persons naturalized in Canada who have expressed a wish to go to Japan and who have not, as I have said, revoked this application, and also to naturalized persons who come under the third order which I shall describe.

The third Order in Council [redacted] is P.C.7357. Honourable Members will recall that, in my statement to the House on August 4, 1944, I said that the government intended to establish a "quasi-judicial commission" to investigate the loyalty of certain of the Japanese in Canada "to ascertain those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here". The time has now come when this Commission should be appointed. We now know with certainty that some persons do not wish to remain here. There is no object in examining them. There are, however, among the Japanese nationals and naturalized Japanese who wish to remain, a number whose behavior casts doubt upon their loyalty and before deciding

what should be done about them, it is proposed to have a full and fair examination of their cases. Some of these are persons who were interned during the war and whose conduct in wartime has been such as to raise question as to whether they should not be deported in the national interest.

In general, the Order in Council provides that the Governor in Council shall appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into the loyalty of "Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the Commission by the Minister of Labour." It will be noted from this that the Commission will examine only Japanese nationals and naturalized persons. It will not examine any persons born in Canada. It will, moreover, have the power, where recommended by the Minister of Labour, to examine the cases of naturalized Japanese who applied to be sent to Japan and who did not renounce such application prior to midnight on September 1, 1945.

The Commission will, where it deems fit after examination, have the power to recommend deportation. In such cases, any Japanese national or naturalized Japanese who is ordered deported will be deemed to come within the terms of the two Orders in Council previously mentioned. That is the conditions with regard to property and minimum assets

will apply and, in the case of naturalized persons, they will be divested of their British and Canadian status as of the time they leave this country.

The problem of dealing with the question of the Japanese is difficult in the extreme, and even with the measures that have now been decided upon the end of it has by no means been reached. It may be too, that the solution of this problem will prove, as it already inevitably has caused, hardship for certain individuals. But so far as possible the government is endeavouring to mitigate and avoid unnecessary hardship. On the whole, I think that the measures that are being taken are fair in the difficult circumstances of the case. The Orders that have been passed involve no change in principle from the general provisions that already exist under our statute law. The Immigration Act contains provisions for the deportation of "enemy aliens or persons who have been alien enemies" in certain cases. In general, the deportation of certain "prohibited classes" is a recognized principle. The Naturalization Act similarly recognizes the principle of revocation of the status of a naturalized person who has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal. The circumstances of war and the peculiar character of the

present problem require more expediti ousand broader action than the present statutes allow. But the Orders that have be en passed to permit effective action raise no new principles, nor do they depart from any established principles. I hope that these measures may go a long way towards the solution of this difficult problem. A major part of it that will remain is a problem, not for this government alone, but for the provinces, the municipalities, and the people of Canada - to show that they can give the persons of Japanese origin who will be remaining here the chance for a peaceful and happy existence in our midst.

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Statement regarding Persons of
Japanese origin in Canada by
The Prime Minister, Rt.Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King,
House of Commons,
December 17,1945.

I wish to table three Orders in Council, P.C. 7355, P.C. 7356, and P.C. 7357 of December 15th, all of which have been passed under the War Measures Act to carry out the policy announced on August 4, 1944, and November 21, 1945, by the government with respect to Japanese people in Canada. It will, I believe, assist in understanding these orders if I give a brief explanation of their purpose and effect.

The general outline of the government's policy with regard to the Japanese was given in my statement of August 4, 1944, to which I have referred. As a first measure in its implementation, the government sought to determine which of the Japanese now in Canada did not wish to remain here after the war. On November 21, the Minister of Labour referred to the number of applications that had been received for movement to Japan. The Minister announced that the government intended to order the removal from Canada of Japanese nationals who had applied for repatriation; of naturalized persons of Japanese origin who had similarly applied and who had not revoked their applications prior to midnight on September 1, 1945; and of Canadian-born Japanese who wished to go to Japan and who did not renounce such intention before an order for their deportation was made. The first Order in Council

P.C.7355, simply provides that the Minister of Labour may carry out this policy. He is not ordered to have the persons deported, but he is given the power to arrange for their movement.

In all cases in which removal from Canada is to be effected, it is provided that the persons involved shall be able to take out their personal property and all cash and other movable assets, and that they shall be able to sell or otherwise dispose of their real property or of anything else they do not wish to take with them. In addition, they are to be assured minimum liquid assets to assist in their resettlement to the extent of $200. for each adult ordered deported, and $50. for each dependent. In cases where the person going to Japan has a certain amount of cash, but less than $200. plus $50 for each dependent, he will be advanced the difference in order to bring his cash assets up to the minimum I have mentioned. In those cases where the persons to whom cash is advanced have assets with the Custodian, the Minister will recover his advances out of such assets.

The other clauses of the Order simply provide the necessary administrative machinery to carry out the terms of the Order.

The second Order in Council, P.C.7356, provides for

the removal of British and Canadian status from any naturalized persons who now leave Canada for residence in Japan, or are deported from Canada pursuant to applications made and orders issued under P.C.7355. It has, of course, no application to Japanese nationals, nor does it apply to persons born in Canada. Its application is only to persons naturalized in Canada who have expressed a wish to go to Japan and who have not, as I have said, revoked this application, and also to naturalized persons who come under the third order which I shall now describe.

The third Order in Council, is P.C.7357. Honourable Members will recall that, in my statement to the House on August 4, 1944, I said that the government intended to establish a "quasi-judicial commission" to investigate the loyalty of certain of the Japanese in Canada "to ascertain those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here". The time has now come when this Commission should be appointed. We now know with certainty that some persons do not wish to remain here. There is no object in examining them. There are, however, among the Japanese nationals and naturalized Japanese who wish to remain, a number whose behavior casts doubt upon their loyalty and before deciding what should be done about them, it is proposed to have a

full and fair examination of their cases. Some of these are persons who were interned during the war and whose conduct in wartime has been such as to raise question as to whether in the national interest they should not be deported.

In general, the Order in Council provides that the Governor in Council shall appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into the loyalty of "Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the Commission by the Minister of Labour". It will be noted from this that the Commission will examine only Japanese nationals and naturalized persons. It will not examine any persons born in Canada. It will, moreover, have the power, where recommended by the Minister of Labour, to examine the cases of naturalized Japanese who applied to be sent to Japan and who did not renounce such application prior to midnight on September 1, 1945.

The Commission will, where it deems fit after examination, have the power to recommend deportation. In such cases, any Japanese national or naturalized Japanese who is ordered deported will be deemed to come within the terms of the two Orders in Council previously mentioned. The conditions with regard to property and minimum assets will apply and, in the case of naturalized persons, they will be divested of their

British and Canadian status as of the time they leave this country.

The problem of dealing with the question of the Japanese is difficult in the extreme. In its solution, the government is endeavouring to avoid unnecessary hardship. The Orders that have been passed involve no change in principle from the general provisions that already exist under our statute law. The Immigration Act contains provisions for the deportation of "enemy aliens or persons who have been alien enemies" in certain cases. In general, the deportation of certain "prohibited classes" is a recognized principle. The Naturalization Act similarly recognizes the principle of revocation of the status of a naturalized person who has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal. The circumstances of war and the peculiar character of the present problem require more expeditious and broader action than the present statutes allow. But the Orders that have been passed to permit effective action raise no new principles, nor do they depart from any established principles.

Order in Council re deportation of Japanese. D 63731

P.C. 7355.

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS during the course of the war with Japan certain Japanese nationals manifested their sympathy with or support of Japan by making requests for repatriation to Japan and otherwise;

AND WHEREAS other persons of the Japanese race have requested or may request that they be sent to Japan;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed desirable that provisions be made to deport the classes of persons referred to above;

AND WHEREAS it is considered necessary by reason of the war, for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada, that provision be made accordingly;

NOW, THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Labour, concurred in by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to make and doth hereby make the following Order,-

- O R D E R -

1. In this Order, unless the context otherwise requires:

(a) "deportation" means the removal pursuant to the authority of this Order of any person from any place in Canada to a place outside Canada;

(b) "deported" means removed or sent from Canada pursuant to the authority of this Order;

(c) "Minister" means the Minister of Labour;

(d) "request for repatriation" means a written request or statement of desire, to be repatriated or sent to Japan.

2./

2. (1) Every person of sixteen years of age or over, other than a Canadian national, who is a national of Japan resident in Canada and who,

(a) has, since the date of declaration of war by the Government of Canada against Japan, on December 8th, 1941, made a request for repatriation; or

(b) has been in detention at any place in virtue of an order made pursuant to the provisions of the Defence of Canada Regulations or of Order in Council P.C. 946, of the 5th day of February, 1943, as amended by P.C. 5637, of the 16th day of August, 1945, and was so detained as at midnight of September 1st, 1945;

may be deported to Japan.

(2) Every naturalized British subject of the Japanese race of sixteen years of age or over resident in Canada who has made a request for repatriation may be deported to Japan: Provided that such person has not revoked in writing such request prior to midnight the first day of September, 1945.

(3) Every natural born British subject of the Japanese race of sixteen years of age or over resident in Canada who has made a request for repatriation may be deported to Japan; Provided that such person has not revoked in writing such request prior to the making by the Minister of an order for deportation.

(4) The wife and children under sixteen years of age of any person for whom the Minister makes an order for deportation to Japan may be included in such order and deported with such person.

3. Subject to the provisions of section 2 of this Order, a request for repatriation shall be deemed final and irrevocable for the purpose of this Order or any action taken thereunder.

4. The Minister may

(a) make orders for the deportation of any persons subject to deportation;
(b) take such measures as he deems advisable to provide or arrange for the deportation of such persons, and for their transportation, detention, discipline, feeding, shelter, health or welfare, pending their deportation;
(c) make such orders, rules or regulations as he deems necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Order;
(d) subject to the approval of the Governor in Council, employ such officers and other employees as are necessary to assist him in carrying out this Order and fix their remuneration;
(e) authorize from time to time any person to exercise on his behalf any power vested in him under paragraph (b) of this section.

5. An order for deportation made by the Minister shall be in force and effect from the date of the order.

.....

6. (1) Any person for whom an order for deportation is made or who, having made a request for repatriation, is proceeding to Japan without the issue of such an order, shall be entitled, in so far as circumstances at the time permit

(a) at or immediately prior to the time of his deportation from Canada, to purchase suitable foreign exchange to the extent of any money in his possession or standing to his credit in Canada or advanced to him by the Minister pursuant to section seven and to take such foreign exchange out of Canada with him;
(b) to deposit any money in his possession or standing to his credit in Canada with the Custodian of Enemy Property, who shall provide such person with a receipt therefor and purchase foreign exchange therewith, and transfer the same, less transfer charges, to such person whenever reasonably possible following upon his deportation;
(c) at the time of his deportation to take with him such other personal property belonging to him as may be authorized by the Minister;

and the Foreign Exchange Control Board shall do such things and issue such permits as may be required to implement these provisions.

(2) Where real or personal property of a person who has been deported to Japan or who, having made a request for repatriation, has proceeded to Japan without the issue of an order for deportation, has not been sold or otherwise disposed of prior to departure such real and personal property shall, as of the date of dpportation of such person, be vested in the Custodian of Enemy Property, who shall sell the same as soon as in his opinion it is reasonably practicable to do so, and in the meantime he may take such measures as he deems proper for the care, maintenance and safeguarding of such property, and the net proceeds realized from such sale, after the deduction of reasonable charges of handling shall be placed to the credit of such person and dealt with as provided in paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of this section.

7. (1) The Minister may at or immediately prior to the time of departure advance to or for a person who is being deported to Japan or who, having made a request for repatriation, is proceeding to Japan without the issue of an order for deportation, an amount in suitable foreign exchange equivalent to the following:

(a) Where such person is sixteen years of age or over and does not possess at least two hundred dollars, the difference between the amount he possesses and two hundred dollars which shall be paid to such person;

(b) Where such person has one or more dependents under sixteen years of age and does not possess at least two hundred dollars together with a further amount computed on the basis of fifty dollars for each such dependent, the difference between the amount he possesses and the total of two hundred dollars and the amount so computed, to be paid to such person.

(2) Any amount advanced as provided for in subsection (1) of this section shall be recoverable from the person to whom it is paid, from any money to the credit of such person with the Custodian of Enemy Property.

. . .

.....

8. (1) The Minister may make arrangements with any department or agency of the Government of Canada to assist him in carrying out the provisions of this Order.

(2) The Department of National Defence shall provide any military guard personnel which may be required in carrying out the provisions of this Order.

(3) The Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police shall give all assistance which may be required of him by the Minister in the carrying out of the provisions of this Order.

9. Any person for whom an order for deportation is made and who is detained pending deportation or who is placed under restraint in the course of deportation by virtue of any order or measure made or taken under Section 4 of this Order shall, while so detained or restrained, be deemed to be in legal custody.

10. Any person who resists or obstructs or attempts to resist of obstruct any peace officer or other person from carrying out his duties with respect to any order made pursuant to the provisions of this Order shall be guilty of an offence against this Order.

11. Any person who contravenes or omits to comply with any of the provisions of this Order or any order made or given pursuant thereto is guilty of an offence and liable upon summary conviction to a fine not exceeding Five Hundred Dollars or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

12. Every document purporting to be or to contain or to be a copy of an order, certificate or authority made or given by the Minister in pursuance of the provisions of this Order and purporting to be signed by the Minister shall be received as evidence of such order, certificate or authority without proof of the signature or of the official character of the person appearing to have signed the same and without further proof thereof.

GENERAL

13. The costs involved in the administration of this Order shall be paid from the amounts allotted from the war appropriation to the Department of Labour for Japanese administration.

A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

D 63735

Order in Council revoking naturalization of persons deported in pursuance of Order in Council P.C. 7355, 15th December, 1945.

P.C. 7356

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS by Order in Council P.C. 7355 of 15th December, 1945, provision is made for the deportation of persons who, during the course of the war, have requested to be removed or sent to an enemy country or otherwise manifested their sympathy with or support of the enemy powers and have by such actions shown themselves to be unfit for permanent residence in Canada;

THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State (concurred in by the Secretary of State for External Affairs) and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. Any person who, being a British subject by naturalization under the Naturalization Act, Chapter 138, R.S.C. 1927, is deported from Canada under the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of 15th December, 1945, shall, as and from the date upon which he leaves Canada in the course of such deportation, cease to be either a British subject or a Canadian national.

2. The Secretary of State shall publish in the Canada Gazette the names of all persons who have ceased to be British subjects or Canadian nationals by virtue of this Order.

A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

Order in Council re Commission to inquire into conduct during the war of persons of the Japanese race, etc.

P.C. 7357

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS during the war particular measures with regard to persons of the Japanese race in Canada were made necessary by reason of their concentration along the Pacific coast of Canada;

AND WHEREAS experiance during the war in the administration of Order in Council P.C. 946 of February 5, 1943, providing for the control of persons of the Japanese race has indicated the desirability of determining whether the conduct of such Japanese persons in time of war was such as to make the deportation of any of them desirable in the national interest;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed advisable to make provision for the appointment of a Commission to institute the investigation referred to above;

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. A Commission consisting of three persons shall be appointed to make inquiry concerning the activities, loyalty and the extent of co-operation with the Government of Canada during the war of Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the Commission by the Minister of Labour for investigation with a view to recommending whether in the circumstances of any such case such person should be deported.

2. Notwithstanding anything contained in the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of the 15th day of December, 1945, the Commission may, at the request of the Minister of Labour, inquire into the case of any naturalized British subject of the Japanese race who has made a request for repatriation and which request is final under the said Order in Council and may make such recommendations with respect to such case as it deems advisable.

3./

3. The Commission shall report to the Governor in Council.

4. Any person of the Japanese race who is recommended by the Commission for deportation shall be deemed to be a person subject to deportation under the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of the 15th day of December, 1945, and the provisions thereof shall apply, mutatis mutandis, to such person.

5. Where any person is recommended for deportation pursuant to this Order he shall, as and from the date on which he leaves Canada in the course of such deportation, cease to be either a British subject or a Canadian national.

6. The Commission shall, for the purpose of all inquiries and investigations made pursuant to this Order, have all the powers and authority of Commissioners appointed under Part One of the Inquiries Act.

7. The Commission is authorized to engage the services of such clerks, reporters, assistants and counsel as they deem advisable to aid and assist in the performance of their duties.

8. The Commissioners shall be paid such remuneration, allowances and expenses as the Governor in Council may fix.

9. All expenses incurred in connection with the inquiries and investigation of the Commission pursuant to this Order, including the remuneration, allowances and expenses of the commissioners, shall be paid from amounts allowed from the War Appropriation to the Department of Labour for such purpose.

A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

D 63738

Statement regarding 'Persons of Japanese origin in Canada by The Prime Minister, Rt.Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King, House of Commons, December 17,1945.

I wish to table three Orders in Council, P.C. 7355, P.C. 7356, and P.C. 7357 of December 15th, all of which have been passed under the War Measures Act to carry out the policy announced on August 4, 1944, and November 21, 1945, by the government with respect to Japanese people in Canada. It will, I believe, assist in understanding these orders if I give a brief explanation of their purpose and effect.

The general outline of the government's policy with regard to the Japanese was given in my statement of August 4, 1944, to which I have referred. As a first measure in its implementation, the government sought to determine which of the Japanese now in Canada did not wish to remain here after the war. On November 21, the Minister of Labour referred to the number of applications that had been received for movement to Japan. The Minister announced that the government intended to order the removal from Canada of Japanese nationals who had applied for repatriation; of naturalized persons of Japanese origin who had similarly applied and who had not revoked their applications prior to midnight on September 1, 1945; and of Canadian-born Japanese who wished to go to Japan and who did not renounce such intention before an order for their deportation was made. The first Order in Council

P.C.7355, simply provides that the Minister of Labour may carry out this policy. He is not ordered to have the persons deported, but he is given the power to arrange for their movement.

In all cases in which removal from Canada is to be effected, it is provided that the persons involved shall be able to take out their personal property and all cash and other movable assets, and that they shall be able to sell or otherwise dispose of their real property or of anything else they do not wish to take with them. In addition, they are to be assured minimum liquid assets to assist in their resettlement to the extent of $200. for each adult ordered deported, and $50, for each dependent. In cases where the person going to Japan has a certain amount of cash, but less than $200. plus $50 for each dependent, he will be advanced the difference in order to bring his cash assets up to the minimum I have mentioned. In those cases where the persons to whom cash is advanced have assets with the Custodian, the Minister will recover his advances out of such assets.

The other clauses of the Order simply provide the necessary administrative machinery to carry out the terms of the Order.

The second Order in Council, P.C.7356, provides for

the removal of British and Canadian status from any D 63740 naturalized persons who now leave Canada for residence in Japan, or are deported from Canada pursuant to applications made and orders issued under P.C.7355. It has, of course, no application to Japanese nationals, nor does it apply to persons born in Canada. Its application is only to persons naturalized in Canada who have expressed a wish to go to Japan and who have not, as I have said, revoked this application, and also to naturalized persons who come under the third order which I shall now describe.

The third Order in Council, is P.C.7357. Honourable Members will recall that, in my statement to the House on August 4, 1944, I said that the government intended to establish a "quasi-judicial commission" to investigate the loyalty of certain of the Japanese in Canada "to ascertain those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here". The time has now come when this Commission should be appointed. We now know with certainty that some persons do not wish to remain here. There is no object in examining them. There are, however, among the Japanese nationals and naturalized Japanese who wish to remain, a number whose behavior casts doubt upon their loyalty and before deciding what should be done about them, it is proposed to have a

full and fair examination of their cases. Some of these are persons who were interned during the war and whose conduct in wartime has been such as to raise question as to whether in the national interest they should not be deported.

In general, the Order in Council provides that the Governor in Council shall appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into the loyalty of "Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the Commission by the Minister of Labour". It will be noted from this that the Commission will examine only Japanese nationals and naturalized persons. It will not examine any persons born in Canada. It will, moreover, have the power, where recommended by the Minister of Labour, to examine the cases of naturalized Japanese who applied to be sent to Japan and who did not renounce such application prior to midnight on September 1, 1946.

The Commission will, where it deems fit after examination, have the power to recommend deportation. In such cases, any Japanese national or naturalized Japanese who is ordered deported will be deemed to come within the terms of the two Orders in Council previously mentioned. The conditions with regard to property and minimum assets will apply and, in the case of naturalized persons, they will be divested of their

D 63742

British and Canadian status as of the time they leave this country.

The problem of dealing with the question of the Japanese is difficult in the extreme. In its solution, the government is endeavouring to avoid unnecessary hardship. The Orders that have been passed involve no change in principle from the general provisions that already exist under our statute law. The Immigration Act contains provisions for the deportation of "enemy aliens or persons who have been alien enemies" in certain cases. In general, the deportation of certain "prohibited classes" is a recognized principle. The Naturalization Act similarly recognizes the principle of revocation of the status of a naturalized person who has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal. The circumstances of war and the peculiar character of the present problem require more expeditious and broader action than the present statutes allow. But the Orders that have been passed to permit effective action raise no new principles, nor do they depart from any established principles.

D 63743

Order in Council re deportation of Japanese.

P.C. 7355.

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS during the course of the war with Japan certain Japanese nationals manifested their sympathy with or support of Japan by making requests for repatriation to Japan and otherwise;

AND WHEREAS other persons of the Japanese race have requested or may request that they be sent to Japan;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed desirable that provisions be made to deport the classes of persons referred to above;

AND WHEREAS it is considered necessary by reason of the war, for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada, that provision be made accordingly;

NOW, THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Labour, concurred in by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to make and doth hereby make the following Order,-

- O R D E R -

1. In this Order, unless the context otherwise requires:

(a) "deportation" means the removal pursuant to the authority of this Order of any person from any place in Canada to a place outside Canada;

(b) "deported" means removed or sent from Canada pursuant to the authority of this Order;

(c) "Minister" means the Minister of Labour;

(d) "request for repatriation" means a written request or statement of desire, to be repatriated or sent to Japan.

2./

2. (1) Every person of sixteen years of age or over, other than a Canadian national, who is a national of Japan resident in Canada and who,

(a) has, since the date of declaration of war by the Government of Canada against Japan, on December 8th, 1941, made a request for repatriation; or

(b) has been in detention at any place in virtue of an order made pursuant to the provisions of the Defence of Canada Regulations or of Order in Council P.C. 946, of the 5th day of February, 1943, as amended by P.C. 5637, of the 16th day of August, 1945, and was so detained as at midnight of September 1st, 1945;

may be deported to Japan.

(2) Every naturalized British subject of the Japanese race of sixteen years of age or over resident in Canada who has made a request for repatriation may be deported to Japan: Provided that such person has not revoked in writing such request prior to midnight the first day of September, 1945.

(3) Every natural born British subject of the Japanese race of sixteen years of age or over resident in Canada who has made a request for repatriation may be deported to Japan; Provided that such person has not revoked in writing such request prior to the making by the Minister of an order for deportation.

(4) The wife and children under sixteen years of age of any person for whom the Minister makes an order for deportation to Japan may be included in such order and deported with such person.

3. Subject to the provisions of section 2 of this Order, a request for repatriation shall be deemed final and irrevocable for the purpose of this Order or any action taken thereunder.

4. The Minister may

(a) make orders for the deportation of any persons subject to deportation;
(b) take such measures as he deems advisable to provide or arrange for the deportation of such persons, and for their transportation, detention, discipline, feeding, shelter, health or welfare, pending their deportation;
(c) make such orders, rules or regulations as he deems necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Order;
(d) subject to the approval of the Governor in Council, employ such officers and other employees as are necessary to assist him in carrying out this Order and fix their remuneration;
(e) authorize from time to time any person to exercise on his behalf any power vested in him under paragraph (b) of this section.

5. An order for deportation made by the Minister shall be in force and effect from the date of the order.

.....

6. (1) Any person for whom an order for deportation is made or who, having made a request for repatriation, is proceeding to Japan without the issue of such an order, shall be entitled, in so far as circumstances at the time permit

(a) at or immediately prior to the time of his deportation from Canada, to purchase suitable foreign exchange to the extent of any money in his possession or standing to his credit in Canada or advanced to him by the Minister pursuant to section seven and to take such foreign exchange out of Canada with him;
(b) to deposit any money in his possession or standing to his credit in Canada with the Custodian of Enemy Property, who shall provide such person with a receipt therefor and purchase foreign exchange therewith, and transfer the same, less transfer charges, to such person whenever reasonably possible following upon his deportation;
(c) at the time of his deportation to take with him such other personal property belonging to him as may be authorized by the Minister;

and the Foreign Exchange Control Board shall do such things and issue such permits as may be required to implement these provisions.

(2) Where real or personal property of a person who has been deported to Japan or who, having made a request for repatriation, has proceeded to Japan without the issue of an order for deportation, has not been sold or otherwise disposed of prior to departure such real and personal property shall, as of the date of dpportation of such person, be vested in the Custodian of Enemy Property, who shall sell the same as soon as in his opinion it is reasonably practicable to do so, and in the meantime he may take such measures as he deems proper for the care, maintenance and safeguarding of such property, and the net proceeds realized from such sale, after the deduction of reasonable charges of handling shall be placed to the credit of such person and dealt with as provided in paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of this section.

7. (1) The Minister may at or immediately prior to the time of departure advance to or for a person who is being deported to Japan or who, having made a request for repatriation, is proceeding to Japan without the issue of an order for deportation, an amount in suitable foreign exchange equivalent to the following:

(a) Where such person is sixteen years of age or over and does not possess at least two hundred dollars, the difference between the amount he possesses and two hundred dollars which shall be paid to such person;

(b) Where such person has one or more dependents under sixteen years of age and does not possess at least two hundred dollars together with a further amount computed on the basis of fifty dollars for each such dependent, the difference between the amount he possesses and the total of two hundred dollars and the amount so computed, to be paid to such person.

(2) Any amount advanced as provided for in subsection (1) of this section shall be recoverable from the person to whom it is paid, from any money to the credit of such person with the Custodian of Enemy Property.

. . .

.....

8. (1) The Minister may make arrangements with any department or agency of the Government of Canada to assist him in carrying out the provisions of this Order.

(2) The Department of National Defence shall provide any military guard personnel which may be required in carrying out the provisions of this Order.

(3) The Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police shall give all assistance which may be required of him by the Minister in the carrying out of the provisions of this Order.

9. Any person for whom an order for deportation is made and who is detained pending deportation or who is placed under restraint in the course of deportation by virtue of any order or measure made or taken under Section 4 of this Order shall, while so detained or restrained, be deemed to be in legal custody.

10. Any person who resists or obstructs or attempts to resist of obstruct any peace officer or other person from carrying out his duties with respect to any order made pursuant to the provisions of this Order shall be guilty of an offence against this Order.

11. Any person who contravenes or omits to comply with any of the provisions of this Order or any order made or given pursuant thereto is guilty of an offence and liable upon summary conviction to a fine not exceeding Five Hundred Dollars or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

12. Every document purporting to be or to contain or to be a copy of an order, certificate or authority made or given by the Minister in pursuance of the provisions of this Order and purporting to be signed by the Minister shall be received as evidence of such order, certificate or authority without proof of the signature or of the official character of the person appearing to have signed the same and without further proof thereof.

GENERAL

13. The costs involved in the administration of this Order shall be paid from the amounts allotted from the war appropriation to the Department of Labour for Japanese administration.

A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

D 63747

Order in Council revoking naturalization of persons deported in pursuance of Order in Council P.C. 7355, 15th December, 1945.

P.C. 7356

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS by Order in Council P.C. 7355 of 15th December, 1945, provision is made for the deportation of persons who, during the course of the war, have requested to be removed or sent to an enemy country or otherwise manifested their sympathy with or support of the enemy powers and have by such actions shown themselves to be unfit for permanent residence in Canada;

THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State (concurred in by the Secretary of State for External Affairs) and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. Any person who, being a British subject by naturalization under the Naturalization Act, Chapter 138, R.S.C. 1927, is deported from Canada under the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of 15th December, 1945, shall, as and from the date upon which he leaves Canada in the course of such deportation, cease to be either a British subject or a Canadian national.

2. The Secretary of State shall publish in the Canada Gazette the names of all persons who have ceased to be British subjects or Canadian nationals by virtue of this Order.

A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

Order in Council re Commission to inquire into conduct during the war of persons of the Japanese race, etc.

D 63743

P.C. 7357

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS during the war particular measures with regard to persons of the Japanese race in Canada were made necessary by reason of their concentration along the Pacific coast of Canada;

AND WHEREAS experiance during the war in the administration of Order in Council P.C. 946 of February 5, 1943, providing for the control of persons of the Japanese race has indicated the desirability of determining whether the conduct of such Japanese persons in time of war was such as to make the deportation of any of them desirable in the national interest;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed advisable to make provision for the appointment of a Commission to institute the investigation referred to above;

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. A Commission consisting of three persons shall be appointed to make inquiry concerning the activities, loyalty and the extent of co-operation with the Government of Canada during the war of Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the Commission by the Minister of Labour for investigation with a view to recommending whether in the circumstances of any such case such person should be deported.

2. Notwithstanding anything contained in the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of the 15th day of December, 1945, the Commission may, at the request of the Minister of Labour, inquire into the case of any naturalized British subject of the Japanese race who has made a request for repatriation and which request is final under the said Order in Council and may make such recommendations with respect to such case as it deems advisable.

3./

3. The Commission shall report to the Governor in Council.

4. Any person of the Japanese race who is recommended by the Commission for deportation shall be deemed to be a person subject to deportation under the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of the 15th day of December, 1945, and the provisions thereof shall apply, mutatis mutandis, to such person.

5. Where any person is recommended for deportation pursuant to this Order he shall, as and from the date on which he leaves Canada in the course of such deportation, cease to be either a British subject or a Canadian national.

6. The Commission shall, for the purpose of all inquiries and investigations made pursuant to this Order, have all the powers and authority of Commissioners appointed under Part One of the Inquiries Act.

7. The Commission is authorized to engage the services of such clerks, reporters, assistants and counsel as they deem advisable to aid and assist in the performance of their duties.

8. The Commissioners shall be paid such remuneration, allowances and expenses as the Governor in Council may fix.

9. All expenses incurred in connection with the inquiries and investigation of the Commission pursuant to this Order, including the remuneration, allowances and expenses of the commissioners, shall be paid from amounts allowed from the War Appropriation to the Department of Labour for such purpose.

A.D.P. Heeney,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

D 63750

Statement regarding Persons of
Japanese origin in Canada by
The Prime Minister, Rt.Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King,
House of Commons,
December 17,1945.

I wish to table three Orders in Council, P.C. 7355, P.C. 7356, and P.C. 7357 of December 15th, all of which have been passed under the War Measures Act to carry out the policy announced on August 4, 1944, and November 21, 1945, by the government with respect to Japanese people in Canada. It will, I believe, assist in understanding these orders if I give a brief explanation of their purpose and effect.

The general outline of the government's policy with regard to the Japanese was given in my statement of August 4, 1944, to which I have referred. As a first measure in its implementation, the government sought to determine which of the Japanese now in Canada did not wish to remain here after the war. On November 21, the Minister of Labour referred to the number of applications that had been received for movement to Japan. The Minister announced that the government intended to order the removal from Canada of Japanese nationals who had applied for repatriation; of naturalized persons of Japanese origin who had similarly applied and who had not revoked their applications prior to midnight on September 1, 1945; and of Canadian-born Japanese who wished to go to Japan and who did not renounce such intention before an order for their deportation was made. The first Order in Council

D 63751

P.C.7355, simply provides that the Minister of Labour may carry out this policy. He is not ordered to have the persons deported, but he is given the power to arrange for their movement.

In all cases in which removal from Canada is to be effected, it is provided that the persons involved shall be able to take out their personal property and all cash and other movable assets, and that they shall be able to sell or otherwise dispose of their real property or of anything else they do not wish to take with them. In addition, they are to be assured minimum liquid assets to assist in their resettlement to the extent of $200. for each adult ordered deported, and $50, for each dependent. In cases where the person going to Japan has a certain amount of cash, but less than $200. plus $50 for each dependent, he will be advanced the difference in order to bring his cash assets up to the minimum I have mentioned. In those cases where the persons to whom cash is advanced have assets with the Custodian, the Minister will recover his advances out of such assets.

The other clauses of the Order simply provide the necessary administrative machinery to carry out the terms of the Order.

The second Order in Council, P.C.7356, provides for

D 63752

the removal of British and Canadian status from any naturalized persons who now leave Canada for residence in Japan, or are deported from Canada pursuant to applications made and orders issued under P.C.7355. It has, of course, no application to Japanese nationals, nor does it apply to persons born in Canada. Its application is only to persons naturalized in Canada who have expressed a wish to go to Japan and who have not, as I have said, revoked this application, and also to naturalized persons who come under the third order which I shall now describe.

The third Order in Council, is P.C.7357. Honourable Members will recall that, in my statement to the House on August 4, 1944, I said that the government intended to establish a "quasi-judicial commission" to investigate the loyalty of certain of the Japanese in Canada "to ascertain those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here". The time has now come when this Commission should be appointed. We now know with certainty that some persons do not wish to remain here. There is no object in examining them. There are, however, among the Japanese nationals and naturalized Japanese who wish to remain, a number whose behavior casts doubt upon their loyalty and before deciding what should be done about them, it is proposed to have a

full and fair examination of their cases. Some of these are persons who were interned during the war and whose conduct in wartime has been such as to raise question as to whether in the national interest they should not be deported.

In general, the Order in Council provides that the Governor in Council shall appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into the loyalty of "Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the Commission by the Minister of Labour". It will be noted from this that the Commission will examine only Japanese nationals and naturalized persons. It will not examine any persons born in Canada. It will, moreover, have the power, where recommended by the Minister of Labour, to examine the cases of naturalized Japanese who applied to be sent to Japan and who did not renounce such application prior to midnight on September 1, 1945.

The Commission will, where it deems fit after examination, have the power to recommend deportation. In such cases, any Japanese national or naturalized Japanese who is ordered deported will be deemed to come within the terms of the two Orders in Council previously mentioned. The conditions with regard to property and minimum assets will apply and, in the case of naturalized persons, they will be divested of their

D 63754

British and Canadian status as of the time they leave this country.

The problem of dealing with the question of the Japanese is difficult in the extreme. In its solution, the government is endeavouring to avoid unnecessary hardship. The Orders that have been passed involve no change in principle from the general provisions that already exist under our statute law. The Immigration Act contains provisions for the deportation of "enemy aliens or persons who have been alien enemies" in certain cases. In general, the deportation of certain "prohibited classes" is a recognized principle. The Naturalization Act similarly recognizes the principle of revocation of the status of a naturalized person who has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal. The circumstances of war and the peculiar character of the present problem require more expeditious and broader action than the present statutes allow. But the Orders that have been passed to permit effective action raise no new principles, nor do they depart from any established principles.

D 63755

Order in Council re deportation of Japanese.

P.C. 7355.

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS during the course of the war with Japan certain Japanese nationals manifested their sympathy with or support of Japan by making requests for repatriation to Japan and otherwise;

AND WHEREAS other persons of the Japanese race have requested or may request that they be sent to Japan;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed desirable that provisions be made to deport the classes of persons referred to above;

AND WHEREAS it is considered necessary by reason of the war, for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada, that provision be made accordingly;

NOW, THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Labour, concurred in by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to make and doth hereby make the following Order,-

- O R D E R -

1. In this Order, unless the context otherwise requires:

(a) "deportation" means the removal pursuant to the authority of this Order of any person from any place in Canada to a place outside Canada;

(b) "deported" means removed or sent from Canada pursuant to the authority of this Order;

(c) "Minister" means the Minister of Labour;

(d) "request for repatriation" means a written request or statement of desire, to be repatriated or sent to Japan.

2./

2. (1) Every person of sixteen years of age or over, other than a Canadian national, who is a national of Japan resident in Canada and who,

(a) has, since the date of declaration of war by the Government of Canada against Japan, on December 8th, 1941, made a request for repatriation; or

(b) has been in detention at any place in virtue of an order made pursuant to the provisions of the Defence of Canada Regulations or of Order in Council P.C. 946, of the 5th day of February, 1943, as amended by P.C. 5637, of the 16th day of August, 1945, and was so detained as at midnight of September 1st, 1945;

may be deported to Japan.

(2) Every naturalized British subject of the Japanese race of sixteen years of age or over resident in Canada who has made a request for repatriation may be deported to Japan: Provided that such person has not revoked in writing such request prior to midnight the first day of September, 1945.

(3) Every natural born British subject of the Japanese race of sixteen years of age or over resident in Canada who has made a request for repatriation may be deported to Japan; Provided that such person has not revoked in writing such request prior to the making by the Minister of an order for deportation.

(4) The wife and children under sixteen years of age of any person for whom the Minister makes an order for deportation to Japan may be included in such order and deported with such person.

3. Subject to the provisions of section 2 of this Order, a request for repatriation shall be deemed final and irrevocable for the purpose of this Order or any action taken thereunder.

4. The Minister may

(a) make orders for the deportation of any persons subject to deportation;
(b) take such measures as he deems advisable to provide or arrange for the deportation of such persons, and for their transportation, detention, discipline, feeding, shelter, health or welfare, pending their deportation;
(c) make such orders, rules or regulations as he deems necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Order;
(d) subject to the approval of the Governor in Council, employ such officers and other employees as are necessary to assist him in carrying out this Order and fix their remuneration;
(e) authorize from time to time any person to exercise on his behalf any power vested in him under paragraph (b) of this section.

5. An order for deportation made by the Minister shall be in force and effect from the date of the order.

.....

6. (1) Any person for whom an order for deportation is made or who, having made a request for repatriation, is proceeding to Japan without the issue of such an order, shall be entitled, in so far as circumstances at the time permit

(a) at or immediately prior to the time of his deportation from Canada, to purchase suitable foreign exchange to the extent of any money in his possession or standing to his credit in Canada or advanced to him by the Minister pursuant to section seven and to take such foreign exchange out of Canada with him;
(b) to deposit any money in his possession or standing to his credit in Canada with the Custodian of Enemy Property, who shall provide such person with a receipt therefor and purchase foreign exchange therewith, and transfer the same, less transfer charges, to such person whenever reasonably possible following upon his deportation;
(c) at the time of his deportation to take with him such other personal property belonging to him as may be authorized by the Minister;

and the Foreign Exchange Control Board shall do such things and issue such permits as may be required to implement these provisions.

(2) Where real or personal property of a person who has been deported to Japan or who, having made a request for repatriation, has proceeded to Japan without the issue of an order for deportation, has not been sold or otherwise disposed of prior to departure such real and personal property shall, as of the date of deportation of such person, be vested in the Custodian of Enemy Property, who shall sell the same as soon as in his opinion it is reasonably practicable to do so, and in the meantime he may take such measures as he deems proper for the care, maintenance and safeguarding of such property, and the net proceeds realized from such sale, after the deduction of reasonable charges of handling shall be placed to the credit of such person and dealt with as provided in paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of this section.

7. (1) The Minister may at or immediately prior to the time of departure advance to or for a person who is being deported to Japan or who, having made a request for repatriation, is proceeding to Japan without the issue of an order for deportation, an amount in suitable foreign exchange equivalent to the following:

(a) Where such person is sixteen years of age or over and does not possess at least two hundred dollars, the difference between the amount he possesses and two hundred dollars which shall be paid to such person;

(b) Where such person has one or more dependents under sixteen years of age and does not possess at least two hundred dollars together with a further amount computed on the basis of fifty dollars for each such dependent, the difference between the amount he possesses and the total of two hundred dollars and the amount so computed, to be paid to such person.

(2) Any amount advanced as provided for in subsection (1) of this section shall be recoverable from the person to whom it is paid, from any money to the credit of such person with the Custodian of Enemy Property.

. . .

.....

8. (1) The Minister may make arrangements with any department or agency of the Government of Canada to assist him in carrying out the provisions of this Order.

(2) The Department of National Defence shall provide any military guard personnel which may be required in carrying out the provisions of this Order.

(3) The Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police shall give all assistance which may be required of him by the Minister in the carrying out of the provisions of this Order.

9. Any person for whom an order for deportation is made and who is detained pending deportation or who is placed under restraint in the course of deportation by virtue of any order or measure made or taken under Section 4 of this Order shall, while so detained or restrained, be deemed to be in legal custody.

10. Any person who resists or obstructs or attempts to resist of obstruct any peace officer or other person from carrying out his duties with respect to any order made pursuant to the provisions of this Order shall be guilty of an offence against this Order.

11. Any person who contravenes or omits to comply with any of the provisions of this Order or any order made or given pursuant thereto is guilty of an offence and liable upon summary conviction to a fine not exceeding Five Hundred Dollars or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

12. Every document purporting to be or to contain or to be a copy of an order, certificate or authority made or given by the Minister in pursuance of the provisions of this Order and purporting to be signed by the Minister shall be received as evidence of such order, certificate or authority without proof of the signature or of the official character of the person appearing to have signed the same and without further proof thereof.

GENERAL

13. The costs involved in the administration of this Order shall be paid from the amounts allotted from the war appropriation to the Department of Labour for Japanese administration.

A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

D 63759

Order in Council revoking naturalization of persons deported in pursuance of Order in Council P.C. 7355, 15th December, 1945.

P.C. 7356

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS by Order in Council P.C. 7355 of 15th December, 1945, provision is made for the deportation of persons who, during the course of the war, have requested to be removed or sent to an enemy country or otherwise manifested their sympathy with or support of the enemy powers and have by such actions shown themselves to be unfit for permanent residence in Canada;

THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State (concurred in by the Secretary of State for External Affairs) and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. Any person who, being a British subject by naturalization under the Naturalization Act, Chapter 138, R.S.C. 1927, is deported from Canada under the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of 15th December, 1945, shall, as and from the date upon which he leaves Canada in the course of such deportation, cease to be either a British subject or a Canadian national.

2. The Secretary of State shall publish in the Canada Gazette the names of all persons who have ceased to be British subjects or Canadian nationals by virtue of this Order.

A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

D 63760

Order in Council re Commission to inquire into conduct during the war of persons of the Japanese race, etc.

P.C. 7357

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

SATURDAY, the 15th day of DECEMBER, 1945.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS during the war particular measures with regard to persons of the Japanese race in Canada were made necessary by reason of their concentration along the Pacific coast of Canada;

AND WHEREAS experiance during the war in the administration of Order in Council P.C. 946 of February 5, 1943, providing for the control of persons of the Japanese race has indicated the desirability of determining whether the conduct of such Japanese persons in time of war was such as to make the deportation of any of them desirable in the national interest;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed advisable to make provision for the appointment of a Commission to institute the investigation referred to above;

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

1. A Commission consisting of three persons shall be appointed to make inquiry concerning the activities, loyalty and the extent of co-operation with the Government of Canada during the war of Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the Commission by the Minister of Labour for investigation with a view to recommending whether in the circumstances of any such case such person should be deported.

2. Notwithstanding anything contained in the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of the 15th day of December, 1945, the Commission may, at the request of the Minister of Labour, inquire into the case of any naturalized British subject of the Japanese race who has made a request for repatriation and which request is final under the said Order in Council and may make such recommendations with respect to such case as it deems advisable.

3./

D 63781

P.C. 7357

3. The Commission shall report to the Governor in Council.

4. Any person of the Japanese race who is recommended by the Commission for deportation shall be deemed to be a person subject to deportation under the provisions of Order in Council P.C. 7355 of the 15th day of December, 1945, and the provisions thereof shall apply, mutatis mutandis, to such person.

5. Where any person is recommended for deportation pursuant to this Order he shall, as and from the date on which he leaves Canada in the course of such deportation, cease to be either a British subject or a Canadian national.

6. The Commission shall, for the purpose of all inquiries and investigations made pursuant to this Order, have all the powers and authority of Commissioners appointed under Part One of the Inquiries Act.

7. The Commission is authorized to engage the services of such clerks, reporters, assistants and counsel as they deem advisable to aid and assist in the performance of their duties.

8. The Commissioners shall be paid such remuneration, allowances and expenses as the Governor in Council may fix.

9. All expenses incurred in connection with the inquiries and investigation of the Commission pursuant to this Order, including the remuneration, allowances and expenses of the commissioners, shall be paid from amounts allowed from the War Appropriation to the Department of Labour for such purpose.

A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
99		1945 General Elections, London. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 63326 - D 63397	
99		1945 General Elections, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 63398 - D 63476	
99		1945 General Elections, Saint John. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 63477 - D 63519	
99		1945 General Elections, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 63520 - D 63562	
99		General Elections, Results of. Speeches outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 63563 - D 63588	
99		Glengarry, By-election. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 63589 - D 63664	
100		Second Session, Japanese in Canada. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 63665 - D 63761	
100		Second Session, Meat Rationing. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63762 - D 63777	
100		Second Session. Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament.	1945	D 63778 - D 63783	

For release when delivered. D 63762

by
Statement ~~from~~ the Prime Minister.
House of Commons, 23rd November, 1945.

In a statement released to the press this morning by ~~Mr. C.P.Anderson~~ the United States' Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. C.P.Anderson, it was announced that the Government of the United States had decided to discontinue the rationing both of meat and of fats and oils effective tomorrow. This decision will naturally necessitate a re-examination of our own policy.

Honourable Members are aware that ever since the formation of the Combined Food Board more than three years ago, there has been a general understanding between the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada that each country would endeavour to make its best contribution to the common problems we have been facing. It has, of course, always been understood that each country must necessarily be its own judge of how best to implement that understanding.

In July last, I announced our government's decision to resume the rationing of meat in order that Canada might make the fullest possible contribution to the needs of the United Kingdom and the Continent of Europe as we then saw them. I am satisfied that the world situation today, and as it will be during the coming months is even more urgent and more desperate than appeared at that time.

Our rationing programme in Canada has made it possible to ship overseas during the past two months more meat and dairy products than we ever before supplied in a similar period of time, and this has been done without imposing any undue or unreasonable curtailment of domestic consumption.

We have not yet been officially advised of the United States' announcement. It is my understanding that the United States will continue, through "set-aside" orders, to provide meat for overseas shipment in 1946 in an amount not less than that estimated for 1945. There are, however, important distinctions between the United States' position and ours. The probable United States' meat exports, although large in terms of tonnage, are not likely to be more than 5% of their total available meat supplies. Our meat export programme in 1945, which should, we believe, be carried forward into 1946, calls for exports of nearly one-third of our total meat supplies and nearly one-half of our inspected meat supply. The United States, in exporting less than 5% of its meat supplies, may be able to manage its programme through "set-aside" orders without rationing, and still be able to maintain fair distribution and fair prices. We are convinced however that,

in Canada, we could not, without rationing, export between 40 and 50% of our federally inspected kill and maintain orderly distribution and hold our price ceilings.

May I remind honourable Members that the main purpose underlying our rationing policy is to enable Canada to take her full part in the attempt to avert or moderate one of the greatest human tragedies of all times.

I have much in mind a remarkable and moving debate which took place in the British House of Commons while I was in London. The people of the United Kingdom have gone through six long years of meagre and monotonous diet and their rations this coming winter will be as low or lower than they have been at any time since the outbreak of war. Yet four weeks ago, members of all parties and all sections of the British House of Commons in the course of that debate were found urging the government not only to use its influence to secure the maintenance and, if possible, an increase in food exports from North America to the Continent of Europe, but were also urging the government if necessary still further to deplete its own stocks and even reduce the rations in order to avert or lessen the extent of the appalling tragedy that is unfolding

D 63765

itself in Europe today.

The government feels that it will have the support of all groups in this House and all sections of the Canadian people in maintaining those policies which will make it possible for us to continue our best endeavours to meet the perilous situation which confronts Europe, as winter sets in. With all these considerations in mind, it is the government's intention to continue its rationing programme until such time as it may feel justified in adopting other measures

For release when delivered.

D 63756

by
Statement the Prime Minister.
House of Commons, 23rd November, 1945.

In a statement released to the press this morning by ~~[illegible]~~ Mr. C.P.Anderson, the United States' Secretary of Agriculture, it was announced that the Government of the United States had decided to discontinue the rationing both of meat and of fats and oils effective tomorrow. This decision will naturally necessitate a re-examination of our own policy.

Honourable Members are aware that ever since the formation of the Combined Food Board more than three years ago, there has been a general understanding between the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada that each country would endeavour to make its best contribution to the common problems we have been facing. It has, of course, always been understood that each country must necessarily be its own judge of how best to implement that understanding.

In July last, I announced our government's decision to resume the rationing of meat in order that Canada might make the fullest possible contribution to the needs of the United Kingdom and the Continent of Europe as we then saw them. I am satisfied that the world situation today, and as it will be during the coming months is even more urgent and more desperate than appeared at that time.

Our rationing programme in Canada has made it possible to ship overseas during the past two months more meat and dairy products than we ever before supplied in a similar period of time, and this has been done without imposing any undue or unreasonable curtailment of domestic consumption.

We have not yet been officially advised of the United States' announcement. It is my understanding that the United States will continue, through "set-aside" orders, to provide meat for overseas shipment in 1946 in an amount not less than that estimated for 1945. There are, however, important distinctions between the United States' position and ours. The probable United States' meat exports, although large in terms of tonnage, are not likely to be more than 5% of their total available meat supplies. Our meat export programme in 1945, which should, we believe, be carried forward into 1946, calls for exports of nearly one-third of our total meat supplies and nearly one-half of our inspected meat supply. The United States, in exporting less than 5% of its meat supplies, may be able to manage its programme through "set-aside" orders without rationing, and still be able to maintain fair distribution and fair prices. We are convinced however that,

in Canada, we could not, without rationing, export between 40 and 50% of our federally inspected kill and maintain orderly distribution and hold our price ceilings.

May I remind honourable Members that the main purpose underlying our rationing policy is to enable Canada to take her full part in the attempt to avert or moderate one of the greatest human tragedies of all times.

I have much in mind a remarkable and moving debate which took place in the British House of Commons while I was in London. The people of the United Kingdom have gone through six long years of meagre and monotonous diet and their rations this coming winter will be as low or lower than they have been at any time since the outbreak of war. Yet four weeks ago, members of all parties and all sections of the British House of Commons in the course of that debate were found urging the government not only to use its influence to secure the maintenance and, if possible, an increase in food exports from North America to the Continent of Europe, but were also urging the government if necessary still further to deplete its own stocks and even reduce the rations in order to avert or lessen the extent of the appalling tragedy that is unfolding

itself in Europe today.

The government feels that it will have the support of all groups in this House and all sections of the Canadian people in maintaining those policies which will make it possible for us to continue our best endeavours to meet the perilous situation which confronts Europe, as winter sets in. With all considerations in mind, it is the government's intention to continue its rationing programme until such time as it may feel justified in adopting other measures

D 63770

Statement for the Prime Minister.

In a statement released to the press this morning by Mr. C. P. Anderson, the United States' Secretary of Agriculture, it was announced that the Government of the United States had decided to discontinue the rationing both of meat and of fats and oils, effective to-morrow. This decision will naturally necessitate a re-examination of our own policy.

Honourable Members are aware that ever since the formation of the Combined Food Board more than three years ago, there has been a general understanding between the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada that each country would endeavour to make its best contribution to the common problems we have been facing. It has, of course, always been understood that each country must necessarily be its own judge of how best to implement that understanding.

In July last, I announced our government's decision to resume the rationing of meat in order that Canada might make the fullest possible contribution to the needs of the United Kingdom and the Continent of Europe as we then saw them. I am satisfied that the world situation to-day, and as it will be during the coming months is even more urgent and more desperate than appeared at that time.

Our rationing programme in Canada has made it possible to ship overseas during the past two months more meat and dairy products than we ever before supplied in a similar period of time, and this has been done without imposing any undue or unreasonable curtailment of domestic consumption.

We have not yet been officially advised of the United States' announcement. It is my understanding that the United States will continue, through "set-aside" orders, to provide meat for overseas shipment in 1946 in an amount not less than that estimated for 1945. There are, however, important distinctions between the United States' position and ours. The probable United States' meat exports, although large in terms of tonnage, are not likely to be more than 5% of their total available meat supplies. Our meat export programme in 1945, which should, we believe, be carried forward into 1946, calls for exports of nearly one-third of our total meat supplies and nearly one-half of our inspected meat supply. The United States, in exporting less than 5% of its meat supplies, may be able to manage its programme through "set-aside" orders without rationing, and still be able to maintain fair distribution and fair prices. We are convinced however that,

in Canada, we could not, without rationing, export between 40 and 50% of our federally inspected kill and maintain orderly distribution and hold our price ceilings.

May I remind honourable Members that the main purpose underlying our rationing policy is to enable Canada to take her full part in the attempt to avert or moderate one of the greatest human tragedies of all time.

- I have much in mind a remarkable and moving debate which took place in the British House of Commons while I was in London. The people of the United Kingdom have gone through six long years of meagre and monotonous diet and their rations, this coming winter, will be as low, or lower, than they have been at any time since the outbreak of war. Yet four weeks ago, members of all parties and all sections of the British House of Commons in the course of that debate were found urging the government not only to use its influence to secure the maintenance and, if possible, an increase in food exports from North America to the Continent of Europe, but were also urging the government, if necessary, still further to deplete its own stocks and even reduce the rations in order to avert or lessen the extent of the appalling tragedy that is unfolding

itself in Europe to-day.

~~In the light of the existing conditions,~~ the government feels that it will have the support of all groups in this House, and all sections of the Canadian people, in maintaining those policies which will make it possible for us to continue our best endeavours to meet the perilous situation which confronts ~~the world~~ Europe as a whole. With all ~~these~~ considerations in mind, it is the government's intention to continue its rationing programme until such time as it may feel justified in adopting other measures.

D 63774

For release when delivered.

Statement by the Prime Minister.
House of Commons, 23rd November, 1945.

In a statement released to the press this morning by Mr. C.P.Anderson, the United States' Secretary of Agriculture, it was announced that the Government of the United States had decided to discontinue the rationing both of meat and of fats and oils effective tomorrow. This decision will naturally necessitate a re-examination of our own policy.

Honourable Members are aware that ever since the formation of the Combined Food Board more than three years ago, there has been a general understanding between the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada that each country would endeavour to make its best contribution to the common problems we have been facing. It has, of course, always been understood that each country must necessarily be its own judge of how best to implement that understanding.

In July last, I announced our government's decision to resume the rationing of meat in order that Canada might make the fullest possible contribution to the needs of the United Kingdom and the Continent of Europe as we then saw them. I am satisfied that the world situation today, and as it will be during the coming months is even more urgent and more desperate than appeared at that time.

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itself in Europe today.

The government feels that it will have the support of all groups in this House and all sections of the Canadian people in maintaining those policies which will make it possible for us to continue our best endeavours to meet the perilous situation which confronts Europe, as winter sets in.

With all considerations in mind, it is the government's intention to continue its rationing programme until such time as it may feel justified in adopting other measures

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
99		1945 General Elections, London. Speeches outside Parliament	30 May 1945	D 63326 - D 63397	
99		1945 General Elections, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	2 June 1945	D 63398 - D 63476	
99		1945 General Elections, Saint John. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1945	D 63477 - D 63519	
99		1945 General Elections, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 June 1945	D 63520 - D 63562	
99		General Elections, Results of. Speeches outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 63563 - D 63588	
99		Glengarry, By-election. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 63589 - D 63664	
100		Second Session, Japanese in Canada. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 63665 - D 63761	
100		Second Session, Meat Rationing. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63762 - D 63777	
100		Second Session. Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament.	1945	D 63778 - D 63783	

Sept 22/45

file

D 63773

Repatriation of Canadian Prisoners of War and Civilians from the Far East.

All Canadian prisoners of war liberated at Hong Kong have, with one exception, been evacuated to Manila, where they are awaiting transportation to Canada. The exception is the case of one man whose lack of strength at the moment rendered it inadvisable for him to be removed.

Some 500 Canadian prisoners of war liberated in Japan have been evacuated, half to Manila and half to Guam. As of September 20, 1086 prisoners of war have been officially reported safe in Allied hands. Thirty-two liberated prisoners have already reached Canada and nineteen more are known to be on their way.

Brigadier Kay, Canadian Military Attache at Chungking, having completed his mission at Hong Kong is now returning to Chungking.

Satisfactory reports on the progress of the liberation of Canadian civilians are being received. As was announced yesterday, a small group of eleven Canadian missionaries has already reached Oakland, California. Official word has been received of the liberation of 200 of the 600 known Canadian civilians. A list of these was recently given to the Press. Some of the 600 are missionaries and persons who made their homes in the East and who may wish to stay there. On the other hand, there are a number of Canadians who are not known to us and a number of British subjects not included who will be coming to Canada to join their families here.

As reported in the Press, Mr. E.H.Norman of the Department of External Affairs, accompanied by two other officers of the Department, has set up headquarters in Manila to look after arrangements for the relief and repatriation of Canadian civilians. They have been joined by two officers of the Canadian Red Cross whose primary function will be to look after the welfare of Canadian civilians.

It is hoped that the larger proportion of prisoners of war and civilians will be transported direct to Vancouver and

arrangements have been made there by all the Departments concerned together with the Canadian Red Cross for their reception. However a certain number will arrive at United States West coast ports. The Army has made arrangements for the reception of liberated prisoners of war and the Department of External Affairs has sent an officer to San Francisco who will be in touch with the United States authorities at all ports and with British consuls. The Canadian Trade Commissioner at Los Angeles will assist in the handling of any Canadians who may arrive there. In addition, the Canadian Red Cross will station one or two officers at San Francisco and will send on other personnel as may be needed from time to time. All prisoners of war and civilians arriving at United States West coast ports and destined for Canada will be sent to Vancouver. Provisions for medical care and for the supply of clothing, comforts and small luxuries are being made by the Services for prisoners of war and by the Canadian Red Cross for civilians at all points where they are likely to arrive.

The Canadian Government have informed the United Kingdom that the Canadian authorities and the Canadian Red Cross will be glad to afford every assistance possible for the repatriation of liberated United Kingdom prisoners of war and United Kingdom civilians from the Far East who may be repatriated by way of Canada. If shipping facilities across the Pacific make it possible for the United Kingdom to make use of this route, large numbers of repatriates destined for the United Kingdom may arrive at Vancouver and be transported across Canada.

Sept 20/45

Repatriation of Canadian Prisoners of War and Civilians from the Far East.

D 63780

All Canadian prisoners of war liberated at Hong Kong have, with one exception, been evacuated to Manila, where they are awaiting transportation to Canada. The exception is the case of one man whose lack of strength at the moment rendered it inadvisable for him to be removed.

Some 500 Canadian prisoners of war liberated in Japan have been evacuated, half to Manila and half to Guam. As of September 20, 1086 prisoners of war have been officially reported safe in Allied hands. Thirty-two liberated prisoners have already reached Canada and ~~ten~~ more are known to be on their way.

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It is hoped that the larger proportion of prisoners of war and civilians will be transported direct to Vancouver and

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The Canadian Government have informed the United Kingdom that the Canadian authorities and the Canadian Red Cross will be glad to afford every assistance possible for the repatriation of liberated United Kingdom prisoners of war and United Kingdom civilians from the Far East who may be repatriated by way of Canada. If shipping facilities across the Pacific make it possible for the United Kingdom to make use of this route, large numbers of repatriates destined for the United Kingdom may arrive at Vancouver and be transported across Canada.

D 63781

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REPEAT
REPETITION

September 18, 1945

D 63782

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Repatriation of Canadian Prisoners of War and Civilians from the Far East

With one exception, a man who is too ill to move, all Canadian prisoners of war liberated at Hong Kong have been evacuated to Manila, where they are awaiting transportation to Canada.

Some 500 Canadian prisoners of war liberated in Japan have been evacuated, half to Manila and half to Guam. As of September 17th, 794 prisoners of war have been officially reported safe in Allied hands. Twenty-five liberated prisoners have already reached Canada and seventeen more are known to be on their way.

Brigadier Kay, Canadian Military Attache at Chungking, having completed his mission at Hong Kong is now returning to Chungking.

Satisfactory reports on the progress of the liberation of Canadian civilians are being received and official word has been received of the liberation of 200 of the 600 known Canadians, a list of whom was recently given to the Press. Some of the 600 are missionaries and persons who made their homes in the East and who may wish to stay there. On the other hand there are a number of Canadians who are not known to us and a number of British subjects not included who will be coming to Canada to join their families here.

As reported in the Press Mr. E.H. Norman of the Department of External Affairs, accompanied by two other officers of the Department, has set up headquarters in Manila to look after arrangements for the relief and repatriation of Canadian civilians. They have been joined by two officers of the Canadian Red Cross whose primary function will be to look after the welfare of Canadian civilians.

D 63783

It is hoped that the greater bulk of prisoners of war and civilians will be transported direct to Vancouver and arrangements have been made there by all the Departments concerned together with the Canadian Red Cross for their reception. However a certain number will arrive at United States West coast ports. The Army has made arrangements for the reception of liberated prisoners of war and the Department of External Affairs is sending an officer to San Francisco who will be in touch with the United States authorities at all ports and with British consuls. The Canadian Trade Commissioner at Los Angeles will assist in the handling of any Canadians who may arrive there. In addition, the Canadian Red Cross will station one or two officers at San Francisco and will send on other personnel as may be needed from time to time. All prisoners of war and civilians arriving at United States West coast ports and destined for Canada will be sent to Vancouver. Provisions for medical care and for the supply of clothing, comforts and small luxuries are being made by the Services for prisoners of war and by the Canadian Red Cross for civilians at all points where they are likely to arrive.

The Canadian Government have informed the United Kingdom that the Canadian authorities and the Canadian Red Cross will be glad to afford every assistance possible for the repatriation of liberated United Kingdom prisoners of war and civilians from the Far East who may be repatriated by way of Canada. If shipping facilities across the Pacific make it possible for the United Kingdom to make use of this route, large numbers of repatriates destined for the United Kingdom may arrive at Vancouver and be transported across the Dominion.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
100		Second Session, Speaker, Election of. Speeches in Parliament	6 Sept. 1945	D 63784 - D 63791	
100		Second Session, Trade. Speeches in Parliament	15 Dec. 1945	D 63792 - D 63793	
100		Second Session, Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 63794 - D 63835	
100		Second Session, War Crimes. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63836 - D 63837	
100		Second Session, Outbreak of War, 1939. Speeches in Parliament	24 Nov. 1945	D 63838 - D 63866	
100		Eisenhower, General, Vote of Thanks. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 63867 - D 63906	
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Jan. 1946	D 63907 - D 63928	
100		Macdonald, Rt. Hon. M., Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Mar. 1946	D 63929 - D 63942	

Sept 6, 1945

Re: Speaker

D 63784

At new Parliament -
first duty ascertain causes
why Governor General summoned
Members to meet him in Parliament.

Until House elected a Speaker
according to law -

(Section 34 B.N.A. Act)

Commons not constituted as a House
until Speaker chosen.

Difference in method of selection:

(1) Westminster - one Speaker vs.
different speakers

(2) Nomination - by private Members
vs. P. M.

No restriction - freedom of
choice by Members;

(3) Alternate - another tongue

French or English;

(4) Different methods -
selection Speaker of Senate

(Section 44)

I. Importance of Position and responsibility:

(a) Most honourable and highest office;

(b) First Commoner and Presiding Officer;

(c) Custodian of its honour, rights, privileges, and prerogatives between Members.

II. Duty of Speaker:

Maintain impartiality between Members.

Protect rights of Members.

III. Qualities of Speaker:

Good judgment and judicial temperament;

Familiar with rules; parliamentary procedure;

Quick perception.

Conciliatory, firm, tactful and just.

A rare combination of qualities.

D 63786

Dr. Gaspard Fauteux:

M.P. St. Mary's, Montreal.

Both character and experience to fit him;

One of the younger Members of Parliament;

Widely liked and respected;

a veteran of the first world war

Served in Legislature of Quebec;

also in present Parliament.

Has had business and professional experience.

Speaks both French and English

Comes of family which has contributed much to public life of country -

grandson of Hon. Honore Mercier

nephew of Sir Lomer Gouin

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Has exhibited considerable political prowess

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 63787

In his own right -
the elections he has fought.

Canada's fortunes linked with other countries.

Has given much study to domestic and international affairs, -

a wide outlook -

special interest in U.N.R.R.A.

Member Canadian Delegation-
second meeting of Council.

Possessed of qualities of courtesy, patience, quick perception, and impartiality.

Will uphold dignity of office -

wide credit to himself,

in House and Parliament.

Motion.

D 63788

HOUSE OF COMMONS

FIRST SESSION—TWENTIETH PARLIAMENT

The nineteenth parliament having been prorogued and dissolved by proclamation on Monday, April 16, 1945, and writs having been issued and returned, a new parliament was summoned to meet for the dispatch of business on Thursday, September 6, 1945, and did accordingly meet on that day.

THURSDAY, September 6, 1945.

This being the day on which parliament is convoked by proclamation of His Excellency the Governor General for the dispatch of business, and the members of the house being assembled:

Arthur Beauchesne, Esquire, C.M.G., M.A., K.C., F.R.S.C., the Clerk of the House, read to the house a letter from the Assistant Secretary to the Governor General informing him that the Honourable Mr. Justice Thibaudeau Rinfret, in his capacity as Deputy Governor General, would proceed to the Senate chamber on Thursday, the 6th of September, at 11 a.m., to open the session.

A message was delivered by Charles H. Larose, Esquire, Acting Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, as follows:—

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

His Honour, the Deputy of His Excellency the Governor General, desires the immediate attendance of this honourable house in the chamber of the honourable the Senate.

Accordingly the house went up to the Senate chamber, when the Speaker of the Senate said:

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:
Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

I have it in command to let you know that His Excellency the Governor General does not see fit to declare the causes of his summoning the present parliament of Canada until the Speaker of the House of Commons shall have been chosen according to law; but this afternoon, at the hour of three o'clock in the afternoon, His Excellency will declare the causes of calling this parliament.

And the members being returned to the Commons chamber:

ELECTION OF SPEAKER

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Beauchesne, the first duty of the Commons at the beginning of a new parliament is to ascertain the reasons why His Excellency the Governor General, the king's representative, has summoned its members to meet with him in parliament. As hon. members have just been made aware, His Excellency is not prepared to impart those reasons until the Commons have elected a Speaker. As a matter of fact the house itself will not be duly constituted until a Speaker has been elected; therefore our first duty this morning is to choose a Speaker.

In matters of parliamentary procedure our parliament largely follows the procedure at Westminster; there are certain differences, however, that, in the past, have been observed in reference to the selection of a Speaker. The first difference is that at Westminster the Speaker of one parliament, if he proves to be acceptable, is frequently reelected from parliament to parliament. I recall quite well the occasion when Mr. Speaker Lowther of the House of Commons in London visited Canada some year ago and presented to this House the Speaker's chair which is in place here. It is a replica of the one at Westminster. Mr. Speaker Lowther informed our members that for sixteen years he had occupied that seat while the Commons was in session, and that, during that period of time, he had never left the precincts of parliament while either the Commons or the Lords were in session. Since Mr. Speaker Lowther's day three or four other speakers have been appointed. The latest selection was made a few days ago when Mr. Speaker Brown, who had been the Speaker in the last parliament in the United Kingdom, was again chosen Speaker. At that time this action was commented upon as being in accord with the best tradition of recognizing that where a Speaker has shown himself to be impartial, a change of government should not necessarily mean that there would be a change in the position of Speaker. The fact that Mr. Brown had served under a Coalition government which was largely Conservative ,and was

now under a Labour administration, selected as Speaker and commented on very favourably on all sides.

For reasons of our own, however, we have for the most part found it desirable to have a Speaker chosen at the beginning of one parliament, and a new Speaker chosen at the beginning of the following parliament. That has not always been the case; there have been three exceptions. Mr. Speaker Cockburn, Mr. Speaker Rhodes, and Mr. Speaker Lemieux were, as I recall, elected for more than one parliament. However, they are the exceptions rather than the rule. We have thought that, at this time, we should follow the general practice of choosing a new Speaker at the beginning of a new parliament.

The reason why this difference prevails between the custom in our country and that in the United Kingdom, is that it is felt desirable in this as in many other respects to give recognition to the two races that laid the foundations of our country. That recognition is given, after a Speaker whose mother tongue is English has occupied the chair, by choosing at the next parliament a Speaker whose mother tongue is French. If the Commons is agreeable we propose to have that practice carried out at this time. The Commons itself is, of course, complete master of the situation.

May I point out a further difference in procedure. In the United Kingdom the Speaker is usually nominated by a private member and the nomination is seconded by a private member. That is done in order to make it perfectly clear that so far as the government is concerned, or any other authority, there is no authority greater than that of the members of the Commons themselves; and that, among the members, there is equality in the matter of their rights and privileges. In Canada it has been the custom to have the Speaker nominated by a member of the government, and, I believe, in each case the nomination has been by the Prime Minister.

I should like to make it clear that the Commons is not obliged in any way to accept the nomination of the Prime Minister. Any member is free to nominate and to support the candidature as Speaker of any other hon. member. I am hopeful, however, that the name I intend to propose to the house is one which will prove to be generally acceptable, and that the Speaker who is to occupy the chair throughout this parliament will be elected unanimously.

I have noticed from the press that there appears to be doubt in some quarters as to the correct procedure in the selection of the Speaker both in the Commons and in the Senate. I have made it abundantly clear, that so far as the Commons is concerned the government is not in any way seeking to impose a Speaker on the house. We are simply carrying out the custom that has prevailed in the past.

In regard to the Senate, I give the following to the members of the house for purposes of information. From section 34 of the British North America Act it will be seen that the Speaker is appointed by the government. He is not chosen in the same manner as in the Commons. Section 34 reads:

> The Governor General may from time to time, by instrument under the great seal of Canada, appoint a senator to be Speaker of the Senate, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

The section of the British North America Act which governs the selection of a Speaker in the Commons is section 44. It reads as follows:

> The House of Commons, on its first assembling after a general election, shall proceed with all practicable speed to elect one of its members to be Speaker.

That then is the position in which we are at the moment, namely, we are about to elect a Speaker with all practicable speed.

Perhaps I may be permitted, before placing before the house the name of the hon. member I intend to nominate, to say just a word about the position of Speaker and the qualities expected in the occupant of that position.

The position of Speaker is the highest office in the life of the Commons, it is also the most honourable. The Speaker is the first commoner, he is also the presiding officer of this house and is the custodian of its honour, its rights, its privileges and its prerogatives. The Speaker must possess qualities of good judgment and a judicial temperament, also many other qualities that I would not say are too rare, but, found in combination, are often rare enough. He should in his occupancy of the chair be wholly impartial in his manner and in his preferences as between members of the house. Impartiality between the two sides of the house and towards all members in the house is a first requisite in fulfilling the office of Speaker. Hon. members who have been in previous parliaments will agree that a great deal of patience is required, a certain sense of humour, together with as much as possible of a conciliatory attitude; and, as I noticed in reading some remarks made recently in the British house, he must be possessed of a capacity to sit still for a long time, through

afternoon and evening sessions of the house. A Speaker, of course, should be a person of quick perception, firm, tactful and first, familiar with the rules of the house and with the procedure of parliament.

As I have said, this is a remarkable combination to find in any one person, but I do believe the hon. member of this house whom I am about to nominate does possess all these qualities to an exceptional degree. The hon. gentleman whose name I wish to place in nomination is Mr. Gaspard Fauteux, member-elect for St. Mary, Montreal. Doctor Fauteux, I believe, has the character and ability which eminently fit him for this high position. He is a young man, which is all to the good, though he is not too young to be a veteran of the first world war, during which he served in the ranks, nor is he too young to have had considerable parliamentary experience. For some time he was a member of the Quebec legislature and, as hon. members are aware, he has been a member also of this parliament for some time past. Doctor Fauteux comes of a family that has contributed much to our public life. He is a grandson of Hon. Honore Mercier, a former very distinguished Premier of Quebec, and is a nephew of another. I refer to the Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin, who not only was also a distinguished Premier of Quebec but for some time Minister of Justice of Canada.

Those who know Doctor Fauteux will say that they recognize, in his abilities and public service an inherited strain that is all to the good both for him and for our country. And I may say that Docteur Fauteux possesses a good deal in the way of political prowess in his own right, as is evident from what we have seen on his part in political campaigns. However, now that he is being nominated for the Chair, if he is elected to that office, he will be expected to leave behind him the controversies of party and to be wholly impartial.

In nominating Doctor Fauteux, I have much in mind that he recognizes that the great problems of to-day relate themselves not merely to our own country, but to the countries of the world in general. During this period of transition from the terrors of a world war that has been unequalled in its frightfulness, unequalled in history, it is fortunate that we may have in this office of Speaker one who, for years past, has given very special study to international questions, has spoken upon many effects of this world situation in this and in other countries, and has done much to educate others on the importance of a wide outlook in international affairs.

I may repeat that Doctor Fauteux has, I believe, the qualities of quick perception, keen discernment, patience and impartiality; and if elected by the hon. members of this house, he will, I believe, fill the high office of Speaker with dignity, with honour and distinction to himself, with credit to the traditions established by his predecessors and to parliament.

May I be permitted to add a single word. The ability of a Speaker to preside over the house in a manner which will commend itself generally is dependent even more upon the attitude of hon. members themselves than upon the one who may occupy the Chair. This is certain to be a difficult parliament. The questions which will have to be considered here will be much more difficult of solution than those which have had to be faced by any previous parliament. For this reason, if for no other we should recognize that the Speaker may have upon occasions an exceptionally difficult time. In some parliaments there has been I think a tendency to question far too often, the decisions of the Speaker. I am not in any way trying to lecture the house; I am seeking to emphasize what has been stressed very strongly at Westminster, namely, that the more the Speaker can be supported by the house, the better it will prove in the long run for the dispatch of business and also for the reputation of parliament itself in all parts of the world. I hope hon. members will not think I am anticipating unduly possibilities of that kind. I would only say that the more hon. members strengthen the hands of the Speaker, in his decisions, and in his maintenance of order and decorum in the house, the more rapidly and effectively will it be possible to proceed with the dispatch of the business of the house.

Mr. Beauchesne, I would move, seconded by Mr. St. Laurent:

That Gaspard Fauteux, Esquire, member for the electoral district of St. Mary, do take the chair of this house as Speaker.

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Doctor Beauchesne, speaking for the members in this section of the house I am very glad to have the opportunity of supporting the motion made by the Prime Minister. The right hon. gentleman has outlined something of the circumstances leading up to the present situation and has given us something of the historical background of the choice of Speaker. With his motion I am in agreement. With his practice I am not fully in accord.

My remarks to-day will not be at all contentious and will be very brief. The position of Speaker in the House of Commons carries

with it the highest honour in the gift of this assembly. For that high task the hon. member for St. Mary has been proposed. In expectation of his election I want, on behalf of my associates and myself, to extend our sincere congratulations and best wishes for his successful tenure of office.

In the choice of a presiding officer for the House of Commons there are three essentials we ought never to forget. One is that he is elected by us; another is that he is our officer, and the last is that in no degree is he an officer of the government. In democratic parliaments these facts ought never to be overlooked.

As the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) pointed out, in Westminster special care is taken to protect the independence of that position. As he has explained, private members make the motion appointing him and, we have found that speakers, once appointed have continued from one parliament to the next, even though in the meantime there may have been a change of government. The action of the Labour government in the old country within the last few days when they continued in office the Speaker of the previous administration is evidence of that fact.

I draw attention to these facts at this time, not in a spirit of censure of the procedure we are witnessing here to-day. Rather I do so for the purpose of pointing out that the government's action a few days ago—like some similar actions in the past—in designating in advance of the meeting of parliament who would be Speaker of the House of Commons, was not in accordance with the best parliamentary tradition. It was, in fact, and I say this in all deference to the Prime Minister and to such of his predecessors as followed the same procedure, an affront to that tradition; and, to that extent, was an invasion of the rights of the house.

I mention this matter to-day only because if it becomes a regular practice that the Speaker be chosen by the government, without, as in the present instance, any consultation whatsoever with the members of the house, it will tend to prejudice the independence of the office, and to that extent hamper its occupant in the sometimes delicate task of satisfying members of all parties that he is, in fact, completely impartial.

I need scarcely add that this protest is not in any sense directed against the hon. member who has been proposed as Speaker, and in no way detracts from the commendation and good wishes which I express to him personally.

It is one of the happy traditions of the House of Commons that a Speaker of one parliament who is of English descent shall be followed by a Speaker of French descent, and vice versa. The government's choice is in accordance with that worthy tradition. Furthermore, on grounds of personal merit, I feel it to be a wise one. I believe it will be generally accepted as fortunate that the government's choice has fallen upon the hon. member for St. Mary.

During his period of public service in the house and in the legislature of his native province, the hon. member has demonstrated that he possesses ability and tolerance of a high order. If it be true, as the Prime Minister has said, that the hon. member has in the past been a strong partisan and a doughty fighter for his party, that need not be held to his discredit in his new role.

We on this side of the house are hopeful that, in the tradition of his many distinguished predecessors, the hon. member will be able, as they did, to cast off the mantle of partisanship in the administration of the onerous duties of his new task. We are confident that he will consider himself the guardian of the rights of members wherever they may sit in the house; and we trust that he will be equally zealous in protecting the rights of those who sit in opposition as well as those who sit on the government side.

To the degree that he succeeds in doing this, his administration will be a success and he will be assured from all sides of the house of the respect and deference due his high position.

In assuming the speakership the hon. member for St. Mary will follow a long line of predecessors, whether of Anglo-Saxon or of French descent, who brought distinction to that position. It is our hope and expectation that his record will be no less distinguished than theirs.

For myself and associates I say to the hon. member so soon to be chosen Speaker that he will have our full cooperation in making his term of office a credit both to himself and to the twentieth Parliament now about to open.

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Doctor Beauchesne, on behalf of one of the numerically smaller parties in the house, I wish to support the nomination of the hon. member for St. Mary (Mr. Fauteux) as Speaker.

Doctor Fauteux came to this house some three years ago in a by-election, and since that time those of us who had come to know him paid respect to him for his views, and for that sense of humour which has been

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100		Second Session, Trade. Speeches in Parliament	15 Dec. 1945	D 63792 - D 63793	
100		Second Session, Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 63794 - D 63835	
100		Second Session, War Crimes. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63836 - D 63837	
100		Second Session, Outbreak of War, 1939. Speeches in Parliament	24 Nov. 1945	D 63838 - D 63866	
100		Eisenhower, General, Vote of Thanks. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 63867 - D 63906	
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Jan. 1946	D 63907 - D 63928	
100		Macdonald, Rt. Hon. M., Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Mar. 1946	D 63929 - D 63942	

D 63792

NAR/SR
15.12.45

DRAFT STATEMENT FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

On Thursday the Leader of the Opposition enquired whether the Government had received an invitation from the United States Government to attend an international trade conference, and went on to enquire whether, if such an invitation should be received, would the Government give favourable consideration to making its delegation to the proposed conference a non-partisan delegation rather than one representing only the Government itself.

The position is that the United States Government has proposed that the United Nations Organization, once it is established, should take steps to convene a general international conference on trade and employment, if possible by the summer of 1946. The Canadian Government has warmly welcomed the initiative which the United States Government has taken in this matter, and will give its full support in the United Nations Assembly to the proposal that such a conference be held. In the meantime, I can only say that no consideration has yet been given to the composition of the Canadian delegation to such a conference.

I should like to take this opportunity of informing the House that the Government of Canada has ~~been invited by~~ accepted an invitation for

the Government of the United States to participate in a preliminary meeting, which will probably be held during the spring, to prepare for concrete and concerted measures for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and generally to prepare the way for the successful accomplishment of the general objectives which we hope the United Nations conference on trade and employment will be able to realize. I need not emphasize again the importance to Canada of restoring the world trading economy on the fullest and freest basis possible. No country has a greater stake in the attainment and consolidation of these objectives and we must be prepared to take our full part in cooperation with other like-minded nations in this great task.

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September 27, 1945

D 63794

Re: Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe

In answer to a question by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne has been agreed to, to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made on the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the Address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the House the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

The world is still in a very troubled state. The war is over and the victory won, but the responsibilities that rest on governments are not perceptibly lighter. We have our own task of reconstruction in Canada, but to carry it out as wisely and as well as we should wish, it is essential that consultation be had from time to time with members of other governments, facing similar problems, often under more difficult circumstances.

These last months have seen many changes in Europe, brought new persons into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are directly concerned with the solutions which they are seeking to these problems. Experience has taught us that the problems of other countries very quickly become our problems as well.

D 63795

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world moving along paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and co-operation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration, or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of a world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realize it? What do we and what do people in other

countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give substance to the idea for which free men died?

We should find working answers to these questions and find them without delay, for, on the answers which we in Canada and other countries give to these questions, national policies must be based. It is the answers to these general questions which will determine what we should do about defence; how we can most wisely and effectively maintain high levels of employment and promote a fairer distribution of a larger national income; and how far, as a country, we can go in attempting to assist the economic recovery of our allies and the restoration of the world trade on which our wealth and welfare have depended.

Honourable members will be aware that during the meetings in London of the Council of Foreign Ministers the question of participation by nations of the British Commonwealth, apart from the United Kingdom, has arisen on a number of occasions.

The Canadian interest in the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers lay not so much in the detailed discussions of particular issues, as, for example, demarcation of frontiers, as in an over-riding concern for the peaceful settlement of

outstanding differences, and for consolidating the general organization for the maintenance of international security.

It is important that Canada should not merely be consulted, but that there should be clear recognition of Canada's right to effective participation in the great decisions where questions affecting the general ordering of the future peace of the world are under consideration. During the war, for military reasons, it was necessary to acquiesce in the operation of wartime arrangements under which responsibility for major decisions on the direction of the allied war effort was concentrated in a very few hands. The continued use of methods such as were improvised to meet the urgent strain and hazards of war, whereby private settlements are arrived at between the great powers on issues of general interest, might well become a source of difficulty and even of danger. Every possible precaution should, therefore, be taken to see that in this particular the wartime pattern is not perpetuated in the framing of the peace settlement and in the United Nations Organization.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and Western Europe.

Of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observation and inquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe are all of concern to Canada as a principle supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is a still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

I would hope, while in Europe, to have an opportunity to visit areas occupied by Canadian soldiers, and the scenes of battles with which, through the heroic exploits

of our fighting men, the name of Canada will ever be associated. I think it is important also that I should visit Canada's embassies and legations, some of which have been established since the beginning of the war, and all of which, in consequence of the war and post-war problems, have had to operate under new and difficult circumstances.

It was August 24 that Mr. Attlee, in a personal message to myself, stated that he would greatly welcome if I and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth felt we would be able to come to London for purposes of consultation and personal discussion at the opening of the Council of Foreign Ministers. At the same time, Mr. Attlee stated he regretted to have to raise such proposals at such short notice and that the United Kingdom Government recognized the great difficulties which this might involve for me and for the other Prime Ministers. When Mr. Attlee's telegram was received, the present Parliament had been summoned to meet on September 6, and it was, as Mr. Attlee himself recognized, not possible for me, because of the opening of the first session of a new parliament to visit London at that time. Until I had met Parliament and confidence in the government had been expressed by the House of Commons, it would not have done for me to be absent from Canada. That confidence has been expressed in the votes thus far recorded in the divisions which have taken place on the amendments moved by the Progressive Conservative Party, the C.C.F. Party and the Social Credit Party to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for His Excellency's Speech addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the House into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

September 27, 1945

Re: Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe D 63801

In answer to a question by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne has been agreed to, to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made on the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the Address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the House the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

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These last months have seen many changes in Europe, brought new persons into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are directly concerned with the solutions which they are seeking to these problems. Experience has taught us that the problems of other countries very quickly become our problems as well.

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world moving along paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and co-operation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration, or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of a world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realize it? What do we and what do people in other

countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give substance to the idea for which free men died?

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outstanding differences, and for consolidating the general organization for the maintenance of international security.

It is important that Canada should not merely be consulted, but that there should be clear recognition of Canada's right to effective participation in the great decisions where questions affecting the general ordering of the future peace of the world are under consideration. During the war, for military reasons, it was necessary to acquiesce in the operation of wartime arrangements under which responsibility for major decisions on the direction of the allied war effort was concentrated in a very few hands. The continued use of methods such as were improvised to meet the urgent strain and hazards of war, whereby private settlements are arrived at between the great powers on issues of general interest, might well become a source of difficulty and even of danger. Every possible precaution should, therefore, be taken to see that in this particular the wartime pattern is not perpetuated in the framing of the peace settlement and in the United Nations Organization.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and Western Europe.

Of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observation and inquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe are all of concern to Canada as a principle supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is a still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

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It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the House into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

September 27, 1945

D 63803

Re: Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe

In answer to a question by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne has been agreed to, to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made on the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the Address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the House the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

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It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the House into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

September 27, 1945

Re: Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe D 63815

In answer to a question by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne has been agreed to, to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made on the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the Address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the House the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

The world is still in a very troubled state. The war is over and the victory won, but the responsibilities that rest on governments are not perceptibly lighter. We have our own task of reconstruction in Canada, but to carry it out as wisely and as well as we should wish, it is essential that consultation be had from time to time with members of other governments, facing similar problems, often under more difficult circumstances.

These last months have seen many changes in Europe, brought new persons into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are directly concerned with the solutions which they are seeking to these problems. Experience has taught us that the problems of other countries very quickly become our problems as well.

D 63816

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world moving along paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and co-operation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration, or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of a world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realize it? What do we and what do people in other

countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give substance to the idea for which free men died?

We should find working answers to these questions and find them without delay, for, on the answers which we in Canada and other countries give to these questions, national policies must be based. It is the answers to these general questions which will determine what we should do about defence; how we can most wisely and effectively maintain high levels of employment and promote a fairer distribution of a larger national income; and how far, as a country, we can go in attempting to assist the economic recovery of our allies and the restoration of the world trade on which our wealth and welfare have depended.

Honourable members will be aware that during the meetings in London of the Council of Foreign Ministers the question of participation by nations of the British Commonwealth, apart from the United Kingdom, has arisen on a number of occasions.

The Canadian interest in the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers lay not so much in the detailed discussions of particular issues, as, for example, demarcation of frontiers, as in an over-riding concern for the peaceful settlement of

outstanding differences, and for consolidating the general organization for the maintenance of international security.

It is important that Canada should not merely be consulted, but that there should be clear recognition of Canada's right to effective participation in the great decisions where questions affecting the general ordering of the future peace of the world are under consideration. During the war, for military reasons, it was necessary to acquiesce in the operation of wartime arrangements under which responsibility for major decisions on the direction of the allied war effort was concentrated in a very few hands. The continued use of methods such as were improvised to meet the urgent strain and hazards of war, whereby private settlements are arrived at between the great powers on issues of general interest, might well become a source of difficulty and even of danger. Every possible precaution should, therefore, be taken to see that in this particular the wartime pattern is not perpetuated in the framing of the peace settlement and in the United Nations Organization.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and Western Europe.

Of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observation and inquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe are all of concern to Canada as a principle supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is a still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

I would hope, while in Europe, to have an opportunity to visit areas occupied by Canadian soldiers, and the scenes of battles with which, through the heroic exploits

of our fighting men, the name of Canada will ever be associated. I think it is important also that I should visit Canada's embassies and legations, some of which have been established since the beginning of the war, and all of which, in consequence of the war and post-war problems, have had to operate under new and difficult circumstances.

It was August 24 that Mr. Attlee, in a personal message to myself, stated that he would greatly welcome if I and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth felt we would be able to come to London for purposes of consultation and personal discussion at the opening of the Council of Foreign Ministers. At the same time, Mr. Attlee stated he regretted to have to raise such proposals at such short notice and that the United Kingdom Government recognized the great difficulties which this might involve for me and for the other Prime Ministers. When Mr. Attlee's telegram was received, the present Parliament had been summoned to meet on September 6, and it was, as Mr. Attlee himself recognized, not possible for me, because of the opening of the first session of a new parliament to visit London at that time. Until I had met Parliament and confidence in the government had been expressed by the House of Commons, it would not have done for me to be absent from Canada. That confidence has been expressed in the votes thus far recorded in the divisions which have taken place on the amendments moved by the Progressive Conservative Party, the C.C.F. Party and the Social Credit Party to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for His Excellency's Speech addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the House into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

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September 27, 1945
D 63822

Re: Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe

In answer to a question by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne has been agreed to, to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made on the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the Address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the House the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

The world is still in a very troubled state. The war is over and the victory won, but the responsibilities that rest on governments are not perceptibly lighter. We have our own task of reconstruction in Canada, but to carry it out as wisely and as well as we should wish, it is essential that consultation be had from time to time with members of other governments, facing similar problems, often under more difficult circumstances.

These last months have seen many changes in Europe, brought new persons into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are directly concerned with the solutions which they are seeking to these problems. Experience has taught us that the problems of other countries very quickly become our problems as well.

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world moving along paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and co-operation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration, or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of a world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realize it? What do we and what do people in other

countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give substance to the idea for which free men died?

We should find working answers to these questions and find them without delay, for, on the answers which we in Canada and ~~m~~ other countries give to these questions, national policies must be based. It is the answers to these general questions which will determine what we should do about defence; how we can most wisely and effectively maintain high levels of employment and promote a fairer distribution of a larger national income; and how far, as a country, we can go in attempting to assist the economic recovery of our allies and the restoration of the world trade on which our wealth and welfare have depended.

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outstanding differences, and for consolidating the general organization for the maintenance of international security.

It is important that Canada should not merely be consulted, but that there should be clear recognition of Canada's right to effective participation in the great decisions where questions affecting the general ordering of the future peace of the world are under consideration. During the war, for military reasons, it was necessary to acquiesce in the operation of wartime arrangements under which responsibility for major decisions on the direction of the allied war effort was concentrated in a very few hands. The continued use of methods such as were improvised to meet the urgent strain and hazards of war, whereby private settlements are arrived at between the great powers on issues of general interest, might well become a source of difficulty and even of danger. Every possible precaution should, therefore, be taken to see that the wartime pattern in this particular is not perpetuated in the framing of the peace settlement and in the United Nations Organization.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should, ~~without further delay,~~ make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and Western Europe. ~~A personal and informal discussion on~~

D 63826

of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observation and inquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe are all of concern to Canada as a principle supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is a still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

I would hope, while in Europe, to have an opportunity to visit areas occupied by Canadian soldiers, and the scenes of battles with which, through the heroic exploits

of our fighting men, the name of Canada will ever be associated. I think it is important also that I should visit Canada's embassies and legations, some of which have been established since the beginning of the war, and all of which, in consequence of the war and post-war problems, have had to operate under new and difficult circumstances.

It was ~~on~~ August 24 that Mr. Attlee, in a personal message to myself, stated that he would greatly welcome if ~~it were possible~~ that I and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth felt we would be able to come to London for purposes of consultation and personal discussion at the opening of the Council of Foreign Ministers. At the same time, Mr. Attlee stated he regretted to have to raise such proposals at such short notice and that the United Kingdom Government recognized the great difficulties which this might involve for me and for the other Prime Ministers. When Mr. Attlee's telegram was received, the present Parliament had been summoned to meet on September 6, and it was, as Mr. Attlee himself recognized, not possible for me, because of the opening of the first session of a new parliament to visit London at that time. Until I had met Parliament and confidence in the government had been expressed by the House of Commons, it would not have done for me to be absent from Canada. That confidence has been expressed in the votes thus far recorded in the divisions which have taken place on the amendments moved by the Progressive Conservative Party, the C.C.F. Party and the Social Credit Party to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for His Excellency's Speech addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

It is now, ~~therefore~~, possible for me to take the House into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. ~~Since Mr. Attlee's invitation was received, additional reasons have presented themselves which make it essential for me to leave for London as soon as may be possible.~~ Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself, for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come early in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

September 27, 1945

Re: Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe 63829

In answer to a question by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne has been agreed to, to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made on the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the Address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the House the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

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100		Second Session, Speaker, Election of. Speeches in Parliament	6 Sept. 1945	D 63784 - D 63791	
100		Second Session, Trade. Speeches in Parliament	15 Dec. 1945	D 63792 - D 63793	
100		Second Session, Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 63794 - D 63835	
100		Second Session, War Crimes. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63836 - D 63837	
100		Second Session, Outbreak of War, 1939. Speeches in Parliament	24 Nov. 1945	D 63838 - D 63866	
100		Eisenhower, General, Vote of Thanks. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 63867 - D 63906	
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Jan. 1946	D 63907 - D 63928	
100		Macdonald, Rt. Hon. M., Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Mar. 1946	D 63929 - D 63942	

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Pleas return

Tab.

JER/MB
August 27/45

Statement made in the House by the P.M. on Sept. 13/45:

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WAR CRIMES

D 63833

In November, 1943, Mr. A. G. Slaght, K.C., then a member of the House of Commons, was named as Honorary Counsel to the Government to advise with regard to the custody, trial and punishment of persons charged with war crimes. An Inter-departmental Committee was established at the same time, including representatives from the Departments of External Affairs, Justice and National Defence.

The Canadian Government also participated in the work of the United Nations War Crimes Commission which was set up in London and, at a later stage, Mr. Vincent Massey, the Canadian High Commissioner, was appointed as the Canadian representative on theCommission.

Since the surrender of Germany, rapid progress has been made in the plans for the apprehension, trial and punishment of war criminals. The political leaders of Nazi Germany are being dealt with under arrangements agreed upon by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France. The others of the United Nations are not participating.

War Crimes arising out of conquest and occupation will be dealt with by the countries concerned, for example, the Norwegian authorities will deal with atrocities committed during the occupation of Norway.

The remaining war crimes include atrocities committed in the course of battle and crimes against prisoners of war and civilian internees. It is recognized that jurisdiction to deal with such offences should depend upon the nationality of the victim rather than the national character of the place where the offence has been committed. Accordingly, arrangements are being made to establish military courts to deal with these offences. Canadian military courts will deal with offences against Canadians, including members of the Canadian armed forces regardless of their individual national status, British military courts with offences against British, and United States and Soviet courts will deal with offences against United States citizens and soldiers and Russian citizens and soldiers, respectively.

In order to carry out this general plan, a recent Order in Council ~~has~~ authorized regulations to govern the custody, trial and punishment of persons charged with violation of the laws and usages of war. The regulations are similar and, in matters of substance, are identical with the regulations which have

D 63827

been established for British military courts. Further, the nature of the courts and the character of the procedure will be substantially the same as in the case of those which are being established by the United States authorities.

A War Crimes Section has been set up at Canadian Military Headquarters in London headed by Lieutenant-Colonel B.J.S.Macdonald who had formerly occupied a similar position in the War Crimes Section established by General Eisenhower at his Supreme Headquarters. When the Section at Supreme Headquarters was disbanded early in the year, a number of the Canadian officers who had been associated with Colonel Macdonald were transferred to the Canadian Section and they have since been engaged in the preparation of Canadian cases and in submitting them to the United Nations War Crimes Commission for approval.

The Commission will deal with cases submitted in this way in the same manner and in accordance with the same procedure as in cases submitted by other governments. If the Commission considers that there is a case which should be tried, it will remit it to the Canadian War Crimes Section for action. Colonel Macdonald and his associates will then undertake the prosecution of the accused. The courts will be established in accordance with military law, the procedure will be in accordance with the principles of justice, the accused will have full opportunity for defence, and the arrangements for constitution of the court and execution of sentence will follow recognized military practice. In view of the impossibility of assembling all of the witnesses, some of whom may have been demobilized and many of whom will have been repatriated, there are some modifications of the rigid rules of evidence applicable under our ordinary criminal procedure. There are, however, sufficient safeguards for the accused to make it certain that they will receive fair trials, and that they will only be convicted if convictions are justified by the laws and usages of war and supported by evidence.

Under the arrangements which have now been established, the Canadian courts will be concerned with war crimes involving death or grievous bodily harm to Canadian civilians or to members of the Canadian armed forces. Prosecution will be undertaken by the War Crimes Section of Canadian Military Headquarters and the Judge Advocate General's Office will be responsible for examining cases and for authorizing prosecution. The courts will be constituted from military personnel experienced in the laws and usages of war; and the proceedings will be conducted with dignity, fairness, and justice.

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100		Macdonald, Rt. Hon. M., Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Mar. 1946	D 63929 - D 63942	

Summary of Exchange of Telegrams between the

Prime Minister of Great Britain and Canada

D 63838

tabled in the House of Commons

The attached correspondence between the government of Canada and the government of the United Kingdom, from September 1st to September 30th, 1939, is now made public pursuant to an order for return of papers passed by the House of Commons on October 1.

This correspondence shows the attitude of the Canadian government on the eve of the outbreak of war, and immediately after hostilities had been declared. It relates particularly to the early beginnings of the air training plan, making clear the magnitude of the original proposal on September 26th, and the speed with which agreement was reached, on September 28th, in deciding to put into action this immense plan which could and did affect the whole course of the war.

A brief summary of the correspondence shows the following main points:

On September 1st, the Government of the United Kingdom was informed that the Canadian government had made public a statement of policy to the

effect that "in the event of the United Kingdom becoming engaged in war to resist aggression, the Government of Canada have decided unanimously, as soon as Parliament meets, to seek its authority for effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Britain." At the same time, measures for the defence of Canada were taken in view of the existence of a state of apprehended war.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain, on September 2nd, expressed his "deepest appreciation" of the Canadian government's statement.

A state of war having been declared by Great Britain on September 3rd, the Prime Minister of Canada informed the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, on that same day, that the Canadian government would recommend further action in addition to measures for immediate defence of Canada. The Canadian government suggested that it might help in the defence of the West Atlantic Region, particularly of Newfoundland and the West Indies. The Canadian government also asked for advice as to "the probable theatre and character of British and allied military operations, in order that we may consider the

policy to be adopted by Canada."

D 63840

A similar inquiry was made as to the nature and extent of British and allied requirements ~~xx of war materials~~ supplies.

On September 6th, the Prime Minister of Great Britain after expressing his appreciation of Canada's attitude said:

"We realize that.... the immediate task of the Canadian Government will be the defence of Canada."

The offer of assistance in the Western Atlantic region was warmly welcomed especially participation in defence of Newfoundland "in view of the importance of the Bell Island ore mines."

After stating that an appreciation of the probable theatre of war and the character of the main British and allied operations would be sent later, this communication then said that "so far as immediate steps are concerned, provision of naval vessels and

facilities and of air force personnel would be of most assistance."

Regarding supplies, emphasis was placed on need for Canadian dollars in order to increase imports of food, raw materials and other necessities. "In the circumstances perhaps the most valuable immediate assistance which Canada could give us in this field would be any steps which are possible to assist us in the financing of desired purchases."

In the course of the next few weeks, the German army, greatly aided by the powerful German air force, swept through Poland.

The next message of the British Prime Minister to the Canadian Prime Minister, on September 26th, is of historic importance. It contains the original proposal of the Wartime Commonwealth Air Training Plan. "Because it (the scheme outlined in the message) invites co-operation with Canada to a very special degree, I want to make a very special personal appeal to you about it. I feel that so far reaching a prospect will strike your imagination particularly as it concerns an all

important field of war activity in which Canada has already made so striking and gallant an individual contribution."

This message points out that "in the light of the success of the German air force in helping to achieve the rapid subjugation of Poland" the problem of future requirements in air strength is of vital importance. "It is now abundantly clear that an overwhelming air force will be needed in order to counter German air strength and, in combination with other military measures and economic pressure, to bring ultimate victory."

Needs were estimated at "not less than 20,000 pilots and 30,000 personnel of air crews annually" for maintenance of this greatly enlarged air force.

The British Prime Minister's message then continued "It seems to us that this is a problem in the solution of which the overseas parts of the Empire may well be able to play a decisive part. If about one half of this vast training organization, say fifty flying training schools (of which twenty-five would be for advanced training) with some subsidiary schools could be built up elsewhere than the United Kingdom, it would be, in our judgment, of inestimable value to the common cause."

The gigantic training scheme was then outlined. "Schools for elementary training would be established in each Dominion according to its capacity." Emphasis was placed on the fact that "Canada has special advantages of nearness to the United Kingdom, greater potentialities for manufacture of service type of aircraft and air units, and proximity to the vast resources of the United States of America. For this reason the conceptions of the scheme involves general agreement on the part of all governments concerned that advanced training for trainees from elementary training schools should be centered in Canada".

In outlining the scheme it was suggested as a first step, joint discussion should take place between experts. It was felt

that "these discussions could most conveniently take place in Canada." The telegram added: "We ourselves are ready at very short notice to send to Canada a mission of high standing specially qualified for this particular purpose and we hope that it might be possible for it to discuss questions of fact with similar missions from other Governments concerned."

The great importance attached by the British Government to the proposal contained in this telegram is set out in the following paragraph: "We hope that you will agree as to the immense influence which the development and realization of such a great project as that outlined in this telegram may have upon the whole course of the war; it might even prove decisive. We trust therefore that this co-operative method of approach to the problem will appeal to your Government. The knowledge that a vast air potential was being built up in the Dominions where no German air activity could interfere with expansion, might well have a psychological effect on the Germans equal to that produced by the intervention of the United States in the last war with its vast resources."

The telegram concluded by saying it would be most helpful if the Canadian Prime Minister could let the Prime Minister of Great Britain know at the earliest possible moment "whether your Government approved the suggested scheme in principle".

Within two days, on September 23th, the Prime Minister of Canada sent his acceptance of the scheme, on behalf of the Canadian government.

"I can say at once that our Government fully agrees that Canadian co-operation in this field would be particularly appropriate and probably the most effective in the military sphere which Canada could furnish. We would therefore be prepared to accept the scheme in principle."

After discussing briefly various requirements to make the scheme effective, such as the need for sufficient planes to permit training on a large scale, the need for additional instructors, and the problem of financing the scheme, this message ended by saying:

"We are entirely in agreement as to the desirability of joint discussions in Canada between experts at the earliest

possible date and would be pleased to receive the mission from the United Kingdom suggested in your telegram, and also the missions from other members of the Commonwealth."

On September 29th, the British Prime Minister, after expressing deep appreciation of the Canadian government's attitude, suggested that the Canadian Prime Minister should inform the other Prime Ministers concerned of the attitude which the Canadian government was adopting.

This was immediately done, as was indicated in the final telegram of this series, from the Canadian Prime Minister to the British Prime Minister on September 30th.

Such was the inception of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, on which the agreement was finally signed shortly after midnight of December 16th, in the office of the Prime Minister of Canada, on Parliament Hill. It was a project, which, as forecast, was to have a very great influence on the whole course of the war.

November 24th, 1945.

EXPLANATORY NOTE:

On October 1 the following motion for Production of Papers was agreed to subject to extending the date to October 1, 1939:

"MR. HAZEN:

For a copy of all correspondence, letters, cables and other documents exchanged between His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom and His Majesty's government in Canada from September 1, 1938, to September 15, 1939, relating to the attitude of Canada in the event of an outbreak of hostilities between His Majesty and any other power."

The Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs explained that there were exchanges subsequent to September 15, which are required to complete the disposition of the matter referred to in the correspondence.

Previous to September 1, 1939, the Government of Canada was kept constantly informed of international developments in the usual manner and as the crisis approached in the summer of 1939 there were consultations between the United Kingdom and Canadian authorities through the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Ottawa and the Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

The list is as follows:

(1) Telegram of September 1, 1939, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London, transmitting message from Prime Minister to Prime Minister;

(2) Telegram of September 2 in reply;

(3) Telegram of September 3 from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London;

(4) Telegram of September 6 in reply;

(5) Telegram of September 26 from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London, to Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa;

(6) Telegram of September 28 from the Secretary of State for External Affairs in reply;

(7) Telegram of September 29 from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs;

(8) Telegram of September 30 in reply.

D 63846

COPY

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

Ottawa, September 1, 1939.

IMMEDIATE

EN CLAIR

Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister.

Following a meeting of the Cabinet this morning a proclamation was issued summoning Parliament to meet on the earliest possible date September 7th. The following statement of government policy was issued to the press at one o'clock to-day: Begins.

In the event of the United Kingdom becoming engaged in war in the effort to resist aggression, the Government of Canada have unanimously decided, as soon as Parliament meets, to seek its authority for effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Britain. Meanwhile necessary measures will continue to be taken for the defence of Canada. Consultations with the United Kingdom will be continued. In the light of all the information at its disposal, the Government will recommend to Parliament the measures which it believes to be the most effective for co-operation and defence.

The Government has provided for the immediate issue of a proclamation under the War Measures Act in view of the existence of a state of apprehended war. The militia of Canada which a few days ago was called for voluntary service under Section 63 of Militia Act has, under Section 64 of the same Act been placed on active service. The naval services and the air force have also been placed on active service. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

D 63847

C O P Y

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

LONDON, September 2, 1939.

Following for Prime Minister from my Prime Minister, Begins:

My colleagues and I have received with the deepest appreciation the statement of the statement of policy issued by His Majesty's Government in Canada and contained in your telegram to me of September 1st. In these critical and anxious hours it has afforded to us the greatest possible encouragement to know that His Majesty's Government in Canada are at one with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in their determination to resist aggression.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

D 63848

C O P Y

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

Ottawa, September 3, 1939.

Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister.

1. As you are aware the Canadian Parliament will meet on Thursday of this week.

2. In view of the announcement which you made this morning, indicating that in spite of your unceasing and persistent efforts for peace, the action and attitude of the German Government had resulted in a state of war developing between the United Kingdom and Germany, the Canadian Government, in addition to the defence and precautionary measures which it is taking under the War Measures Act and other administrative powers, will recommend to Parliament further action. The measures to be proposed are now under consideration.

3. As regards military activities our primary task will naturally be the defence of Canada, which under present circumstances is a more pressing and urgent undertaking than it was in the last war. We are also considering to what extent we could undertake as necessity required and our means permitted action in the Western Atlantic region, particularly in Newfoundland and the West Indies. As to further military cooperation we should be glad to receive your appreciation of the probable theatre and character of main British and allied military operations, in order that we may consider the policy to be adopted by Canada.

4. We should also like to have your Government's present appreciation of the nature and extent of British and allied requirements as regards supplies and particularly the relative urgency of the needs for various commodities which Canadian producers could furnish. As regards munitions the despatch of the British Mission now on its way and the consultations which have already taken place should make it possible to reach prompt conclusions on detailed arrangements. Presumably the negotiations which have been taking place in the United Kingdom for the purchase of war materials and food stuffs will be completed and developed. The Canadian Government is considering what general measures of economic organization and control will be required in this country.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

D 63849

COPY

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

LONDON, September 6th, 1939.

Following for your Prime Minister, Begins:

I am very grateful for your message and for information as to the defence and precautionary measures which the Canadian Government are taking or considering.

2. We realize that, as regards military activities, the immediate task of the Canadian Government will be the defence of Canada. As regards concerted measures, we are most grateful for your offer of assistance, so far as is necessary and possible, in the western Atlantic region. Participation in protection of Newfoundland will be of special value in view of the importance of the Bell Island iron ore mines.

3. As regards further military cooperation, our appreciation of the probable theatre of war and the character of main British and Allied military operations will be communicated separately as soon as possible.

4. Generally, so far as immediate steps are concerned, provision of naval vessels and facilities and of air force personnel would be of most assistance, and in particular at present time supply of any pilots and aircraft crews available is a capital requirement. As regards land forces, policy here is to avoid a rush of volunteers such as occurred in the last war and to expand by means of a controlled intake. The chief requirement is for certain technical personnel.

5. As regards supplies, there will undoubtedly be large requirements of Canadian dollars. According to Canadian balance of payments figures, Canada had an "active" balance with United Kingdom of about 175 million dollars a year over the years 1935 to 1937. United Kingdom purchases of some commodities obtained during those years in Canada will necessarily be curtailed, but purchases of other essential commodities are likely to be largely increased if necessary finances can be found.

6. It follows that the net balance of payments in favour of Canada may be substantially higher in war than in peace-time. For instance, if dollars are available for food, Defence department would like to increase our normal food imports from Canada by a very large amount, perhaps 100 million dollars, Ministry of Supply wish to purchase large supplies of various raw materials, in particular, copper, aluminium, nickel, and perhaps timber. Moreover, Air Ministry in addition to their outstanding commitments, would like to place very substantial further orders for aircraft and accessories. (The technical mission which as you know is now on its way to Canada has full particulars). All of these supplies are needed for the efficient prosecution of the war and the feeding of the civilian population. Figures which could be given at the present stage would not be exact enough to be of much value but we must reckon on our needs of Canadian dollars in war time greatly exceeding our peace time needs, perhaps by 200 and nearer 300 million dollars a year.

7. In the circumstances perhaps the most valuable immediate assistance which Canada could give in this field would be any steps which are possible to assist us in the financing of desired purchases. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

D 63850

COPY

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

LONDON, September 26th, 1939.

Following for Prime Minister from my Prime Minister.
Begins:

I am sure that you will agree that the scheme outlined in the following message is of first importance. For this reason, and because it invites cooperation with Canada to a very special degree, I want to make a special personal appeal to you about it. I feel that so far reaching a project will strike your imagination particularly as it concerns an all important field of war activity in which Canada has already made so striking and gallant an individual contribution. May I therefore ask that the matter should receive very urgent attention?

1. During the last few days the War Cabinet have been considering the whole problem of future requirements in air strength and the nature of the effort likely to be required. The conclusion reached is that the problem is one of vital importance especially in the light of the success obtained by the German air force in helping to achieve the rapid subjugation of Poland. It is now abundantly clear that an overwhelming air force will be needed in order to counter German air strength and, in combination with other military measures and economic pressure, to bring ultimate victory.

2. With this in view the War Cabinet have sanctioned immediate measures here directed to further expansion of aircraft production and training. Objective is to build up gradually and maintain in continuous operation a greatly enlarged air force. In view of the unfortunate fact that wastage rate of air force when engaged in continuous heavy operations is exceedingly high it is expected that there would be required not less than 20,000 pilots and 30,000 personnel of air crews annually for maintenance of this enlarged force. To provide for these it is estimated that about 90 elementary and advanced flying training schools with some subsidiary air crew and ground schools would be necessary.

3. In this respect we find ourselves under a grave disability in that the training organization now required is more than twice the entire training capacity available in the United Kingdom, having regard to limited space, operational restrictions and vulnerability to air attack.

4. It seems to us that this is a problem in the solution of which the overseas parts of the Empire may well be able to play a decisive part. If about one half of this vast training organization, say fifty flying training schools (of which twenty-five would be for advanced training) with some subsidiary schools could be built up elsewhere than the United Kingdom, it would be, in our judgment, of inestimable value to the common cause. We have therefore been thinking over lines on which such an effort might be realized and venture to put forward for the consideration of your government a scheme of which the following is an outline.

5. Schools for elementary training would be established in each Dominion according to its capacity. Whilst all Dominions enjoy equal immunity from the risk of enemy interference, Canada has special advantages of nearness to the United Kingdom, greater potentialities

for manufacture of service type of aircraft and proximity to the vast resources of the United States of America. For this reason the conception of the scheme involves general agreement on the part of all Governments concerned that advanced training for trainees from elementary training schools should be centred in Canada. There would be a continuous flow of trained personnel from elementary training schools in Canada to theatres of operations. It would also be our intention that a number of those who have completed elementary training in the United Kingdom should receive their advanced training in Canada.

6. We appreciate that any such scheme of nationalized training must depend on adequate provisions for training types and advanced service types of aircraft. It is our hope that existing resources of the Dominion for production of trainers and their engines will be fully utilized and expanded to meet the requirements of elementary schools as determined by the extent to which each Dominion may decide to participate in the general scheme of training. It would not be the intention to retard or interfere in any way with projects already embarked on for Dominion production of service types. We are working out numbers and types of aircraft, both training and advanced, that we think would be required and we should be in a position to let you have particulars at an early date.

7. We should wish to do everything in our power as for example by the loan of personnel, to help in the building up of the organization outlined above.

8. It is of course contemplated that the first call on Dominion personnel who had received their training in schools under scheme would be for such air force units of Dominions as the participating Dominion Governments might be prepared to provide and maintain.

9. If a scheme on the above lines is acceptable in principle to your Government we suggest as a first step joint discussions between experts. We think that these discussions might most conveniently take place in Canada. We ourselves are ready at very short notice to send to Canada a mission of high standing specially qualified for this particular purpose and we hope that it might be possible for it to discuss questions of fact with similar missions from other Governments concerned.

10. We hope that you will agree as to the immense influence which the development and realization of such a great project as that outlined in this telegram may have upon the whole course of the war; it might even prove decisive. We trust therefore that this co-operative method of approach to the problem will appeal to your Government. The knowledge that a vast air potential was being built up in the Dominions where no German air activity could interfere with expansion, might well have a psychological effect on the Germans equal to that produced by the intervention of the United States in the last war with its vast resources.

11. It would be most helpful if you could let me know at the earliest possible moment whether your Government approved the suggested scheme in principle and whether they are agreeable to joint discussions in Canada in order that immediate arrangements may be made to that end.

12. I have conveyed the substance of the above scheme to the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand also. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

D 63852

COPY

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

OTTAWA, 28th September, 1939.

Unnumbered message of September 26th. Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister, Begins:

1. I have received and discussed with colleagues the situation outlined in your telegram under reference.

2. We have noted the conclusion of the War Cabinet that a greatly enlarged air force, in combination with other military measures and economic pressure, has become of vital importance. We have, therefore, given immediate consideration to the scheme outlined in your telegram and in particular to the part Canada could play in recruiting and training pilots and other personnel on the cooperative plan proposed.

3. I can say at once that our Government fully agree that Canadian cooperation in this field would be particularly appropriate and probably the most effective in the military sphere which Canada could furnish. We would therefore be prepared to accept the scheme in principle.

4. There are necessarily certain important points which would have to be considered in determining what on our part may be possible.

5. The first requirement to ensure maximum effectiveness is the provision of sufficient planes to permit training the large numbers contemplated. Canadian aircraft production is only just beginning to expand and cannot hope to provide the aircraft necessary for home defence and the initial supply of intermediate and advanced training aircraft in time for the scheme to develop quickly. Therefore these initial aircraft for this scheme must come from Britain or the United States. Canadian production could probably look after subsequent replacement aircraft. Canada can provide a surplus of elementary trainers which would be available for other Dominions. Engines are not available in Canada at present and must be supplied from Britain or the United States. Canadian manufacture of engines, if started now, could hardly produce useful results in less than eighteen or twenty months. It would be desirable to consider whether it would be possible to expand Canadian production by the transfer of some United Kingdom plant to Canada.

As regards the United States, it is unlikely to provide either airframes or engines in large quantities for quick delivery, except by diversion to Canada of aircraft now ordered by Britain. In the event of the repeal of the arms embargo, United States plants will still be engaged far ahead with domestic and foreign orders, including orders from neutral countries. Some recent quotations indicate eighteen months as the minimum time for delivery of new orders, though we believe this could be speeded up.

The views of the United Kingdom Government on all the above points would be very helpful.

6. As to instructors available here, full details will be sent very shortly. It is however plain that the number at present

available is far below what would be necessary for rapid and effective execution of the project, and that the loan of personnel from the United Kingdom at the outset would be essential in ensuring the training of maximum numbers in minimum time. Particulars on this point would therefore be of great assistance. The facts as to existing and potential aerodromes and training stations are being collected and will be furnished shortly.

7. A third point of importance is the financial aspect. In order to decide the possible extent of our participation in the proposed air-training plan, and in the light thereof to review the plans already made for military and economic cooperation, it will be necessary to be informed in general terms what your government has in mind as to the distribution of costs of the air-training scheme among the several co-operating governments. I should perhaps mention that the question of financing British purchases in this market is still unsettled, though we hope that Treasury representatives will be able to discuss it with us in the course of the next few days.

8. We are entirely in agreement as to the desirability of joint discussions in Canada between experts at the earliest possible date and would be pleased to receive the mission from the United Kingdom suggested in your telegram, and also similar missions, from other members of the Commonwealth. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

D 63854

COPY

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

LONDON, 29th September, 1939.

Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, Begins:

We deeply appreciate speedy and sympathetic consideration which you and your colleagues have given to proposals set out in my telegram of September 26th, and are very gratified to learn that they are acceptable in principle.

We will examine at once detailed questions raised and will communicate as soon as possible with you on these points and also on question of date for arrival of suggested Mission.

In the meantime, it would be most helpful if other Prime Ministers concerned could be informed of attitude which Canadian Government are adopting. Would you prefer to do this yourself or would you like me to do so? Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

D 63855

COPY

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

OTTAWA, September 30th, 1939.

Following from Prime Minister to your Prime Minister, Begins:

1. I wish to thank you for your message of appreciation regarding our telegram of September 28th. I note that the detailed questions raised are being examined and that you will shortly communicate with us further. We are continuing to make a similar examination here and when all the information is available, hope to be in a position to decide promptly on what scale we could cooperate in any joint plan that might be agreed upon.

2. We had already in mind the desirability of communicating with the Governments of Australia and New Zealand and have today informed them of the substance of my telegram of September 28th. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

D 63856

November 24th, 1945.

EXPLANATORY NOTE:

On October 1 the following motion for Production of Papers was agreed to subject to extending the date to October 1, 1939:

"MR. HAZEN:

For a copy of all correspondence, letters, cables and other documents exchanged between His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom and His Majesty's government in Canada from September 1, 1938, to September 15, 1939, relating to the attitude of Canada in the event of an outbreak of hostilities between His Majesty and any other power."

The Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs explained that there were exchanges subsequent to September 15, which are required to complete the disposition of the matter referred to in the correspondence.

Previous to September 1, 1939, the Government of Canada was kept constantly informed of international developments in the usual manner and as the crisis approached in the summer of 1939 there were consultations between the United Kingdom and Canadian authorities through the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Ottawa and the Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

The list is as follows:

(1) Telegram of September 1, 1939, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London, transmitting message from Prime Minister to Prime Minister;

(2) Telegram of September 2 in reply;

(3) Telegram of September 3 from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London;

(4) Telegram of September 6 in reply;

(5) Telegram of September 26 from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London, to Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa;

(6) Telegram of September 28 from the Secretary of State for External Affairs in reply;

(7) Telegram of September 29 from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs;

(8) Telegram of September 30 in reply.

D 63857

C O P Y

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

Ottawa, September 1, 1939.

IMMEDIATE

EN CLAIR

Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister.

Following a meeting of the Cabinet this morning a proclamation was issued summoning Parliament to meet on the earliest possible date September 7th. The following statement of government policy was issued to the press at one o'clock to-day: Begins.

In the event of the United Kingdom becoming engaged in war in the effort to resist aggression, the Government of Canada have unanimously decided, as soon as Parliament meets, to seek its authority for effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Britain. Meanwhile necessary measures will continue to be taken for the defence of Canada. Consultations with the United Kingdom will be continued. In the light of all the information at its disposal, the Government will recommend to Parliament the measures which it believes to be the most effective for co-operation and defence.

The Government has provided for the immediate issue of a proclamation under the War Measures Act in view of the existence of a state of apprehended war. The militia of Canada which a few days ago was called for voluntary service under Section 63 of Militia Act has, under Section 64 of the same Act been placed on active service. The naval services and the air force have also been placed on active service. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

D 63858

C O P Y

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

LONDON, September 2, 1939.

Following for Prime Minister from my Prime Minister, Begins:

My colleagues and I have received with the deepest appreciation the statement of the statement of policy issued by His Majesty's Government in Canada and contained in your telegram to me of September 1st. In these critical and anxious hours it has afforded to us the greatest possible encouragement to know that His Majesty's Government in Canada are at one with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in their determination to resist aggression.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

D 63859

C O P Y

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON

Ottawa, September 3, 1939.

Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister.

1. As you are aware the Canadian Parliament will meet on Thursday of this week.

2. In view of the announcement which you made this morning, indicating that in spite of your unceasing and persistent efforts for peace, the action and attitude of the German Government had resulted in a state of war developing between the United Kingdom and Germany, the Canadian Government, in addition to the defence and precautionary measures which it is taking under the War Measures Act and other administrative powers, will recommend to Parliament further action. The measures to be proposed are now under consideration.

3. As regards military activities our primary task will naturally be the defence of Canada, which under present circumstances is a more pressing and urgent undertaking than it was in the last war. We are also considering to what extent we could undertake as necessity required and our means permitted action in the Western Atlantic region, particularly in Newfoundland and the West Indies. As to further military cooperation we should be glad to receive your appreciation of the probable theatre and character of main British and allied military operations, in order that we may consider the policy to be adopted by Canada.

4. We should also like to have your Government's present appreciation of the nature and extent of British and allied requirements as regards supplies and particularly the relative urgency of the needs for various commodities which Canadian producers could furnish. As regards munitions the despatch of the British Mission now on its way and the consultations which have already taken place should make it possible to reach prompt conclusions on detailed arrangements. Presumably the negotiations which have been taking place in the United Kingdom for the purchase of war materials and food stuffs will be completed and developed. The Canadian Government is considering what general measures of economic organization and control will be required in this country.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

D 63860

C O P Y

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

LONDON, September 6th, 1939.

Following for your Prime Minister, Begins:

I am very grateful for your message and for information as to the defence and precautionary measures which the Canadian Government are taking or considering.

2. We realize that, as regards military activities, the immediate task of the Canadian Government will be the defence of Canada. As regards concerted measures, we are most grateful for your offer of assistance, so far as is necessary and possible, in the western Atlantic region. Participation in protection of Newfoundland will be of special value in view of the importance of the Bell Island iron ore mines.

3. As regards further military cooperation, our appreciation of the probable theatre of war and the character of main British and Allied military operations will be communicated separately as soon as possible.

4. Generally, so far as immediate steps are concerned, provision of naval vessels and facilities and of air force personnel would be of most assistance, and in particular at present time supply of any pilots and aircraft crews available is a capital requirement. As regards land forces, policy here is to avoid a rush of volunteers such as occurred in the last war and to expand by means of a controlled intake. The chief requirement is for certain technical personnel.

5. As regards supplies, there will undoubtedly be large requirements of Canadian dollars. According to Canadian balance of payments figures, Canada had an "active" balance with United Kingdom of about 175 million dollars a year over the years 1935 to 1937. United Kingdom purchases of some commodities obtained during those years in Canada will necessarily be curtailed, but purchases of other essential commodities are likely to be largely increased if necessary finances can be found.

6. It follows that the net balance of payments in favour of Canada may be substantially higher in war than in peace-time. For instance, if dollars are available for food, Defence department would like to increase our normal food imports from Canada by a very large amount, perhaps 100 million dollars, Ministry of Supply wish to purchase large supplies of various raw materials, in particular, copper, aluminium, nickel, and perhaps timber. Moreover, Air Ministry in addition to their outstanding commitments, would like to place very substantial further orders for aircraft and accessories. (The technical mission which as you know is now on its way to Canada has full particulars). All of these supplies are needed for the efficient prosecution of the war and the feeding of the civilian population. Figures which could be given at the present stage would not be exact enough to be of much value but we must reckon on our needs of Canadian dollars in war time greatly exceeding our peace time needs, perhaps by 200 and nearer 300 million dollars a year.

7. In the circumstances perhaps the most valuable immediate assistance which Canada could give in this field would be any steps which are possible to assist us in the financing of desired purchases. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

D 63861

COPY

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

LONDON, September 26th, 1939.

Following for Prime Minister from my Prime Minister.
Begins:

I am sure that you will agree that the scheme outlined in the following message is of first importance. For this reason, and because it invites cooperation with Canada to a very special degree, I want to make a special personal appeal to you about it. I feel that so far reaching a project will strike your imagination particularly as it concerns an all important field of war activity in which Canada has already made so striking and gallant an individual contribution. May I therefore ask that the matter should receive very urgent attention?

1. During the last few days the War Cabinet have been considering the whole problem of future requirements in air strength and the nature of the effort likely to be required. The conclusion reached is that the problem is one of vital importance especially in the light of the success obtained by the German air force in helping to achieve the rapid subjugation of Poland. It is now abundantly clear that an overwhelming air force will be needed in order to counter German air strength and, in combination with other military measures and economic pressure, to bring ultimate victory.

2. With this in view the War Cabinet have sanctioned immediate measures here directed to further expansion of aircraft production and training. Objective is to build up gradually and maintain in continuous operation a greatly enlarged air force. In view of the unfortunate fact that wastage rate of air force when engaged in continuous heavy operations is exceedingly high it is expected that there would be required not less than 20,000 pilots and 30,000 personnel of air crews annually for maintenance of this enlarged force. To provide for these it is estimated that about 90 elementary and advanced flying training schools with some subsidiary air crew and ground schools would be necessary.

3. In this respect we find ourselves under a grave disability in that the training organization now required is more than twice the entire training capacity available in the United Kingdom, having regard to limited space, operational restrictions and vulnerability to air attack.

4. It seems to us that this is a problem in the solution of which the overseas parts of the Empire may well be able to play a decisive part. If about one half of this vast training organization, say fifty flying training schools (of which twenty-five would be for advanced training) with some subsidiary schools could be built up elsewhere than the United Kingdom, it would be, in our judgment, of inestimable value to the common cause. We have therefore been thinking over lines on which such an effort might be realized and venture to put forward for the consideration of your government a scheme of which the following is an outline.

5. Schools for elementary training would be established in each Dominion according to its capacity. Whilst all Dominions enjoy equal immunity from the risk of enemy interference, Canada has special advantages of nearness to the United Kingdom, greater potentialities

for manufacture of service type of aircraft and proximity to the vast resources of the United States of America. For this reason the conception of the scheme involves general agreement on the part of all Governments concerned that advanced training for trainees from elementary training schools should be centred in Canada. There would be a continuous flow of trained personnel from elementary training schools in Canada to theatres of operations. It would also be our intention that a number of those who have completed elementary training in the United Kingdom should receive their advanced training in Canada.

6. We appreciate that any such scheme of nationalized training must depend on adequate provisions for training types and advanced service types of aircraft. It is our hope that existing resources of the Dominion for production of trainers and their engines will be fully utilized and expanded to meet the requirements of elementary schools as determined by the extent to which each Dominion may decide to participate in the general scheme of training. It would not be the intention to retard or interfere in any way with projects already embarked on for Dominion production of service types. We are working out numbers and types of aircraft, both training and advanced, that we think would be required and we should be in a position to let you have particulars at an early date.

7. We should wish to do everything in our power as for example by the loan of personnel, to help in the building up of the organization outlined above.

8. It is of course contemplated that the first call on Dominion personnel who had received their training in schools under scheme would be for such air force units of Dominions as the participating Dominion Governments might be prepared to provide and maintain.

9. If a scheme on the above lines is acceptable in principle to your Government we suggest as a first step joint discussions between experts. We think that these discussions might most conveniently take place in Canada. We ourselves are ready at very short notice to send to Canada a mission of high standing specially qualified for this particular purpose and we hope that it might be possible for it to discuss questions of fact with similar missions from other Governments concerned.

10. We hope that you will agree as to the immense influence which the development and realization of such a great project as that outlined in this telegram may have upon the whole course of the war; it might even prove decisive. We trust therefore that this co-operative method of approach to the problem will appeal to your Government. The knowledge that a vast air potential was being built up in the Dominions where no German air activity could interfere with expansion, might well have a psychological effect on the Germans equal to that produced by the intervention of the United States in the last war with its vast resources.

11. It would be most helpful if you could let me know at the earliest possible moment whether your Government approved the suggested scheme in principle and whether they are agreeable to joint discussions in Canada in order that immediate arrangements may be made to that end.

12. I have conveyed the substance of the above scheme to the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand also. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

D 63863

COPY

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

OTTAWA, 28th September, 1939.

Unnumbered message of September 26th. Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister, Begins:

1. I have received and discussed with colleagues the situation outlined in your telegram under reference.

2. We have noted the conclusion of the War Cabinet that a greatly enlarged air force, in combination with other military measures and economic pressure, has become of vital importance. We have, therefore, given immediate consideration to the scheme outlined in your telegram and in particular to the part Canada could play in recruiting and training pilots and other personnel on the cooperative plan proposed.

3. I can say at once that our Government fully agree that Canadian cooperation in this field would be particularly appropriate and probably the most effective in the military sphere which Canada could furnish. We would therefore be prepared to accept the scheme in principle.

4. There are necessarily certain important points which would have to be considered in determining what on our part may be possible.

5. The first requirement to ensure maximum effectiveness is the provision of sufficient planes to permit training the large numbers contemplated. Canadian aircraft production is only just beginning to expand and cannot hope to provide the aircraft necessary for home defence and the initial supply of intermediate and advanced training aircraft in time for the scheme to develop quickly. Therefore these initial aircraft for this scheme must come from Britain or the United States. Canadian production could probably look after subsequent replacement aircraft. Canada can provide a surplus of elementary trainers which would be available for other Dominions. Engines are not available in Canada at present and must be supplied from Britain or the United States. Canadian manufacture of engines, if started now, could hardly produce useful results in less than eighteen or twenty months. It would be desirable to consider whether it would be possible to expand Canadian production by the transfer of some United Kingdom plant to Canada.

As regards the United States, it is unlikely to provide either airframes or engines in large quantities for quick delivery, except by diversion to Canada of aircraft now ordered by Britain. In the event of the repeal of the arms embargo, United States plants will still be engaged far ahead with domestic and foreign orders, including orders from neutral countries. Some recent quotations indicate eighteen months as the minimum time for delivery of new orders, though we believe this could be speeded up.

The views of the United Kingdom Government on all the above points would be very helpful.

6. As to instructors available here, full details will be sent very shortly. It is however plain that the number at present

available is far below what would be necessary for rapid and effective execution of the project, and that the loan of personnel from the United Kingdom at the outset would be essential in ensuring the training of maximum numbers in minimum time. Particulars on this point would therefore be of great assistance. The facts as to existing and potential aerodromes and training stations are being collected and will be furnished shortly.

7. A third point of importance is the financial aspect. In order to decide the possible extent of our participation in the proposed air-training plan, and in the light thereof to review the plans already made for military and economic cooperation, it will be necessary to be informed in general terms what your government has in mind as to the distribution of costs of the air-training scheme among the several co-operating governments. I should perhaps mention that the question of financing British purchases in this market is still unsettled, though we hope that Treasury representatives will be able to discuss it with us in the course of the next few days.

8. We are entirely in agreement as to the desirability of joint discussions in Canada between experts at the earliest possible date and would be pleased to receive the mission from the United Kingdom suggested in your telegram, and also similar missions, from other members of the Commonwealth. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

D 63885

COPY

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

LONDON, 29th September, 1939.

Following from Prime Minister for Prime Minister, Begins:

We deeply appreciate speedy and sympathetic consideration which you and your colleagues have given to proposals set out in my telegram of September 26th, and are very gratified to learn that they are acceptable in principle.

We will examine at once detailed questions raised and will communicate as soon as possible with you on these points and also on question of date for arrival of suggested Mission.

In the meantime, it would be most helpful if other Prime Ministers concerned could be informed of attitude which Canadian Government are adopting. Would you prefer to do this yourself or would you like me to do so? Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

D 63883

COPY

TELEGRAM

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA.

TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS, LONDON.

OTTAWA, September 30th, 1939.

Following from Prime Minister to your Prime Minister, Begins:

1. I wish to thank you for your message of appreciation regarding our telegram of September 28th. I note that the detailed questions raised are being examined and that you will shortly communicate with us further. We are continuing to make a similar examination here and when all the information is available, hope to be in a position to decide promptly on what scale we could cooperate in any joint plan that might be agreed upon.

2. We had already in mind the desirability of communicating with the Governments of Australia and New Zealand and have today informed them of the substance of my telegram of September 28th. Ends.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
100		Second Session, Speaker, Election of. Speeches in Parliament	6 Sept. 1945	D 63784 - D 63791	
100		Second Session, Trade. Speeches in Parliament	15 Dec. 1945	D 63792 - D 63793	
100		Second Session, Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 63794 - D 63835	
100		Second Session, War Crimes. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63836 - D 63837	
100		Second Session, Outbreak of War, 1939. Speeches in Parliament	24 Nov. 1945	D 63838 - D 63866	
100		Eisenhower, General, Vote of Thanks. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 63867 - D 63906	
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Jan. 1946	D 63907 - D 63928	
100		Macdonald, Rt. Hon. M., Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Mar. 1946	D 63929 - D 63942	

D 63867

Vote of Thanks to General Eisenhower

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

I am pleased indeed to have this opportunity, on behalf of the Government and of the people of Canada as a whole, to renew the warm welcome which we have already sought to extend to General Eisenhower since his arrival in the Dominion. We have only one regret at this moment. It is that the visit is so short that other citizens of Canada, and particularly the members of our armed forces from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, have not the great privilege which is ours this afternoon, of hearing one to whom the world owes so much, and whom it has, so rightly, greatly honoured. It is, I say, to be regretted

that the Canadian people generally have not this privilege, and the further privilege which we enjoy, of looking upon one on whose decision -- in greater measure than that of any other-- has rested the destinies of mankind.

May I say to General Eisenhower how honoured we are that he has brought Mrs. Eisenhower with him on this visit to Canada. We feel doubly honoured to have the General and Mrs. Eisenhower in our country for a few days, and I hope this is only one of many visits from them which we shall have the pleasure of enjoying as the years go by.

The members of this Club will recognize, I am sure, that to attempt to express due appreciation of what General Eisenhower has said to us today, and particularly of the memories which his speech revives, would entail more or less a review of the momentous events of the last six or seven years.

We are reminded by General Eisenhower's presence of his great part as Supreme Commander of the Allied forces, and of his contribution to the victory of the free forces of the world which has meant the salvation of mankind. His address has recalled to us the invasion of North Africa at which time he was leading the Allied forces, the invasion of Sicily, and again the movement across the Channel into France and on to Belgium and Holland. Above all, his address has reminded us of the supreme task which was his, at headquarters of the Allied Armies, of inspiring

hearty cooperation among the several forces that were entrusted to his command. All the Allied forces were brought together each playing its part in a triumph of good over evil on a scale vaster than anything of the kind ever witnessed before in the history of the world.

In the address which General Eisenhower has given this afternoon we realize, I believe, the secret of his genius as a Commander. He has the art of inspiring cooperation in a measure given to few men in this world; he has in his breast the spirit of freedom; and, what is part of the same thing, he has a genuine love for his fellow men which has made itself felt wherever he has gone. I think he has revealed to us the secret of success, not only in war, but also in times of peace. Unless men and women generally learn that secret of cooperation, and of perseverance in good-will, then all the machinery and all the formulae that the human mind may devise will mean very little in the end. If, however, we can follow the example he has given us, that of fostering a spirit of brotherhood among all nations, then we may go forward fully reassured concerning the task which lies ahead.

General Eisenhower, there are many things I should like to say, but the time is short, and you as a man of action, I know, prefer deeds to words. I notice that our good friends in Scotland went about things in the right way. For when they decided

to express their admiration for you, not in words but in visible form, they presented you with an ancient castle. Not only did they give you a castle but they furnished it and provided the wherewithal that you might entertain your former associates at any time they might be fortunate enough to visit you in Scotland. That castle, I understand, is of the Gothic type, built in 1777. It is only twenty miles from Prestwick. So those of your friends who land there will find it an easy journey to the castle. And, after what you have said today, you may be sure that some of us when we land in Scotland will make straight for that ancient site.

We unfortunately have no old castles in Canada, so that we cannot present you with one. But in our country we have something of greater antiquity and much more enduring than ancient castles. We have ancient mountains, towering monuments that command admiration not only on this continent but in the eyes of the world. And while we cannot very well present you with a mountain, we have one such monument that is known as Castle Mountain, and it has occurred to us that if we changed the name Castle Mountain to Mount Eisenhower we would be paying you a permanent tribute which would express our appreciation years after the castle in Scotland has disappeared. With a view to the perpetuation of your name in our country in the manner described I have taken the necessary steps to ensure that end. They are set out in a short letter to yourself from the Government which I

have in my hand. This letter, with your permission, I should now like to read to you in the presence of the guests here assembled.

(The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)

D 63872

Vote of Thanks to General Eisenhower

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

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D 63873

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May I say to General Eisenhower how honoured we are that he has brought Mrs. Eisenhower with him on this visit to Canada. We feel doubly honoured to have the General and Mrs. Eisenhower in our country for a few days, and I hope this is only one of many visits from them which we shall have the pleasure of enjoying as the years go by.

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hearty cooperation among the several forces that were entrusted to his command. All the Allied forces were brought together each playing its part in a triumph of good over evil on a scale vaster than anything of the kind ever witnessed before in the history of the world.

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(The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)

Vote of Thanks to General Eisenhower

D 63877

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

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(**The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)**

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(The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 63882

Vote of Thanks to General Eisenhower

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

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(The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)

Vote of Thanks to General Eisenhower D 63887

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

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have in my hand. This letter, with your permission, I should now like to read to you in the presence of the guests here assembled.

(The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)

D 63892

Vote of Thanks to General Eisenhower

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

I am pleased indeed to have this opportunity, on behalf of the Government and of the people of Canada as a whole, to renew the warm welcome which we have already sought to extend to General Eisenhower since his arrival in the Dominion. We have only one regret at this moment. It is that the visit is so short that other citizens of Canada, and particularly the members of our armed forces from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, have not the great privilege which is ours this afternoon, of hearing one to whom the world owes so much, and whom it has, so rightly, greatly honoured. It is, I say, to be regretted

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D 63897

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

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10/1/46

D 63902

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Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
100		Second Session, Speaker, Election of. Speeches in Parliament	6 Sept. 1945	D 63784 - D 63791	
100		Second Session, Trade. Speeches in Parliament	15 Dec. 1945	D 63792 - D 63793	
100		Second Session, Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 63794 - D 63835	
100		Second Session, War Crimes. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63836 - D 63837	
100		Second Session, Outbreak of War, 1939. Speeches in Parliament	24 Nov. 1945	D 63838 - D 63866	
100		Eisenhower, General, Vote of Thanks. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 63867 - D 63906	
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Jan. 1946	D 63907 - D 63928	
100		Macdonald, Rt. Hon. M., Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Mar. 1946	D 63929 - D 63942	

Not used

D 63907

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

Comment on the Ontario Submissions

by

The Prime Minister of Canada.

Since the Ontario proposals were submitted to the Economic Committee on January 8th, the Dominion government - and I have no doubt all the provincial governments - have been giving close study to their implications. I am sure we all appreciate the evidence given in the Ontario submissions of prolonged consideration of the problems involved, and of the expression they contain of support for national objectives.

With many points made by the Ontario government, the Dominion government and, I imagine, all other provincial governments, would be in complete or substantial agreement. If I might single out one of the more important, it is the proposal for the formal establishment of a continuing Dominion-Provincial agency of consultation and co-operation at the technical level - the proposed Dominion-Provincial Economic Board. The proceedings of the Economic Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, established at our last meeting, have conclusively proven the value of such an organization.

It seems clear that, with the increasing complexity of inter-governmental relations, and their growing impact on the national economy as a whole, it would be desirable to provide for the permanent establishment of a body which would facilitate the freest possible exchange of economic and technical information between Dominion and provincial officials.

The proposal for the permanent establishment of a Co-ordinating Committee composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the premiers of the various provinces raises questions of a quite different order. As proposed by Ontario, this Committee would have power to determine the amount of the adjustment grants to be made to each province and to recommend the amounts to be paid in respect to the timing of public investment projects.

The Dominion government is wholly in favour of full consultation and frequent conferences between Dominion and provincial governments. There are, however, implications in the Ontario proposal which would, we believe, involve a radical departure from the existing federal constitution and from the whole scheme of Confederation as it has operated hitherto. In a word, the Ontario proposals would appear to provide for establishing a continuing Dominion-Provincial conference of governments, or a Dominion-Provincial Council with powers which, we believe, would encroach upon the constitutional jurisdiction of both the Dominion and every individual provincial government and which would not be responsible to the people of Canada.

The Ontario proposals also raise misgivings as to whether they would place the Dominion government and the governments of the provinces collectively in a position to carry out effectively the high employment, high national income, and social security programme which has been agreed to as our objective.

The Ontario proposals, moreover, do not appear to make adequate provision for the fiscal needs of the Dominion and those of other provincial governments.

Before definite views are expressed on behalf of the Dominion and the other provincial governments with respect to certain of the Ontario proposals, my colleagues and I feel that if the Premier of Ontario would permit questions to be asked concerning the Ontario proposals it would enable us all to gain a clearer appreciation of their implications. If this were agreeable to Mr. Drew, I would suggest that the questions to be asked on behalf of the Dominion might be taken up in the following order:

1. Those related to constitutional and administrative aspects;

2. To economic and financial aspects;

3. To welfare aspects of the Ontario proposals.

VIoP

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
Co-ordinating Committee D 63909

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada (Rt.Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King) at the opening session, January 28, 1946.

In welcoming the Premiers and other representatives of the provincial governments to the sessions of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, I should like, at the outset, to express appreciation of the very serious consideration all the participating governments have given to the problems we are seeking to meet.

The Objective

Since the Conference first met the war has come to an end, and we have been in a position to give our full attention to the problems of reconstruction. There is one other advantage we have enjoyed since the Conference had its first session on August 6th last, namely unanimity as to our objectives. We have all been agreed on the objectives, as set forth by the Dominion, that what we are seeking is the maintenance of a high level of employment and national income; the enlargement of opportunities for individual and community development; and the fullest encouragement of enterprise, whether in its appropriate

D 63910

field the enterprise is public or private. It is these particulars achievement in achievement in which will make possible a rising standard of living, and increased social security for the people of Canada in all the provinces of Canada.

We have equally recognized that the Dominion government and the governments of the provinces all have a part to play in reaching those objectives. We are also agreed that the objectives can only be attained if all governments are in a position to discharge their functions effectively. We know that these objects can be attained only if, in certain vital respects, all are prepared to work together in harmony.

The Procedure

It might be helpful to review very briefly the procedure which has been followed in our efforts to work towards a firm foundation of Dominion-Provincial co-operation in the achievement of the objective on which all are agreed. At the opening sessions of the Conference in August last, the Dominion submitted a comprehensive set of proposals. We made our proposals in no "take-it or leave-it" spirit. We invited the provinces to make

proposals, as well as to suggest modifications of our proposals. Certain of the provinces, ~~namely, British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island,~~ submitted proposals of their own at that stage. The other provinces made informal statements. The Co-ordinating Committee was established and November 26th was set as the date for its next meeting. The purpose of the adjournment was to provide time for the study of the Dominion proposals and the preparation by the provinces of comments, criticisms or alternative proposals. The co-ordinating Committee met on November 26th. After a useful exchange of views, the Co-ordinating Committee set up an Economic Committee which held meetings between December 4th and 14th and, again, between January 8th and 17th. By its terms of reference, the Economic Committee was a fact-finding body which made no collective report. Its members all reported to their own governments.

The Economic Committee discussed in detail the Dominion's financial, social security and public investment proposals and some suggested modifications of certain of these proposals. In addition, the governments of Ontario and Saskatchewan submitted briefs which were considered by the Committee. The financial proposals of the Ontario

D 63912

government were examined in detail on the same basis as the financial proposals of the Dominion.

The Co-ordinating Committee is now resuming its sessions to continue its deliberations in the light of the information and clarification provided by the detailed examination made by the Economic Committee.

Dominion attitude

Before we resume these discussions, may I again recall the approach of the Dominion Government to the solution of our common problems. It is the view of the Dominion government that our federal system of government should be preserved and its federal character strengthened. At the plenary session on August 6th last, speaking on behalf of the Dominion Government, I said:

> "We do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada are equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own spheres can we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs."

May I say that my colleagues and I have never deviated from these views, and have scrutinized every aspect of our proposals in the light of the general principles there

laid down. The changes we have suggested are those we believe will strengthen the position of each government in its respective field.

None of the changes we have suggested in the main Dominion proposals involve constitutional amendments or any fundamental disturbance of the traditional pattern of Confederation. We are neither proposing nor seeking irrevocable commitments in this unsettled period of world transition. We are seeking rather to meet urgent needs by the simplest and most effective means. In the hope of securing the greatest possible degree of co-operative effort, we are seeking to proceed only after the fullest and frankest discussion with the provincial governments.

It is in this light that the Dominion government has undertaken to give thorough consideration to all suggestions for modification of its own proposals and to any alternative proposals made by the provinces.

Modification of Dominion proposals

Most of the proposals of the provinces have had as their starting point the Dominion proposals. They have been, in effect, suggested modifications of what we have proposed. In this connection, let me say at once, that

as a result of the discussion of provincial submissions and of further information and study of the position of the provinces, the Dominion government is prepared to raise the minimum proposed unconditional payments to provinces, and to make certain other modifications, which may be considered by the provinces to be necessary to the conclusion of a general agreement.

In its proposals, the Dominion Government has not sought to encroach on provincial fields of administration. The Dominion has offered to make certain specific payments to employable unemployed and to people over seventy. These are obligations which the provinces wish the Dominion to assume. The Dominion feels, however, that it should not become involved in the complex administrative problems of providing welfare services to these and other groups, and, in fact, the Dominion proposals suggest no change in constitutional responsibilities.

In relation to taxation the original Dominion proposals were for a three year vacation by the provinces of the fields of provincial income and corporation taxes and succession duties in return for payments from the Dominion related to the gross national product, but with

D 63915

a guaranteed minimum. The device of a Dominion-Provincial tax agreement is a technique with which we have already had some experience. During the war it proved to be both an effective method of meeting the tremendous national responsibilities with which we were faced and of providing satisfactorily for the fiscal requirements of all the provinces. It is, moreover, a proposal wholly in line with the original scheme of Confederation. One of the most essential features of Confederation - and one without which Confederation could never have been achieved - was the exclusive occupancy of the major sources of tax revenues by the Dominion, and the payment of subsidies by the Dominion to the provinces, in accordance with a specific formula. ~~There can be no dispute as to that.~~ At the time of Confederation, the provinces received from the Dominion in subsidies about 60 per cent of their total ordinary expenditures.

Since Confederation the inevitable and proper increases in the functions of government have increased the need for federal subsidies, and increases have been made from time to time. The depression of the 1930's brought home this need to everyone, and it resulted in the setting up of the Rowell-Sirois Commission. The heavy unemployment of the 1930's necessitated extensive Dominion assitance to the Provinces, although

both to the Dominion
AD 63916 & the provinces

the ad hoc arrangements then made were most unsatisfactory, ~~and failed to meet the needs either of the provinces or of the people of Canada.~~ Subsequently, the tremendous demands of war created a financial problem which could only be met by placing income and corporate taxes under one authority - with compensation to the provinces in the form of specified payments from the Dominion. Our wartime taxation and compensation arrangements have worked well. That is recognized by all. The financial problem of the Dominion has not vanished with the war. The war, in fact, has left the Dominion with very heavy financial obligations. ~~The Dominion must, of course, meet its obligations.~~

The question now is whether the need of the provinces for additional revenue can best be met by double taxation, by increasing provincial taxes and by transferring taxes collected in one province to another, or whether it can best be done by extending and adapting to peacetime conditions the arrangements we found necessary and useful in meeting the needs of war.

The Dominion's proposals for large unconditional payments to provinces should not introduce any element of

irresponsibility in provincial expenditures: the payments to the provinces are specifically determined sums for value received. The provincial governments, which must also raise revenues from their own fields of taxation, cannot escape the responsibility for deciding whether expenditures in any given case should be increased, or whether taxes might be reduced.

The most important, and at the same time perhaps the most controversial of the Dominion proposals is that the provinces should allow the Dominion Government sole use, for a certain period of years, of the fields of personal and corporate income taxation and succession duties. Some may fear that failure of the provinces to reoccupy part of these fields of taxation will limit or restrict provincial activities in years to come by reason of the fact that revenues will not be as large as they would otherwise have been. It may be feared that this situation would weaken provincial autonomy and enlarge the Dominion's field of responsibility. Let me say that, if we thought this fear was justified, my colleagues and I would not continue to press the Dominion's proposals.

It is because we believe that the provincial

governments will be better off, and also because we believe the taxpayers will be better off, under the Dominion proposals that we ask for the fullest consideration of our proposals and of the alternatives.

The Dominion government put forward its proposals for sole occupancy of the fields of taxation referred to because we could think of no other way in which our objectives could be effectively attained. All the plans which have been put forward for social security, for an improvement in standards of nutrition and of health, for a general betterment in the living conditions of our people, depend, for their continued success, on a high level of national production. Only with a high level of production and national income can the real costs of the programme be met. It cannot be denied that the rates and character of income taxation vitally affect consumption and production. Such taxes may either encourage or discourage initiative and new investment. They influence wages as well as employment. Moreover, a given rate and type of income taxation can have different effects at one level of national income and activity as compared with another level. For example, our war-time taxes have made a necessary and vital contribution to the prevention of

inflation and to the payment of war costs. Under normal peace-time conditions, they would have constituted a crushing burden and potent source of unemployment. Any government which is committed to a policy of high employment must be prepared and able to make swift changes in its taxation policy in the light of changing conditions. I do not think that any Canadian Government could in good conscience commit itself to a policy of high employment, and assume degree of responsibility suggested in the Dominion proposals for the unemployment which may exist if things do not always run smoothly, unless that government could move freely and without impediment in the fields of income and corporation taxation and succession duties.

Since this is a crucial point in the Dominion proposals I might add that, when we speak of efficiency of taxation, we have in mind more than tax collection costs to governments and taxpayers. We are even more concerned that our Canadian income and corporation tax system should be efficient in the sense that it imposes the least possible discouragement to the incentives of persons and corporations to expand their operations and increase employment.

Forecast of Tax Policy including a wide extension of Social Security;

The Dominion proposals ~~envisage that~~ the cost

of ~~further expanding social security measures~~ which will be met in part by direct personal contributions. In respect to the general personal income tax, the Government is now prepared to say that, once the Dominion proposals are accepted and the risk of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects is thereby avoided, the Government intends to make further reductions in the personal income tax. In the same circumstances, the Government also intends to reduce the element of double taxation of corporate income with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise.

The Ontario proposals

In response to the Dominion's invitation, a large number and wide variety of proposals and suggestions have been submitted by the provinces. We shall, I hope, proceed to an orderly consideration of the major points of these provincial submissions by this Committee. We wish to give the same full consideration to the proposals and suggestions of the provinces which they have given to those put forward by the Dominion. A number of improvements on the Dominion proposals have been suggested, and I have already intimated we are prepared to make certain modifications in the light

of these submissions. Other suggestions, of course, are more difficult to reconcile with the Dominion approach. The greatest difference of approach is that made in the brief submitted by the government of Ontario.

Procedure

Since the greatest difference of approach is that made by the government of Ontario, I would ~~accordingly~~ suggest that when I conclude these introductory remarks, we turn to an examination of the proposals of the Government of Ontario. The Premier of Ontario would, I am sure, be prepared to make a statement outlining the submission. If this procedure is acceptable, I would propose that, immediately following, the Dominion and then the other provincial representatives should express their views in reference to the Ontario proposals.

While on the question of procedure, might I clarify my understanding of the arrangements in respect to publicity. It was formally agreed by the Co-ordinating Committee that no minutes would be kept of our discussions, and that they would be strictly confidential. ~~I think~~ We all, I believe, will agree that this should continue to be our practice ~~but that~~ I believe, however, that it would be desirable to have the Secretary prepare a press release before the conclusion of each day's meetings which would require to be generally approved ~~by each~~

~~Premier~~ and would be released at the close of that day's sittings. ~~In addition~~ I think the precedent has already been established that any prepared statement by a government setting forth its position, such as that I am now giving on behalf of the Dominion Government, may properly be released by that government to the press at any time. In making these suggestions, I am, of course, not seeking to determine the Committee's procedure, but merely to put forward my own view as to a convenient method of procedure.

Conclusion

To return to the problem before us, I wish to emphasize that it is urgent. We must seek an immedia te practical alternative to the chaotic situation which will exist unless a new agreement can be reached before the wartime tax agreements expire.

When I had the privilege of opening the meetings of the Dominion-Provincial Conference in August last, and announced the first use of the atomic bomb, I took occasion to speak of the extraordinarily serious problems facing the world. I see no reason to believe that I over-estimated the complexities and dangers of the situation.

D 63923

In North America to-day - and probably in other countries not directly ravaged by war - there tends to be a spirit of false security and of optimism based on favourable immediate business prospects. Looking further into the future, it may well be doubted whether such complacency necessarily rests on particularly strong foundations. How the future will develop depends upon the measures we in Canada and those in other lands adopt and the course we follow. Our problems will not solve themselves.

There is at the present time a keen demand for almost everything which can be produced in Canada - a demand which comes not only from our own people, but is bolstered by the tremendous credits which Canada is extending to other countries to help them in the reconstruction of their affairs and the feeding of their peoples during this period of shortages. The great question which faces the world to-day is how this present high level of demand can be translated into enduring prosperity. One must indeed be optimistic to believe that the problem will be solved without periods during which there are serious threats to national income and employment. Even with ~~If we make~~ the best possible arrangements for operation of our public

affairs in this country, we shall still need ~~every ele-~~ all
~~ment~~ of intelligence, ~~and~~ efficiency and good-will we possess to maintain and improve the living condition of our people. ~~If we fail to make~~ failure to effect such arrangements, ~~it is hard to see how~~ The consequences would be very serious indeed ~~serious trouble can be avoided.~~

It is in the light of these prospects that the Dominion government advances its proposals in the belief that they provide the most practical means of meeting the immediate transitional problem. They can be applied on a temporary basis without amending the constitution or changing the fundamental basis of Confederation.

D 63925

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

Comment on the Ontario Submissions

by

The Prime Minister of Canada.

Since the Ontario proposals were submitted to the Economic Committee on January 8th, the Dominion government - and I have no doubt all the provincial governments - have been giving close study to their implications. I am sure we all appreciate the evidence given in the Ontario submissions of prolonged consideration of the problems involved, and of the expression they contain of support for national objectives.

With many points made by the Ontario government, the Dominion government and, I imagine, all other provincial governments, would be in complete or substantial agreement. If I might single out one of the more important, it is the proposal for the formal establishment of a continuing Dominion-Provincial agency of consultation and co-operation at the technical level - the proposed Dominion-Provincial Economic Board. The proceedings of the Economic Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, established at our last meeting, have conclusively proven the value of such an organization.

It seems clear that, with the increasing complexity of inter-governmental relations, and their growing impact on the national economy as a whole, it would be desirable to provide for the permanent establishment of a body which would facilitate the freest possible exchange of economic and technical information between Dominion and provincial officials.

The proposal for the permanent establishment of a Co-ordinating Committee composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the premiers of the various provinces raises questions of a quite different order. As proposed by Ontario, this Committee would have power to determine the amount of the adjustment grants to be made to each province and to recommend the amounts to be paid in respect to the timing of public investment projects.

The Dominion government is wholly in favour of full consultation and frequent conferences between Dominion and provincial governments. There are, however, implications in the Ontario proposal which would, we believe, involve a radical departure from the existing federal constitution and from the whole scheme of Confederation as it has operated hitherto. In a word, the Ontario proposals would appear to provide for establishing a continuing Dominion-Provincial conference of governments, or a Dominion-Provincial Council with powers which, we believe, would encroach upon the constitutional jurisdiction of both the Dominion and every individual provincial government and which would not be responsible to the people of Canada.

The Ontario proposals also raise misgivings as to whether they would place the Dominion government and the governments of the provinces collectively in a position to carry out effectively the high employment, high national income, and social security programme which has been agreed to as our objective.

The Ontario proposals, moreover, do not appear to make adequate provision for the fiscal needs of the Dominion and those of other provincial governments.

Before definite views are expressed on behalf of the Dominion and the other provincial governments with respect to certain of the Ontario proposals, my colleagues and I feel that if the Premier of Ontario would permit questions to be asked concerning the Ontario proposals it would enable us all to gain a clearer appreciation of their implications. If this were agreeable to Mr. Drew, I would suggest that the questions to be asked on behalf of the Dominion might be taken up in the following order:

1. Those related to constitutional and administrative aspects;

2. To economic and financial aspects;

3. To welfare aspects of the Ontario proposals.

D 63927

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

Comment on the Ontario Submissions

by

The Prime Minister of Canada.

Since the Ontario proposals were submitted to the Economic Committee on January 8th, the Dominion government - and I have no doubt all the provincial governments - have been giving close study to their implications. I am sure we all appreciate the evidence given in the Ontario submissions of prolonged consideration of the problems involved, and of the expression they contain of support for national objectives.

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The Ontario proposals also raise misgivings as to whether they would place the Dominion government and the governments of the provinces collectively in a position to carry out effectively the high employment, high national income, and social security programme which has been agreed to as our objective.

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1. Those related to constitutional and administrative aspects;

2. To economic and financial aspects;

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
100		Second Session, Speaker, Election of. Speeches in Parliament	6 Sept. 1945	D 63784 - D 63791	
100		Second Session, Trade. Speeches in Parliament	15 Dec. 1945	D 63792 - D 63793	
100		Second Session, Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 63794 - D 63835	
100		Second Session, War Crimes. Speeches in Parliament	1945	D 63836 - D 63837	
100		Second Session, Outbreak of War, 1939. Speeches in Parliament	24 Nov. 1945	D 63838 - D 63866	
100		Eisenhower, General, Vote of Thanks. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 63867 - D 63906	
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Jan. 1946	D 63907 - D 63928	
100		Macdonald, Rt. Hon. M., Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Mar. 1946	D 63929 - D 63942	

D 63923

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

122

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister.

Angus Gregoire please file

re Dinner for Malcolm MacDonald tonight.

It occurred to me you might like to mention the fact that Mr. Malcolm MacDonald was at Oxford at the same time as Mr. Norman Robertson, Mr. Arnold Heeney and Mr. David Johnson (Solicitor of the Treasury) also that his first visit to Canada was as a member of an Oxford University Debating team over 20 years ago, and that he has maintained a constant interest in Canada and has had a host of Canadian friends ever since that time.

J.W.P.

27th March, 1946.

JWP/JMC

JAC/Z
D 63930 27-3-46

Remarks by Prime Minister

Dinner in honour of

Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald

By Canadian Institute of International Affairs

Ottawa, March 27, 1946

In supplementing the thanks which the Chairman has already expressed to the guest of the evening, I should like to say to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald what I am sure is in the mind of everyone present this evening, and that is how greatly he will be missed in Ottawa and, indeed, throughout all parts of Canada. Even in the lenthening period during which High Commissioners and representatives of other nations have resided in Ottawa, I think perhaps there has been no one individual who, by temperament, background, outlook and conviction, has been a more staunch friend of Canada. He leaves with this assurance: that, at the end of a singularly useful and rewarding period ofoffice, he can count as his friends a great host of Canadians.

Mr. MacDonald was appointed High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in 1941, as the fourth holder of that office, which, since 1928, has been filled by distinguished public servants of the British Government. He came to Canada at a

moment when relations within the Commonwealth were steadily expanding to meet the imperious demands of war and the need for closest consultation and co-operation in many matters of government. My colleagues and I have counted it a fortunate circumstance that in these complex questions we have had, throughout the past four years, the unfailing and sympathetic understanding and support of the High Commissioner.

From the very beginning of his public career, Mr. MacDonald has shown a consistent and informed interest in all the nations of the Commonwealth. At various times he has visited all of them, and in London he met many visitors from these sister-nations. He served his political apprenticeship at the Dominions Office, of which he became the ministerial head in 1935. The years between 1935 and the outbreak of war saw many problems of organization which had to be dealt with, both by the Dominions Office and the Colonial Office, of which Mr. MacDonald was head for a short period at the beginning of the war. The interest which Mr. MacDonald showed in these problems was likewise reflected in the support he has given ouer many years to the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House and,during his residence in Ottawa, to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The latter

Institute counts it as a distinct compliment that in his last public address before his departure from Canada, he should have honoured this gathering in Ottawa.

It is at once a tribute to Mr. MacDonald's personal character, to his understanding, and to his political experience, that the United Kingdom Government have lately appointed him to be Governor of the Malay States and the new Colony of Singapore. In this area of many problems of political and economic reconstruction there will be a wide scope for his demonstrated abilities in the public service.

In thanking Mr. MacDonald this evening, I will only add that all of his friends will wish him many years of continued public service of the highest order. It has been service characterized by a reluctance to push himself forward in any way. It has been service, so far as we in Canada are concerned, reflecting a most thorough and cordial understanding of Canada and Canada's problems.

We wish Mr. MacDonald Good Luck and Godspeed.

JAG/Z

Dinner in honour of D 63933
Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald

by Canadian Institute of International Affairs
Ottawa, March 27, 1946

End of a singularly useful period of Office by one of the staunchest of all the friends of Canada.

Appointed High Commissioner for United Kingdom in Canada at a moment when relations within the British Commonwealth were steadily expanding to meet:

the imperious demands of war;

the need for closest consultation and co-operation in many matters of government.

From the very beginning of his public career, Mr. MacDonald had shown a consistent and informed interest in all the nations of the Commonwealth

had visited them at various times;
met many visitors from them in London.

Served his political apprenticeship at the Dominions Office, of which he became the ministerial head in 1935.

D 63934

Confronted with many problems of political organization -

one might mention Palestine.

(Reflected in the support he has given over many years to the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, and

during his residence in Ottawa to the Canadian Institute).

Tribute to his understanding and political experience that United Kingdom Government have lately appointed him to be Governor of Malaya -

an area of many problems of political and economic reconstruction.

All his friends in Canada will wish him many years of continued public service of the highest order.

Service characterized by a reluctance to push himself forward in any way.

Service reflecting understanding of Canada and Canadian problems in the most thorough fashion.

Recall with pleasure close personal contacts over the years -

hospitality of Earnscliffe.

Good luck and Godspeed.

D 63925

Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald

Born 1901 ■ (45)

Educated Bedales School, Petersfield,
and Queen's College, Oxford.

First entered United Kingdom
House of Commons 1929.

1931-35 : Parliamentary Under-Secretary,
Dominions Office.

1935-38 :
1938-39 : Secretary of State for
Dominion Affairs.

1938-40 : Secretary of State for
Colonies.

1940-41 : Minister of Health.

1941-46 : High Commissioner for the
United Kingdom in Canada.

D 63936

Ottawa, March 4, 1946

Memorandum for File:

I spoke to Mr. Grant Dexter, Chairman of the Ottawa Branch, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, to explain that Mr. King felt, in view of certain matters which had come up, that it was necessary to keep free of engagements so far as possible. If, when the time came, he were free to attend the dinner, he would be glad to do so, and to supplement the thanks of the Institute, but he wished the officers to know they should not count on his being present.

J.A.G.

Copies for: (I) Mr. Pickersgill
(2) B.F. on March 25th
(3) Miss Moore
(4) File with correspondence re.

Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald D 63937
Wedding to Mrs. Audrey Fellowes Rowley

December 9, 1946.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Capital of Canada has witnessed many ceremonies, and made many contributions to the social and political life of our country, but today, in the realm of matrimony, it seems to have excelled itself.

Malcolm and Audrey have just been married: They have been declared man and wife, - I have heard it myself; others have heard it. You have all heard the bride's health most beautifully proposed, and we have all joined heartily in showing our appreciation of the sentiments expressed. It is hard to believe, however, that Malcolm is married, - that he really is married at last!

No one worked harder than I did to convince him of the wisdom of following the course he has at last adopted. I know he is deeply grateful to me, and I know he is many more times grateful to Audrey, and I think Audrey herself is pleased. So we are all happy, and that is how it should be at a wedding reception.

But this marriage, similar as it is in many respects to other marriages, is also in many respects of exceptional significance. In addition to its social and national aspects, it has Imperial and inter-national aspects as well. Canada truly is responsible for the union of hearts which has taken place today, but since they have known each other Canada has been but a temporary dwelling place, as it were, in the lives of each of the principles. Each had already played an important part in the larger service of the Crown and in other parts of the Commonwealth. We know of Audrey's years in Europe during the great war. We know of Malcolm's many years of service in Parliament and in the Cabinets of three Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, and of his representation of the British Government at Earnscliffe. We have seen him go as

the Governor General to the Malay Union, and the Colony of Singapore, and return from thence to recapture his bride of today; this time that they may fly together to the Far East, there united to renew their service to the Crown and the Commonwealth.

Your Excellency, no one knows better than yourself at what peril, at what sacrifice, service to the Crown is rendered today, where that service involves long absences in distant lands, in periods of transition like the present. I ventured to say, a night or two ago, that our times are more hazardous than any through which the world has ever hitherto passed. It is a new era we are entering upon. That the arena of action is larger than any mankind has hitherto known, that in political and industrial relations the problems to be solved are no longer those which can be settled between individual and individual, that we are living in an heroic age, where the conflict of interests involves not only individuals and individuals, and any country and country, continent and continent, but hemisphere and hemisphere. It is upon this stage which today encompasses the globe that our bride and groom of today will shortly be leaving us to play a larger role in world affairs. Wherever they go, they will speak to the world of Canada, of its romance, of its progress, of the place which, in the past, it has filled in their lives, of the place it occupies today among the other nations.

What I want them to know, what we all want them to feel wherever they may be, is that Canada too will have them in her thoughts, that we are proud of them, and that our best wishes will be always theirs.

Somehow I feel that the world at this time is in special need of the kind of service that they together will be able to render. The peoples of the world are crying out for understanding and for leadership - the times are not going to stand still - the movements of today will continue to gain momentum with the years. Each has an equipment of

D 63[illegible]9

knowledge and experience which but few can bring, to the service of the State and of humanity. Under God's guidance, service to the world itself lies before them. It will be our wish, it is our hope, it is our belief that they will be equal to whatever part may be given them to play. I know I speak for all present, for the government of our country, and for Canada itself when I say to them God bless you both in the widened path of duty and of service which opens before you today. Go forward into the unknown, feeling and believing that sharing each others lives and in all exercise of noble end the way is secure.

Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald D 63940
Wedding to Mrs. Audrey Fellowes Rowley

December 9, 1946.

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the Governor General to the Malay Union, and the Colony of Singapore, and return from thence to recapture his bride of today; this time that they may fly together to the Far East, there united to renew their service to the Crown and the Commonwealth.

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knowledge and experience which but few can bring, to the service of the State and of humanity. Under God's guidance, service to the world itself lies before them. It will be our wish, it is our hope, it is our belief that they will be equal to whatever part may be given them to play. I know I speak for all present, for the government of our country, and for Canada itself when I say to them God bless you both in the widened path of duty and of service which opens before you today. Go forward into the unknown, feeling and believing that sharing each others lives and in all exercise of noble end the way is secure.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D63943 - D63986	
100		Hoover, Hon. Herbert. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 63987 - D 64004	
100		Record of Mackenzie King Administration. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 64005 - D 64076	
100		Peace Conference, Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 64077 - D 64089	
100		Speech at Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 64090 - D 64113	
100		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1946	D 64114 - D 64200	
100		Fundamental Principles of Liberalism, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 64201 - D 64268	
101		St. Laurent, Hon. Louis S. Complimentary Banquet, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 64269 - D 64615	

D 63943

CONFERENCE FEDERALE-PROVINCIALE
(Séance plénière)

Déclaration du premier ministre du Canada, le très honorable W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P., le 29 avril 1946

La guerre a sensiblement influé sur les relations qui existaient normalement entre le Dominion et les provinces. En 1941, afin de mettre le gouvernement fédéral en mesure de tirer le plus grand parti possible des ressources financières de la nation en vue de la poursuite de la guerre, les provinces ont abandonné les domaines de l'impôt sur le revenu et de la taxe sur les corporations, moyennant certains paiements annuels fixés dont le chiffre devait être déterminé dans des accords fiscaux du temps de guerre. Au moment de la conclusion de ces accords on prévoyait que, dès la fin des hostilités et l'expiration de ces accords, les provinces redeviendraient libres de percevoir l'impôt sur le revenu et la taxe sur les corpprations. A cette époque, personne ne pouvait prévoir la durée des hostilités, et encore moins peut-être, le chiffre énorme des dépenses qu'entraînerait la poursuite de la guerre, ni les obligations et engagements que le conflit occasionnerait inévitablement pour plusieurs années à venir.

Les motifs de la conférence

A mesure que se poursuivaient les hostilités, il devenait évident qu'en face des changements importants occasionnés par le conflit, il serait difficile de reprendre les relations financières qui existaient lors de la conclusion d'accords visant l'imposition en temps de guerre. C'est la première et la principale raison qui a nécessité la convocation d'une conférence entre le Dominion et les provinces. Une autre raison, c'est qu'avant la guerre les relations entre le Dominion et les provinces n'étaient très peu satisfaisantes. De fait, ce problème faisait l'objet d'une étude sérieuse et urgente quand la guerre a éclaté.

Quelque temps avant la fin des hostilités, on se rendait de plus en plus compte combien la situation mondiale serait complete et difficile durant la période de transition de la guerre à la paix. On prévoyait,dans le monde entier,une situation confuse, des difficultés quant au rétablissement des marchés ordinaires de temps de paix, et la pénurie d'approvisionnements de toutes sortes. En face de telles perspectives, les gouvernement fédéral et provinciaux ont compris la nécessité d'assurer une collaboration pratique entre le Dominion et les provinces, par des moyens qui, durant la période de transition, permettraient au gouvernement fédéral de s'acquitter efficacement de ses obligations dans les domaines international et national, et aux provinces de faire face à leurs obligations et responsabilités.

Pendant la guerre, le Canada a atteint un niveau d'embauchage et de revenu national plus élevé que jamais. Si nous voulons maintenir un tel niveau et accroître la sécurité sociale au Canada, il faut la collaboration efficace entre le fédéral et les provinces.

Délibérations de la conférence

La présente conférence fédérale-provinciale s'est réunie pour la première fois le 6 août dernier. Avant l'ouverture de la conférence, et à la suite de plusieurs mois de collaboration avec les provinces dans la préparation de données statistiques essentielles, le gouvernement fédéral avait élaboré une série complète de propositions en vue d'un accord entre le Dominion et les provinces. Ces propositions furent soumises à la conférence dès le début des délibérations.

Les provinces ont été invitées à présenter leurs propres propositions. A la séance d'ouverture, certaines ont soumis des proposition d'autres ont fait des déclarations à titre non-officiel. Les provinces étaient d'avis qu'il faudrait du temps pour étudier les propositions fédérales, préparer des observations et proposer des modifications, ou, soumettre comme elles y étaient invitées, des contre-propositions. On a établi à cette fin, un Comité de coordination composé des premiers ministres des neuf provinces, de trois ministres fédéraux et du premier ministre du Canada. Comme en fait foi le rapport du secrétaire du Comité de coordination, lu ce matin, le comité s'est réuni de temps à autre. Sur la proposition de quelques premiers ministres provinciaux et avec l'approbation de tous, les séances ont eu lieu à huis clos. On a cependant rendu publiques toutes les propositions officielles soumises par les provinces au Comité de coordination.

Je désire que l'on comprenne parfaitement que la tenue des séances du Comité de coordination à huis clos n'a été en aucune façon inspirée par le désir de certains de ses membres de cacher au public des questions qui sont nécessairement d'un intérêt vital pour l'ensemble de la population canadienne. C'était à la seule fin de faciliter la libre discussion du fond même des questions à l'étude. Il est souvent difficile, comme nous le savons tous, de modifier l'attitude prise dans une discussion publique, bien que les circonstances rendent parfois un tel geste opportun.

Modifications de propositions fédérales

A la suite de nos entretiens, les propositions fédérales ont fait l'objet d'un certain nombre de revisions et de modifications aux réunions du Comité de coordination. Au comité, le Dominion a cherché à faire le plus de lumiere possible sur ses propositions et à répondre pleinement aux questions soulevees par les gouvernements provinciaux. Le gouvernement fédéral se réjouit de l'occasion qui lui est ici offerte de présenter, en les résumant, l'ensemble des propositions fédérales sous leur forme actuelle.

Que le Dominion ait apporté des modifications successives à des propositions, voilà qui témoigne de son désir de tenir compte, dans la mesure du possible, des difficultés auxquelles ont à faire face certaines provinces, ainsi que de sa volonté de faire tout en son pouvoir pour en arriver à une base d'entente qui soit à la fois juste et satisfaisante pour les provinces aussi bien que pour le Dominion.

A mon avis, il y a avantage que le public apprenne maintenant l'attitude précise des divers gouvernements et cela, dans les termes mêmes de leurs propres représentants.

Le Dominion se réjouit de la tenue de cette séance plénière: en effet, bien que ses propositions et son attitude soient connues de toutes les provinces, il lui reste encore à connaître l'attitude de quelques-unes de celles-ci et a savoir jusqu'à quel point on accepte en principe les propositions du Dominion.

Je vais résumer à l'instant ces dernières, dans leur état actuel.

RESUME DES PROPOSITIONS DU DOMINION

Afin de maintenir à un niveau élevé et d'accroître sans cesse la production, l'embauchage et le revenu national, assurer une plus large mesure de sécurité sociale et établir un régime général d'imposition moins onéreux, le Dominion cherche à conclure avec les provinces une entente fondée sur les propositions qui suivent, propositions inter-dépendantes et qu'il faut considérer comme un tout complet.

PARTIE I. Accords financiers

Au chapitre des finances, la principale proposition du Dominion est la suivante: moyennant le versement sans condition aux provinces de sommes déterminées, ses dernières s'engageraient à ne prélever, au cours des prochains trois ans, aucuns impôts sur le revenu des particuliers et des sociétés et aucuns droits successoraux; toutefois, les provinces qui désireraient continuer à prélever des droits successoraux pourraient le faire contre réduction appropriée du payement effectué par le Dominion.

1. Le Dominion s'engage à verser annuellement à chaque province, tant que l'accord restera en vigueur, une somme représentant au moins $15 par tête d'habitant. Le paiement minimum sera fondé sur la population réelle en 1941 ou sur la population estimative en 1942, suivant celui de ces deux chiffres qui est le plus élevé. Les sommes effectivement versées en 1947 seront sensiblement supérieures au minimum garanti, car les paiements annuels feront

l'objet d'un relevé proportionné à l'accroissement moyen des trois dernières années, et de la population et de la production nationale brute répartie par tête d'habitant. Les paiements estimatifs de 1947 sont consignés à un tableau qui fait partie de la présente déclaration mais dont je ne donnerai lecture que si on me le demande. Les versements du Dominion à une province quelconque ne seront jamais inférieurs à 150 p. 100 des recettes encaissées annuellement par cette province, sous l'empire de son Accord visant l'imposition en temps de guerre.

Aucune province ne recevra annuellement moins de deux millions de dollars. Cette description du mode de calcul des paiements est plutôt générale. La façon précise de les établir est consignée en appendice à la présente déclaration.

Le tableau ne tient pas compte de l'aide financière dont jouiraient les provinces à la suite de la mise en oeuvre des propositions du Dominion visant l'assurance-chômage, les pensions de vieillesse, les subventions aux services d'hygiène et le placement de fonds publics.

(millions de dollars)

	Recettes provinciales actuelles tirées de:				Paiements projetés du Dominion aux provinces	
	Accords du temps de guerre sur les impôts	Subventions statutaires	Droits successoraux provinciaux(x)	Total des trois rubriques précédentes	Minimum assuré (xx)	1947 Estimations actuelles (xxx)
I.P.-E.	.7	.4 xx	.1	1.2	2.0	2.0
N.-E.	2.9	.7 xx	.6	4.2	8.9	10.0
N.-B.	3.7	.7 xx	.4	4.8	7.0	7.5
Qué.	20.6	2.9	7.8	31.3	50.9	57.3
Ont.	29.0	3.2	12.1	44.3	58.3	64.5
Man.	5.7	1.7	.6	8.0	10.9	11.3
Sask.	5.8	2.0	.4	8.2	13.4	13.5
Alta.	5.8	1.8	.6	8.2	11.9	13.3
C.-B.	12.0	1.0	1.3	14.3	18.1	18.1
TOTAL	86.2	14.4	23.9	124.5	181.4	198.0

(x) Perceptions moyennes pour la dernière période quinquennale pour laquelle nous possédions les chiffres, soit de 1940 à 1944 inclusivement.

(xx) Ne comprend pas les subventions provisoires de $275,000 (I. P.-E.), $1,300,000 (N.-E.) et $900,000 (N.-B.) qui figurent dans la colonne précédente sous la rubrique des accords du temps de guerre sur les impôts et qui deviendront statutaires à l'expiration de ces accords.

(xxx) Ces sommes ne comprennent pas les recettes provinciales provenant de leur part de 50 p.100 de l'impôt fédéral sur le revenu de services d'utilité publique déterminés, ni des impôts provinciaux sur les bénéfices des entreprises minières ou forestières dont il est question plus loin.

Les paiements annuels aux provinces prévus dans le tableau ci-dessus seront sujets à certains rajustements nécessaires indiqué plus loin.

2. En retour des paiements annuels spécifiés, les provinces s'engageraient, pour la durée de l'accord, à ne pas lever d'impôts sur le revenu ou sur les sociétés ni de droits successoraux, ni à autoriser les municipalités à le faire.

3. Si une province désire continuer à prélever des droits successoraux, les montants versés en droits successoraux à ladite province seront considérés comme un crédit acquis au contribuable contre ses redevances au Dominion en droits successoraux; le crédit, toutefois, sera limité au montant qui aurait été payable à cette province aux taux des droits successoraux et aux conditions prescrites pour l'année 1946. La somme globale des paiements annuels versés à la province par le Dominion, en vertu de l'accord, serait réduite du montant de ces crédits.

4. Le Dominion continuera à verser ses subventions statutaires, mais les intégrera aux paiements annuels spécifiés qu'il doit faire en vertu de l'accord.

5. Les provinces pourront taxer les entreprises minières et forestières en prélevant soit des redevances, soit des impôts sur les bénéfices nets de ces entreprises. Pour la durée de l'accord, le Dominion reconnaîtra ces prélèvements comme dépense déductible du revenu pour les fins de l'impôt fédéral.

6. Le gouvernement fédéral est disposé à tâcher d'obtenir un amendement constitutionnel autorisant la délégation de pouvoirs du Parlement fédéral aux assemblées législatives provinciales ou vice versa. Une fois l'amendement effectué, le gouvernement fédéral demandera au Parlement de déléguer aux provinces, pour la durée de l'accord, le droit de prélever des impôts sur ses ventes au détail dans des limites qui seront nettes et déterminées.

7. Le gouvernement fédéral s'engagera, pour la durée de l'accord, à ne pas envahir le domaine de la taxation de l'immeuble et des permis d'automobile, domaine qui, à l'heure actuelle, relève exclusivement des provinces.

8. Le gouvernement fédéral s'engagera aussi, pour la durée de l'accord, à ne pas augmenter ses droits d'accise spéciaux sur l'essence, les amusements ou les paris mutuels, sous réserve qu'en cas de circonstances critiques nationales, le gouvernement fédéral sera libre de prendre toutes mesures nécessaires pour parer auxdites circonstances.

9. Dans le cas des compagnies dont le commerce principal consiste générer, pour fin de distribution au public, ou à distribuer de l'énergie électrique, du gaz ou de la vapeur, le gouvernement fédéral versera à la province intéressée la moitié des montants nets perçus ausdites compagnies en impôts sur le revenu des compagnies à l'égard dudit commerce par le gouvernement fédéral. Ce paiement à un gouvernement provincial sera réduit d'un montant égal à tout impôt que le gouvernement de ladite province prélève de telles compagnies.

10. Si le gouvernement ou l'une des municipalités d'une province s'empare d'une société contribuable, les paiements annuels spécifiés pour cette province seront réduits du montant de l'impôt sacrifié par le Dominion. Cette disposition ne s'applique pas aux compagnies dont il est question à l'alinéa précédent.

11. Depuis la suspension des séances du Comité de coordination vendredi dernier, le gouvernement fédéral a poursuivi l'étude de la proposition de quelques provinces voulant que le Dominion abandonne certains domaines de l'impôt.

Le plus important de ces domaines, au point de vue des recettes est la taxe spéciale d'accise de 3 cents, imposée en 1941, sur l'essence et qui rapporte couramment au Dominion environ 30 millions de dollars par an. Vu les obligations financières et les responsabilités dont il doit s'acquitter, le gouvernement fédéral ne peut renoncer à un domaine quelconque de l'impôt, il l'a clairement établi, qu'en retour de ressources financières d'une valeur équivalente. En ce qui concerne l'essence, on pourrait considérer comme équivalent la réduction des paiements annuels spécifiés pour les provinces d'un montant annuel égal à celui que cette taxe procure actuellement au Dominion. Un autre équivalent serait pour le Dominion de retirer son offre de verser aux provinces 50 p. 100 du coût des pensions aux vieillards de 65 à 69 ans, lequel, d'après les données estimatives, représente pour le Dominion une dépense allant jusqu'à 20 millions de dollars par an.

Si les provinces, d'une façon générale, sont disposées à offrir l'un ou l'autre de ces choix, le Dominion modifiera ses propositions en conséquence.

Autre exemple. Le Dominion pourrait abandonner le domaine de la taxe d'amusement pourvu qu'on lui fasse grâce des subventions pour services de santé. Le gouvernement fédéral n'entend pas par là donner à entendre que l'un ou l'autre de ces choix serait dans l'intérêt national ou provincial, mais il serait disposé à considérer toute proposition en ce sens qui correspondrait aux désirs des provinces en général et qui n'affaiblirait pas la situation financière du Dominion.

PARTIE II. Placements d'Etat

1. Subventions aux programmes de travaux publics: Le Dominion versera à tout gouvernement provincial qui le désire la moitié des frais (jusqu'à concurrence de 7½ p. 100 du coût des travaux) d'établissement d'un programme de travaux publics provinciaux et, par l'entremise des autorités provinciales, de travaux municipaux, pourvu que ce programme soit accepté du Dominion au point de vue de l'échelonnement. Cette offre vaudra à compter de la date que fixera le gouvernement fédéral et elle se limitera, dans la première année qui suivra cette date, à une somme égale à $1 par tête de la population de la province.

2. Echelonnement des subventions: Le Dominion subventionnera des programmes de travaux publics provinciaux, et par l'intermédiaire du gouvernement provincial, des programmes de travaux publics municipaux, dont l'ampleur et la valeur seront déterminées par le Dominion qui les annoncera en janvier de telle année au cours de laquelle, à la lumière de la situation générale de l'embauchage et des conditions économiques, le Dominion jugera cette aide opportune.

3. Programme fédéral: Le Dominion intensifiera ses entreprises d'exploitation des ressources naturelles, de conservation et de recherches aussitôt que le permettra la situation de la main-d'oeuvre et des matériaux. Chaque fois que la chose sera possible, ces entreprises seront mises en oeuvre selon la situation générale de l'embauchage et les conditions économiques.

4. Programmes conjoints fédéraux-provinciaux: Le gouvernement fédéral discutera avec les gouvernements provinciaux la question de la préparation d'accords en vertu desquels le Dominion accordera de l'aide pour des services et des projets provinciaux entrant dans les catégories mentionnées dans les propositions du mois d'août 1945.

PARTIE III. Santé

1. Subvention en vue de l'organisation d'un programme: Aussitôt l'accord conclu, le Dominion paiera à tout gouvernement provincial qui en manifestera le désir, $5,000 plus 5 cents par tête de sa population de 1941 (mais pas moins de $15,000); cette somme devra être dépensée en moins de deux ans et consacrée à des études portant sur les besoins de la province dans les domaines des services médicaux et hospitaliers essentiels et d'autres services connexes. Les gouvernements provinciaux devraient faire des rapports trimestriels.

2. Assurance-santé: Le gouvernement fédéral est prêt à contribuer jusqu'à concurrence de 60 p. 100 du coût de services spécifiques compris dans tout plan provincial d'assurance-santé approuvé par lui. Sur conclusion d'une entente, il consent à engager des discussions d'ordre technique avec tout gouvernement provincial désireux de bénéficier de ce genre d'assistance.

3. Subventions aux services de santé: Dans le but de favoriser la médecine préventive, d'assurer des services hospitaliers plus complets et d'aider à l'expansion des services d'hygiène publique, le gouvernement fédéral versera aux provinces des subventions conditionnelles relativement à l'hygiène publique en général, au traitement de la tuberculose, à l'hygiène mentale, à la lutte contre les maladies vénériennes, au soin des enfants infirmes et prendra d'autres dispositions pour favoriser la formation professionnelle

et les recherches dans le domaine de l'hygiène publique. Il versera 50 p. 100 du montant requis pour réduire de 40 à 21 ans l'âge d'éligibilité à la pension aux aveugles, et porter à $30 la pension mensuelle et pour instituer des services de prévention et de traitement de la cécité. On trouvera en appendice à la présente déclaration de plus amples détails sur ces contributions et versements.

4. Construction d'hôpitaux : Le Dominion aidera les provinces signataires d'accords en matière d'assurance-santé à construire de nouveaux hôpitaux dont elles auront besoin en leur prêtant au prix coûtant, ou moyennant un léger supplément, des capitaux garantis par les diverses subventions auxquelles leurs services de santé leur donneront droit.

PARTIE IV. PENSIONS DE VIEILLESSE

1. Personnes âgées de 70 ans et plus: Le gouvernement fédéral établira un régime national de pensions de vieillesse de $30 par mois payable à toute personne âgée de 70 ans. Le gouvernement fédéral sera seul responsable de l'administration de ces pensions. Les pensions de vieillesse et les autres parties du programme fédéral de sécurité sociale, lorsqu'elles seront mises en oeuvre, seront financées par des modifications au régime de taxation, ou par d'autres contributions, que le Parlement pourra autoriser.

2. Personnes âgées de 65 à 69 ans: Le gouvernement fédéral est prêt à conclure une entente avec tout gouvernement provincial, par laquelle il assumerait la moitié du coût des pensions (à l'exclusion des frais d'administration) jusqu'à concurrence de $30 par mois versées aux personnes nécessiteuses âgées de 65 à 69 ans. Les gouvernements provinciaux administreront ces pensions à peu près de la même façon que le régime actuel des pensions de vieillesse. Cette proposition sera retirée si les provinces acceptent l'alternative concernant l'impôt sur l'essence.

PARTIE V. ASSISTANCE-CHOMAGE

Outre l'assurance-chômage, le gouvernement fédéral établira un régime d'assistance-chômage d'après lequel il versera des prestations représentant 85 p. 100 des prestations d'assurance-chômage, aux personnes sans emploi qui peuvent et désirent travailler mais qui n'ont pas droit ou ont cessé d'avoir droit aux prestations d'assurance-chômage. Cette assistance ne sera accordée d'une façon continue que pendant une période maximum de deux ans mais une personne y aura de nouveau droit après une période d'emploi officiellement déterminée.

PARTIE VI. CONCLUSION DE NOUVELLES ENTENTES

Au cas où l'intention générale serait de conclure des ententes définitives conformément aux dispositions générales énoncées ici, le gouvernement fédéral s'engagera à ne rien négliger pour que telles ententes soient réalisées et que la loi nécessaire pour leur donner suite soit promulguée avant le ler septembre prochain.

Les nouvelles ententes entreraient en vigueur le lendemain de l'expiration des accords fiscaux du temps de guerre intervenus entre le Dominion et les provinces intéressées (à moins qu'on ne se soit entendu sur une autre date). Les ententes vaudraient pour trois ans et pourraient être prolongées de consentement mutuel.

Le Dominion paiera aux gouvernement provinciaux l'arriéré de l'impôt sur le revenu et de la taxe sur les corporations afférent aux accords fiscaux du temps de guerre dans les trente jours qui suivront l'entrée en vigueur de la nouvelle entente. Le Dominion paiera annuellement les sommes prévues, en quatre versements trimestriels égaux, jusqu'à l'expiration de l'entente, le premier versement devant être fait six mois après l'entrée en vigueur de l'entente et le dernier trois mois après son expiration.

APPENDICE A

Définition du versement annuel spécifié devant être fait par le gouvernement fédéral à uneprovince en vertu de l'accord projeté

1. Le gouvernement fédéral s'engage à verser à la province, pendant la durée de l'accord, un montant minimum annuel garanti égal à quinze dollars multiplié par le chiffre de la population de la province en 1942, tel qu'estimé par le Bureau fédéral de la statistique (ou, au gré de la province, le chiffre de la population en 1941 tel qu'indiqué par le recensement du Canada). Toutefois, ce minimum garanti ne sera jamais moindre que 150 p. 100 des versements annuels faits à la province en vertu de l'Accord fiscal du temps de guerre (à l'exclusion des versements garantis de taxe sur l'essence) ou moindre que deux millions de dollars.

2. En toute année où le montant établi grâce à la formule suivante dépassera le minimum garanti, le montant ainsi établi sera versé au lieu du minimum garanti. La formule: Diviser "le Rendement brut par tête" pour chacune des trois années précédentes par le "Rendement Brut National par tête pour 1942". Multiplier le quotient par $15 dans chaque cas. Multipliez le produit par le chiffre de la population de la province. Si le résultat en l'une quelconque des trois années est moindre que le minimum garanti, substituer le montant du minimum garanti. Prendre la moyenne des trois montants ainsi établis.

3. Les calculs mentionnés au paragraphe 2 seront établis d'après les estimations courantes du Bureau fédéral de la statistique sur le chiffre de la population et le Rendement Brut National, et ils seront ajustés, au besoin, d'après le rapport final du Bureau fédéral de la Statistique.

APPENDICE B

Subventions aux services de santé

Le gouvernement fédéral versera aux gouvernements provinciaux des subventions conditionnelles pour les services de médecine préventive, la construction d'hôpitaux et le développement des services d'hygiène publique aux fins suivantes:

(a) Subventions générale aux services de santé: 35 cents par tête annuellement; cette subvention sera augmentée après deux ans à raison de 5 cents par tête annuellement jusqu'à ce qu'elle atteigne la somme de 50 cents par tête. Cette subvention pourra être employée entre autres choses aux recherches sur le cancer et l'arthrite, au traitement de ces maladies et à la dissémination de renseignements à ce sujet.

(b) Subventions pour la lutte contre la tuberculose: La somme de $3,000,000 sera répartie annuellement entre tous les gouvernements provinciaux; chaque province recevra au moins $25,000. Le reste de cette somme sera distribué comme suit: 50 p. 100 d'après le chiffre de la population et 50 p. 100 d'après le nombre moyen de décès causés par la tuberculose dans chaque province au cours des cinq années précédentes. Après deux ans, une subvention additionnelle de $1,000,000 sera accordée annuellement pendant dix ans aux gouvernements provinciaux pouvant s'en servir utilement.

(c) Subventions aux services d'hygiène mentale: La somme de $4,000,000 sera répartie annuellement entre tous les gouvernements provinciaux; chaque province recevra au moins $25,000 et le reste de la somme sera distribué d'après le chiffre de la population. Le montant total de cette subvention pourrait atteindre 5 millions de dollars à la fin de la deuxième année, 6 millions à la fin de la quatrième année et 7 millions à la fin de la sixième, si les gouvernements provinciaux démontrent qu'ils peuvent réellement utiliser ces montants.

(d) Subventions aux services de lutte antivénérienne: Montant annuel de $500,000 versé à tous les gouvernements provinciaux, le minimum prévu étant de $4,000 à chaque province, le solde devant être versé sur une base de 50 p. 100 suivant le nombre de nouveaux cas de syphilis signalés l'année précédente.

(e) Formation professionnelle: Le Dominion dépensera annuellement jusqu'à concurrence de $250,000 pour aider à la formation d'un personnel pour les services de santé publique.

(f) Recherches en matière de santé publique: Le Dominion affectera annuellement jusqu'à concurrence de $100,000 à l'aide aux services de santé publique.

(g) Les aveugles civils: Le Dominion fournira 50 p. 100 des deniers requis pour permettre d'abaisser de 40 à 21 ans l'âge de la pension aux aveugles, de relever à $30 par mois le montant maximum de la pension et d'assurer les moyens de prévenir ou de guérir la cécité.

Aucun changement constitutionnel

Dans l'élaboration de toutes ses propositions, le gouvernement du Dominion s'est inspiré du principe qu'il y a lieu de sauvegarder et de consolider le régime de gouvernement fédéral en honneur au Canada. Je tiens à répéter ici ce que je disais à la séance plénière du 6 août dernier:

" Nous ne croyons pas que l'unité puisse se trouver dans l'uniformité, dans la standardisation ou dans la centralisation. Nous croyons que l'unité et la force du Canada dépendent également de la solidité et de la force des provinces et de leur aptitude à s'acquitter efficacement de leurs charges. Nous croyons que ce n'est que le jour où les provinces jouiront d'une sécurité suffisante dans leurs propres sphères que nous pourrons arriver à la coopération entre les gouvernements, indispensable aux besoins de notre pays."

C'est à la lumière de ces principes que mes collègues et moi avons minutieusement examiné chaque aspect de nos propositions. Et nous sommes convaincus que les propositions du Dominion vont en effet consolider la position de chaque gouvernement dans la sphère qui lui est propre.

La seule modification projetée à la constitution se trouve dans cette proposition dont il a déjà été question et qui vise la délégation de pouvoirs. A cette seule exception près, où le Dominion consent à étendre les prérogatives des provinces, aucune des propositions fédérales n'exige de modification à l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique; aucune non plus ne comporte de changement fondamental à notre régime confédératif traditionnel. En cette période instable de transition, la sagesse nous interdit toute modification constitutionnelle, comme aussi tout engagement irrévocable. Ce que nous cherchons, c'est de répondre à des besoins urgents par des mesures temporaires, à la fois aussi simples et aussi efficaces que possible.

Double imposition à éviter

En formulant ces propositions, le gouvernement fédéral n'a jamais perdu de vue l'à-propos d'éviter la double imposition et de tirer le meilleur parti possible des principaux domaines de taxation directe.

Par meilleur emploi possible des domaines de taxation, nous ne visons pas seulement les frais de perception pour les gouvernements et les contribuables. L'efficacité que nous recherchons si ardemment pour notre régime fiscal en cette période de transition en est une qui entravera le moins possible l'activité commerciale et l'embauchage.

C'est là une des principales raisons de la proposition voulant que seul le gouvernement fédéral devrait prélever des impôts, des taxes sur les revenus des compagnies et des droits successoraux, et de faire en retour des versements sans conditions aux provinces.

Prévisions sur la politique fiscale

Ici, permettez-moi de donner une idée de la politique fiscale que le gouvernement fédéral projette de suivre si un accord inter-intervient conformément aux propositions dudit gouvernement.

Pour ce qui est de l'impôt sur le revenu personnel, tel que prélevé présentement, le gouvernement est disposé à dire que, une fois les propositions du gouvernement fédéral acceptées, et le risque de voir les mesures fédérales nullifiées par des mesures provinciales à conséquences économiques contraires est ainsi évité, le gouvernement à l'intention d'effectuer de nouvelles réductions dans l'impôt sur le revenu personnel. Dans les mêmes circonstances, le gouvernement entend aussi réduire le facteur de double imposition du revenu des compagnies tendant à décourager les entreprises qui courent des risques. On projette de défrayer, au moyen de contributions personnelles directes, une partie de la part du gouvernement fédéral dans le coût de l'expansion considérable des services de sécurité sociale que comporte les propositions fédérales.

Urgence du problème

Le ministre des Finances a été contraint de différer la préparation du budget fédéral jusqu'à l'issue de la présente conférence. Toutefois, cette tâche ne saurait être retardée beaucoup plus longtemps. La nature du budget influe d'une façon vitale sur les plans d'expansion commerciale portant sur plusieurs années. Les provinces ont, elles aussi, des problèmes budgétaires à résoudre. D'ici un an tous les accords fiscaux du temps de guerre auront expirés. Il serait impossible de laisser persister l'état d'incertitude qui existe présentement.

Le gouvernement fédéral estime que dans ses propositions, telle qu'elles sont maintenant formulées, il est allé aussi loin qu'il pouvait le faire, compte tenu des obligations financières très lourdes qui lui incombent. Bien que nous n'ayons pas définitivement écarté toute alternative ou tout rajustement, les modifications de ce genre devront être fondées sur des équivalences financières.

Si un accord est réalisé, les propositions budgétaires fédérales s'inspireront des dispositions de cet accord. S'il n'y a pas entente, la préparation définitive du budget fédéral devra tout de même être entreprise immédiatement. Dans ce cas, il faudra tenir dûment compte de l'expiration des accords fiscaux fédéraux-provinciaux présentement existants ainsi que de la situation que cela créera.

Le gouvernement fédéral devra utiliser ses pouvoirs constitutionnels dans toute la mesure nécessaire pour faire face à ses lourdes obligations et à ses engagements financiers dans les domaines national et international. Il reste peut-être une troisième issue. Il se peut que, au cours de la présente réunion plénière, on apporte une nouvelle proposition offrant une meilleure solution. Etant donné que la préparation des budgets fédéral et provinciaux est urgente, il faudra nécessairement en venir rpidement à une décision sur toute proposition de ce genre.

Une fois que les provinces, à la présente réunion plénière, auront clairement défini leur attitude, nous espérons, s'il semble que l'on puisse s'entendre sur les principes fondamentaux, que le Comité de coordination pourra reprendre ses séances afin de rédiger le texte de l'entente.

Consultations constantes

En terminant, on me permettra de repéter que les propositions du Dominion ne portent que sur une période de trois ans et qu'elles entraînent aucune modification permanente à nos relations constitutionnelles ou financières. Et si nous en arrivons aujourd'hui à une entente, le Comité économique pourrait conserver sa forme actuelle avec un secrétariat permanent, afin de faciliter la coopération entre le Dominion et les provinces. Le Comité pourrait se réunir au moins deux fois l'an, tant que subsistera l'accord, pour l'échange de renseignements d'ordre technique et pour mettre ses membres en mesure de conseiller leurs gouvernements respectifs quant aux moyens de seconder les buts de l'accord, et sur d'autres questions d'intérêt mutuel et national.

Le Comité de coordination, tel que présentement constitué pourrait officiellement subsister et se réunir chaque fois que l'intérêt général en démontrera l'utilité.

Nous espérons bien que d'autres conférences et consultations, comme celles-ci ou du même genre, entre le Dominion et les provinces, nous rapprocheront, d'ici trois ans, du but que nous visons; la solution définitive du problème de la coopération fédérale-provinciale.

D 63958

CONFERENCE FEDERALE-PROVINCIALE
(Séance plénière)

Déclaration du premier ministre du Canada, le très honorable W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P., le 29 avril 1946

La guerre a sensiblement influé sur les relations qui existaient normalement entre le Dominion et les provinces. En 1941, afin de mettre le gouvernement fédéral en mesure de tirer le plus grand parti possible des ressources financières de la nation en vue de la poursuite de la guerre, les provinces ont abandonné les domaines de l'impôt sur le revenu et de la taxe sur les corporations, moyennant certains paiements annuels fixés dont le chiffre devait être déterminé dans des accords fiscaux du temps de guerre. Au moment de la conclusion de ces accords on prévoyait que, dès la fin des hostilités et l'expiration de ces accords, les provinces redeviendraient libres de percevoir l'impôt sur le revenu et la taxe sur les corpprations. A cette époque, personne ne pouvait prévoir la durée des hostilités, et encore moins peut-être, le chiffre énorme des dépenses qu'entraînerait la poursuite de la guerre, ni les obligations et engagements que le conflit occasionnerait inévitablement pour plusieurs années à venir.

Les motifs de la conférence

A mesure que se poursuivaient les hostilités, il devenait évident qu'en face des changements importants occasionnés par le conflit, il serait difficile de reprendre les relations financières qui existaient lors de la conclusion d'accords visant l'imposition en temps de guerre. C'est la première et la principale raison qui a nécessité la convocation d'une conférence entre le Dominion et les provinces. Une autre raison, c'est qu'avant la guerre les relations entre le Dominion et les provinces n'étaient très peu satisfaisantes. De fait, ce problème faisait l'objet d'une étude sérieuse et urgente quand la guerre a éclaté.

Quelque temps avant la fin des hostilités, on se rendait de plus en plus compte combien la situation mondiale serait complete et difficile durant la période de transition de la guerre à la paix. On prévoyait,dans le monde entier,une situation confuse, des difficultés quant au rétablissement des marchés ordinaires de temps de paix, et la pénurie d'approvisionnements de toutes sortes. En face de telles perspectives, les gouvernement fédéral et provinciaux ont compris la nécessité d'assurer une collaboration pratique entre le Dominion et les provinces, par des moyens qui, durant la période de transition, permettraient au gouvernement fédéral de s'acquitter efficacement de ses obligations dans les domaines international et national, et aux provinces de faire face à leurs obligations et responsabilités.

Pendant la guerre, le Canada a atteint un niveau d'embauchage et de revenu national plus élevé que jamais. Si nous voulons maintenir un tel niveau et accroître la sécurité sociale au Canada, il faut la collaboration efficace entre le fédéral et les provinces.

Délibérations de la conférence

La présente conférence fédérale-provinciale s'est réunie pour la première fois le 6 août dernier. Avant l'ouverture de la conférence, et à la suite de plusieurs mois de collaboration avec les provinces dans la préparation de données statistiques essentielles, le gouvernement fédéral avait élaboré une série complète de propositions en vue d'un accord entre le Dominion et les provinces. Ces propositions furent soumises à la conférence dès le début des délibérations.

Les provinces ont été invitées à présenter leurs propres propositions. A la séance d'ouverture, certaines ont soumis des propositions d'autres ont fait des déclarations à titre non-officiel. Les provinces étaient d'avis qu'il faudrait du temps pour étudier les propositions fédérales, préparer des observations et proposer des modifications, ou, soumettre comme elles y étaient invitées, des contre-propositions. On a établi à cette fin, un Comité de coordination composé des premiers ministres des neuf provinces, de trois ministres fédérau et du premier ministre du Canada. Comme en fait foi le rapport du secrétaire du Comité de coordination, lu ce matin, le comité s'est réuni de temps à autre. Sur la proposition de quelques premiers ministres provinciaux et avec l'approbation de tous, les séances ont eu lieu à huis clos. On a cependant rendu publiques toutes les propositions officielles soumises par les provinces au Comité de coordination.

Je désire que l'on comprenne parfaitement que la tenue des séances du Comité de coordination à huis clos n'a été en aucune façon inspirée par le désir de certains de ses membres de cacher au public des questions qui sont nécessairement d'un intérêt vital pour l'ensemble de la population canadienne. C'était à la seule fin de faciliter la libre discussion du fond même des questions à l'étude. Il est souvent difficile, comme nous le savons tous, de modifier l'attitude prise dans une discussion publique, bien que les circonstances rendent parfois un tel geste opportun.

Modifications de propositions fédérales

A la suite de nos entretiens, les propositions fédérales ont fait l'objet d'un certain nombre de revisions et de modifications aux réunions du Comité de coordination. Au comité, le Dominion a cherché à faire le plus de lumiere possible sur ses propositions et à répondre pleinement aux questions soulevees par les gouvernements provinciaux. Le gouvernement fédéral se réjouit de l'occasion qui lui est ici offerte de présenter, en les résumant, l'ensemble des propositions fédérales sous leur forme actuelle.

Que le Dominion ait apporté des modifications successives à des propositions, voilà qui témoigne de son désir de tenir compte, dans la mesure du possible, des difficultés auxquelles ont à faire face certaines provinces, ainsi que de sa volonté de faire tout en son pouvoir pour en arriver à une base d'entente qui soit à la fois juste et satisfaisante pour les provinces aussi bien que pour le Dominion.

A mon avis, il y a avantage que le public apprenne maintenant l'attitude précise des divers gouvernements et cela, dans les termes mêmes de leurs propres représentants.

Le Dominion se réjouit de la tenue de cette séance plénière: en effet, bien que ses propositions et son attitude soient connues de toutes les provinces, il lui reste encore à connaître l'attitude de quelques-unes de celles-ci et a savoir jusqu'à quel point on accepte en principe les propositions du Dominion.

Je vais résumer à l'instant ces dernières, dans leur état actuel.

RESUME DES PROPOSITIONS DU DOMINION

Afin de maintenir à un niveau élevé et d'accroître sans cesse la production, l'embauchage et le revenu national, assurer une plus large mesure de sécurité sociale et établir un régime général d'imposition moins onéreux, le Dominion cherche à conclure avec les provinces une entente fondée sur les propositions qui suivent, propositions inter-dépendantes et qu'il faut considérer comme un tout complet.

PARTIE I. Accords financiers

Au chapitre des finances, la principale proposition du Dominion est la suivante: moyennant le versement sans condition aux provinces de sommes déterminées, ses dernières s'engageraient à ne prélever, au cours des prochains trois ans, aucuns impôts sur le revenu des particuliers et des sociétés et aucuns droits successoraux; toutefois, les provinces qui désireraient continuer à prélever des droits successoraux pourraient le faire contre réduction appropriée du payement effectué par le Dominion.

1. Le Dominion s'engage à verser annuellement à chaque province, tant que l'accord restera en vigueur, une somme représentant au moins $15 par tête d'habitant. Le paiement minimum sera fondé sur la population réelle en 1941 ou sur la population estimative en 1942, suivant celui de ces deux chiffres qui est le plus élevé. Les sommes effectivement versées en 1947 seront sensiblement supérieures au minimum garanti, car les paiements annuels feront

l'objet d'un relevé proportionné à l'accroissement moyen des trois dernières années, et de la population et de la production nationale brute répartie par tête d'habitant. Les paiements estimatifs de 1947 sont consignés à un tableau qui fait partie de la présente déclaration mais dont je ne donnerai lecture que si on me le demande. Les versements du Dominion à une province quelconque ne seront jamais inférieurs à 150 p. 100 des recettes encaissées annuellement par cette province, sous l'empire de son Accord visant l'imposition en temps de guerre.

Aucune province ne recevra annuellement moins de deux millions de dollars. Cette description du mode de calcul des paiements est plutôt générale. La façon précise de les établir est consignée en appendice à la présente déclaration.

Le tableau ne tient pas compte de l'aide financière dont jouiraient les provinces à la suite de la mise en oeuvre des propositions du Dominion visant l'assurance-chômage, les pensions de vieillesse, les subventions aux services d'hygiène et le placement de fonds publics.

(millions de dollars)

	Recettes provinciales actuelles tirées de:				Paiements projetés du Dominion aux provinces	
	Accords du temps de guerre sur les impôts	Subventions statutaires	Droits successoraux provinciaux(x)	Total des trois rubriques précédentes	Minimum assuré (xx)	1947 Estimations actuelles (xxx)
I.P.-E.	.7	.4 xx	.1	1.2	2.0	2.0
N.-E.	2.9	.7 xx	.6	4.2	8.9	10.0
N.-B.	3.7	.7 xx	.4	4.8	7.0	7.5
Qué.	20.6	2.9	7.8	31.3	50.9	57.3
Ont.	29.0	3.2	12.1	44.3	58.3	64.5
Man.	5.7	1.7	.6	8.0	10.9	11.3
Sask.	5.8	2.0	.4	8.2	13.4	13.5
Alta.	5.8	1.8	.6	8.2	11.9	13.3
C.-B.	12.0	1.0	1.3	14.3	18.1	18.1
TOTAL	86.2	14.4	23.9	124.5	181.4	198.0

(x) Perceptions moyennes pour la dernière période quinquennale pour laquelle nous possédions les chiffres, soit de 1940 à 1944 inclusivement.

(xx) Ne comprend pas les subventions provisoires de $275,000 (I. P.-E.), $1,300,000 (N.-E.) et $900,000 (N.-B.) qui figurent dans la colonne précédente sous la rubrique des accords du temps de geurre sur les impôts et qui deviendront statutaires à l'expiration de ces accords.

(xxx) Ces sommes ne comprennent pas les recettes provinciales provenant de leur part de 50 p.100 de l'impôt fédéral sur le revenu de services d'utilité publique déterminés, ni des impôts provinciaux sur les bénéfices des entreprises minières ou forestières dont il est question plus loin.

Les paiements annuels aux provinces prévus dans le tableau ci-dessus seront sujets à certains rajustements nécessaires indiqué plus loin.

2. En retour des paiements annuels spécifiés, les provinces s'engageraient, pour la durée de l'accord, à ne pas lever d'impôts sur le revenu ou sur les sociétés ni de droits successoraux, ni à autoriser les municipalités à le faire.

3. Si une province désire continuer à prélever des droits successoraux, les montants versés en droits successoraux à ladite province seront considérés comme un crédit acquis au contribuable contre ses redevances au Dominion en droits successoraux; le crédit, toutefois, sera limité au montant qui aurait été payable à cette province aux taux des droits successoraux et aux conditions prescrites pour l'année 1946. La somme globale des paiements annuels versés à la province par le Dominion, en vertu de l'accord, serait réduite du montant de ces crédits.

4. Le Dominion continuera à verser ses subventions statutaires, mais les intégrera aux paiements annuels spécifiés qu'il doit faire en vertu de l'accord.

5. Les provinces pourront taxer les entreprises minières et forestières en prélevant soit des redevances, soit des impôts sur les bénéfices nets de ces entreprises. Pour la durée de l'accord, le Dominion reconnaîtra ces prélèvements comme dépense déductible du revenu pour les fins de l'impôt fédéral.

6. Le gouvernement fédéral est disposé à tâcher d'obtenir un amendement constitutionnel autorisant la délégation de pouvoirs du Parlement fédéral aux assemblées législatives provinciales ou vice versa. Une fois l'amendement effectué, le gouvernement fédéral demandera au Parlement de déléguer aux provinces, pour la durée de l'accord, le droit de prélever des impôts sur ses ventes au détail dans des limites qui seront nettes et déterminées.

7. Le gouvernement fédéral s'engagera, pour la durée de l'accord, à ne pas envahir le domaine de la taxation de l'immeuble et des permis d'automobile, domaine qui, à l'heure actuelle, relève exclusivement des provinces.

8. Le gouvernement fédéral s'engagera aussi, pour la durée de l'accord, à ne pas augmenter ses droits d'accise spéciaux sur l'essence, les amusements ou les paris mutuels, sous réserve qu'en cas de circonstances critiques nationales, le gouvernement fédéral sera libre de prendre toutes mesures nécessaires pour parer auxdites circonstances.

9. Dans le cas des compagnies dont le commerce principal consiste générer, pour fin de distribution au public, ou à distribuer de l'énergie électrique, du gaz ou de la vapeur, le gouvernement fédéral versera à la province intéressée la moitié des montants nets perçus ausdites compagnies en impôts sur le revenu des compagnies à l'égard dudit commerce par le gouvernement fédéral. Ce paiement à un gouvernement provincial sera réduit d'un montant égal à tout impôt que le gouvernement de ladite province prélève de telles compagnies.

10. Si le gouvernement ou l'une des municipalités d'une province s'empare d'une société contribuable, les paiements annuels spécifiés pour cette province seront réduits du montant de l'impôt sacrifié par le Dominion. Cette disposition ne s'applique pas aux compagnies dont il est question à l'alinéa précédent.

11. Depuis la suspension des séances du Comité de coordination vendredi dernier, le gouvernement fédéral a poursuivi l'étude de la proposition de quelques provinces voulant que le Dominion abandonne certains domaines de l'impôt.

Le plus important de ces domaines, au point de vue des recettes est la taxe spéciale d'accise de 3 cents, imposée en 1941, sur l'essence et qui rapporte couramment au Dominion environ 30 millions de dollars par an. Vu les obligations financières et les responsabilités dont il doit s'acquitter, le gouvernement fédéral ne peut renoncer à un domaine quelconque de l'impôt, il l'a clairement établi, qu'en retour de ressources financières d'une valeur équivalente. En ce qui concerne l'essence, on pourrait considérer comme équivalent la réduction des paiements annuels spécifiés pour les provinces d'un montant annuel égal à celui que cette taxe procure actuellement au Dominion. Un autre équivalent ce serait pour le Dominion de retirer son offre de verser aux provinces 50 p. 100 du coût des pensions aux vieillards de 65 à 69 ans, lequel, d'après les données estimatives, représente pour le DOminion une dépense allant jusqu'à 20 millions de dollars par an.

Si les provinces, d'une façon générale, sont disposées à offrir l'un ou l'autre de ces choix, le Dominion modifiera ses propositions en conséquence.

Autre exemple. Le Dominion pourrait abandonner le domaine de la taxe d'amusement pourvu qu'on lui fasse grâce des subventions pour services de santé. Le gouvernement fédéral n'entend pas par là donner à entendre que l'un ou l'autre de ces choix serait dans l'intérêt national ou provincial, mais il serait disposé à considérer toute proposition en ce sens qui correspondrait aux désirs des provinces en général et qui n'affaiblirait pas la situation financière du Dominion.

PARTIE II. Placements d'Etat

1. Subventions aux programmes de travaux publics: Le Dominion versera à tout gouvernement provincial qui le désire la moitié des frais (jusqu'à concurrence de 7½ p. 100 du coût des travaux) d'établissement d'un programme de travaux publics provinciaux et, par l'entremise des autorités provinciales, de travaux municipaux, pourvu que ce programme soit accepté du Dominion au point de vue de l'échelonnement. Cette offre vaudra à compter de la date que fixera le gouvernement fédéral et elle se limitera, dans la première année qui suivra cette date, à une somme égale à $1 par tête de la population de la province.

2. Echelonnement des subventions: Le Dominion subventionnera des programmes de travaux publics provinciaux, et par l'intermédiaire du gouvernement provincial, des programmes de travaux publics municipaux, dont l'ampleur et la valeur seront déterminées par le Dominion qui les annoncera en janvier de telle année au cours de laquelle, à la lumière de la situation générale de l'embauchage et des conditions économiques, le Dominion jugera cette aide opportune.

3. Programme fédéral: Le Dominion intensifiera ses entreprises d'exploitation des ressources naturelles, de conservation et de recherches aussitôt que le permettra la situation de la main-d'oeuvre et des matériaux. Chaque fois que la chose sera possible, ces entreprises seront mises en oeuvre selon la situation générale de l'embauchage et les conditions économiques.

4. Programmes conjoints fédéraux-provinciaux: Le gouvernement fédéral discutera avec les gouvernements provinciaux la question de la préparation d'accords en vertu desquels le Dominion accordera de l'aide pour des services et des projets provinciaux entrant dans les catégories mentionnées dans les propositions du mois d'août 1945.

PARTIE III. Santé

1. Subvention en vue de l'organisation d'un programme: Aussitôt l'accord conclu, le Dominion paiera à tout gouvernement provincial qui en manifestera le désir, $5,000 plus 5 cents par tête de sa population de 1941 (mais pas moins de $15,000); cette somme devra être dépensée en moins de deux ans et consacrée à des études portant sur les besoins de la province dans les domaines des services médicaux et hospitaliers essentiels et d'autres services connexes. Les gouvernements provinciaux devraient faire des rapports trimestriels.

2. Assurance-santé: Le gouvernement fédéral est prêt à contribuer jusqu'à concurrence de 60 p. 100 du coût de services spécifiques compris dans tout plan provincial d'assurance-santé approuvé par lui. Sur conclusion d'une entente, il consent à engager des discussions d'ordre technique avec tout gouvernement provincial désireux de bénéficier de ce genre d'assistance.

3. Subventions aux services de santé: Dans le but de favoriser la médecine préventive, d'assurer des services hospitaliers plus complets et d'aider à l'expansion des services d'hygiène publique, le gouvernement fédéral versera aux provinces des subventions conditionnelles relativement à l'hygiène publique en général, au traitement de la tuberculose, à l'hygiène mentale, à la lutte contre les maladies vénériennes, au soin des enfants infirmes et prendra d'autres dispositions pour favoriser la formation professionnelle

et les recherches dans le domaine de l'hygiène publique. Il versera 50 p. 100 du montant requis pour réduire de 40 à 21 ans l'âge d'éligibilité à la pension aux aveugles, et porter à $30 la pension mensuelle et pour instituer des services de prévention et de traitement de la cécité. On trouvera en appendice à la présente déclaration de plus amples détails sur ces contributions et versements.

4. Construction d'hôpitaux : Le Dominion aidera les provinces signataires d'accords en matière d'assurance-santé à construire de nouveaux hôpitaux dont elles auront besoin en leur prêtant au prix coûtant, ou moyennant un léger supplément, des capitaux garantis par les diverses subventions auxquelles leurs services de santé leur donneront droit.

PARTIE IV. PENSIONS DE VIEILLESSE

1. Personnes âgées de 70 ans et plus: Le gouvernement fédéral établira un régime national de pensions de vieillesse de $30 par mois payable à toute personne âgée de 70 ans. Le gouvernement fédéral sera seul responsable de l'administration de ces pensions. Les pensions de vieillesse et les autres parties du programme fédéral de sécurité sociale, lorsqu'elles seront mises en oeuvre, seront financées par des modifications au régime de taxation, ou par d'autres contributions, que le Parlement pourra autoriser.

2. Personnes âgées de 65 à 69 ans: Le gouvernement fédéral est prêt à conclure une entente avec tout gouvernement provincial, par laquelle il assumerait la moitié du coût des pensions (à l'exclusion des frais d'administration) jusqu'à concurrence de $30 par mois versées aux personnes nécessiteuses âgées de 65 à 69 ans. Les gouvernements provinciaux administreront ces pensions à peu près de la même façon que le régime actuel des pensions de vieillesse. Cette proposition sera retirée si les provinces acceptent l'alternative concernant l'impôt sur l'essence.

PARTIE V. ASSISTANCE-CHOMAGE

Outre l'assurance-chômage, le gouvernement fédéral établira un régime d'assistance-chômage d'après lequel il versera des prestations représentant 85 p. 100 des prestations d'assurance-chômage, aux personnes sans emploi qui peuvent et désirent travailler mais qui n'ont pas droit ou ont cessé d'avoir droit aux prestations d'assurance-chômage. Cette assistance ne sera accordée d'une façon continue que pendant une période maximum de deux ans mais une personne y aura de nouveau droit après une période d'emploi officiellement déterminée.

D 63967

PARTIE VI. CONCLUSION DE NOUVELLES ENTENTES

Au cas où l'intention générale serait de conclure des ententes définitives conformément aux dispositions générales énoncées ici, le gouvernement fédéral s'engagera à ne rien négliger pour que telles ententes soient réalisées et que la loi nécessaire pour leur donner suite soit promulguée avant le 1er septembre prochain.

Les nouvelles ententes entreraient en vigueur le lendemain de l'expiration des accords fiscaux du temps de guerre intervenus entre le Dominion et les provinces intéressées (à moins qu'on ne se soit entendu sur une autre date). Les ententes vaudraient pour trois ans et pourraient être prolongées de consentement mutuel.

Le Dominion paiera aux gouvernement provinciaux l'arriéré de l'impôt sur le revenu et de la taxe sur les corporations afférent aux accords fiscaux du temps de guerre dans les trente jours qui suivront l'entrée en vigueur de la nouvelle entente. Le Dominion paiera annuellement les sommes prévues, en quatre versements trimestriels égaux, jusqu'à l'expiration de l'entente, le premier versement devant être fait six mois après l'entrée en vigueur de l'entente et le dernier trois mois après son expiration.

APPENDICE A

Définition du versement annuel spécifié devant être fait par le gouvernement fédéral à uneprovince en vertu de l'accord projeté

1. Le gouvernement fédéral s'engage à verser à la province, pendant la durée de l'accord, un montant minimum annuel garanti égal à quinze dollars multiplié par le chiffre de la population de la province en 1942, tel qu'estimé par le Bureau fédéral de la statistique (ou, au gré de la province, le chiffre de la population en 1941 tel qu'indiqué par le recensement du Canada). Toutefois, ce minimum garanti ne sera jamais moindre que 150 p. 100 des versements annuels faits à la province en vertu de l'Accord fiscal du temps de guerre (à l'exclusion des versements garantis de taxe sur l'essence) ou moindre que deux millions de dollars.

2. En toute année où le montant établi grâce à la formule suivante dépassera le minimum garanti, le montant ainsi établi sera versé au lieu du minimum garanti. La formule: Diviser "le Rendement brut par tête" pour chacune des trois années précédentes par le "Rendement Brut National par tête pour 1942". Multiplier le quotient par $15 dans chaque cas. Multipliez le produit par le chiffre de la population de la province. Si le résultat en l'une quelconque des trois années est moindre que le minimum garanti, substituer le montant du minimum garanti. Prendre la moyenne des trois montants ainsi établis.

3. Les calculs mentionnés au paragraphe 2 seront établis d'après les estimations courantes du Bureau fédéral de la statistique sur le chiffre de la population et le Rendement Brut National, et ils seront ajustés, au besoin, d'après le rapport final du Bureau fédéral de la Statistique.

APPENDICE B

Subventions aux services de santé

Le gouvernement fédéral versera aux gouvernements provinciaux des subventions conditionnelles pour les services de médecine préventive, la construction d'hôpitaux et le développement des services d'hygiène publique aux fins suivantes:

(a) Subventions générale aux services de santé: 35 cents par tête annuellement; cette subvention sera augmentée après deux ans à raison de 5 cents par tête annuellement jusqu'à ce qu'elle atteigne la somme de 50 cents par tête. Cette subvention pourra être employée entre autres choses aux recherches sur le cancer et l'arthrite, au traitement de ces maladies et à la dissémination de renseignements à ce sujet.

(b) Subventions pour la lutte contre la tuberculose: La somme de $3,000,000 sera répartie annuellement entre tous les gouvernements provinciaux; chaque province recevra au moins $25,000. Le reste de cette somme sera distribué comme suit: 50 p. 100 d'après le chiffre de la population et 50 p. 100 d'après le nombre moyen de décès causés par la tuberculose dans chaque province au cours des cinq années précédentes. Après deux ans, une subvention additionnelle de $1,000,000 sera accordée annuellement pendant dix ans aux gouvernements provinciaux pouvant s'en servir utilement.

(c) Subventions aux services d'hygiène mentale: La somme de $4,000,000 sera répartie annuellement entre tous les gouvernements provinciaux; chaque province recevra au moins $25,000 et le reste de la somme sera distribué d'après le chiffre de la population. Le montant total de cette subvention pourrait atteindre 5 millions de dollars à la fin de la deuxième année, 6 millions à la fin de la quatrième année et 7 millions à la fin de la sixième, si les gouvernements provinciaux démontrent qu'ils peuvent réellement utiliser ces montants.

(d) Subventions aux services de lutte antivénérienne: Montant annuel de $500,000 versé à tous les gouvernements provinciaux, le minimum prévu étant de $4,000 à chaque province, le solde devant être versé sur une base de 50 p. 100 suivant le nombre de nouveaux cas de syphilis signalés l'année précédente.

(e) Formation professionnelle: Le Dominion dépensera annuellement jusqu'à concurrence de $250,000 pour aider à la formation d'un personnel pour les services de santé publique.

(f) Recherches en matière de santé publique: Le Dominion affectera annuellement jusqu'à concurrence de $100,000 à l'aide aux services de santé publique.

(g) Les aveugles civils: Le Dominion fournira 50 p. 100 des deniers requis pour permettre d'abaisser de 40 à 21 ans l'âge de la pension aux aveugles, de relever à $30 par mois le montant maximum de la pension et d'assurer les moyens de prévenir ou de guérir la cécité.

Aucun changement constitutionnel

Dans l'élaboration de toutes ses propositions, le gouvernement du Dominion s'est inspiré du principe qu'il y a lieu de sauvegarder et de consolider le régime de gouvernement fédéral en honneur au Canada. Je tiens à répéter ici ce que je disais à la séance plénière du 6 août dernier:

" Nous ne croyons pas que l'unité puisse se trouver dans l'uniformité, dans la standardisation ou dans la centralisation. Nous croyons que l'unité et la force du Canada dépendent également de la solidité et de la force des provinces et de leur aptitude à s'acquitter efficacement de leurs charges. Nous croyons que ce n'est que le jour où les provinces jouiront d'une sécurité suffisante dans leurs propres sphères que nous pourrons arriver à la coopération entre les gouvernements, indispensable aux besoins de notre pays."

C'est à la lumière de ces principes que mes collègues et moi avons minutieusement examiné chaque aspect de nos propositions. Et nous sommes convaincus que les propositions du Dominion vont en effet consolider la position de chaque gouvernement dans la sphère qui lui est propre.

La seule modification projetée à la constitution se trouve dans cette proposition dont il a déjà été question et qui vise la délégation de pouvoirs. A cette seule exception près, où le Dominion consent à étendre les prérogatives des provinces, aucune des propositions fédérales n'exige de modification à l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique; aucune non plus ne comporte de changement fondamental à notre régime confédératif traditionnel. En cette période instable de transition, la sagesse nous interdit toute modification constitutionnelle, comme aussi tout engagement irrévocable. Ce que nous cherchons, c'est de répondre à des besoins urgents par des mesures temporaires, à la fois aussi simples et aussi efficaces que possible.

Double imposition à éviter

En formulant ces propositions, le gouvernement fédéral n'a jamais perdu de vue l'à-propos d'éviter la double imposition et de tirer le meilleur parti possible des principaux domaines de taxation directe.

Par meilleur emploi possible des domaines de taxation, nous ne visons pas seulement les frais de perception pour les gouvernements et les contribuables. L'efficacité que nous recherchons si ardemment pour notre régime fiscal en cette période de transition en est une qui entravera le moins possible l'activité commerciale et l'embauchage.

C'est là une des principales raisons de la proposition voulant que seul le gouvernement fédéral devrait prélever des impôts, des taxes sur les revenus des compagnies et des droits successoraux, et de faire en retour des versements sans conditions aux provinces.

Prévisions sur la politique fiscale

Ici, permettez-moi de donner une idée de la politique fiscale que le gouvernement fédéral projette de suivre si un accord intervient conformément aux propositions dudit gouvernement.

Pour ce qui est de l'impôt sur le revenu personnel, tel que prélevé présentement, le gouvernement est disposé à dire que, une fois les propositions du gouvernement fédéral acceptées, et le risque de voir les mesures fédérales nullifiées par des mesures provinciales à conséquences économiques contraires est ainsi évité, le gouvernement à l'intention d'effectuer de nouvelles réductions dans l'impôt sur le revenu personnel. Dans les mêmes circonstances, le gouvernement entend aussi réduire le facteur de double imposition du revenu des compagnies tendant à décourager les entreprises qui courent des risques. On projette de défrayer, au moyen de contributions personnelles directes, une partie de la part du gouvernement fédéral dans le coût de l'expansion considérable des services de sécurité sociale que comporte les propositions fédérales.

Urgence du problème

Le ministre des Finances a été contraint de différer la préparation du budget fédéral jusqu'à l'issue de la présente conférence. Toutefois, cette tâche ne saurait être retardée beaucoup plus longtemps. La nature du budget influe d'une façon vitale sur les plans d'expansion commerciale portant sur plusieurs années. Les provinces ont, elles aussi, des problèmes budgétaires à résoudre. D'ici un an tous les accords fiscaux du temps de guerre auront expirés. Il serait impossible de laisser persister l'état d'incertitude qui existe présentement.

Le gouvernement fédéral estime que dans ses propositions, telle qu'elles sont maintenant formulées, il est allé aussi loin qu'il pouvait le faire, compte tenu des obligations financières très lourdes qui lui incombent. Bien que nous n'ayons pas définitivement écarté toute alternative ou tout rajustement, les modifications de ce genre devront être fondées sur des équivalences financières.

Si un accord est réalisé, les propositions budgétaires fédérales s'inspireront des dispositions de cet accord. S'il n'y a pas entente, la préparation définitive du budget fédéral devra tout de même être entreprise immédiatement. Dans ce cas, il faudra tenir dûment compte de l'expiration des accords fiscaux fédéraux-provinciaux présentement existants ainsi que de la situation que cela créera.

Le gouvernement fédéral devra utiliser ses pouvoirs constitutionnels dans toute la mesure nécessaire pour faire face à ses lourdes obligations et à ses engagements financiers dans les domaines national et international. Il reste peut-être une troisième issue. Il se peut que, au cours de la présente réunion plénière, on apporte une nouvelle proposition offrant une meilleure solution. Etant donné que la préparation des budgets fédéral et provinciaux est urgente, il faudra nécessairement en venir rpidement à une décision sur toute proposition de ce genre.

Une fois que les provinces, à la présente réunion plénière, auront clairement défini leur attitude, nous espérons, s'il semble que l'on puisse s'entendre sur les principes fondamentaux, que le Comité de coordination pourra reprendre ses séances afin de rédiger le texte de l'entente.

Consultations constantes

En terminant, on me permettra de répéter que les propositions du Dominion ne portent que sur une période de trois ans et qu'elles entraînent aucune modification permanente à nos relations constitutionnelles ou financières. Et si nous en arrivons aujourd'hui à une entente, le Comité économique pourrait conserver sa forme actuelle avec un secrétariat permanent, afin de faciliter la coopération entre le Dominion et les provinces. Le Comité pourrait se réunir au moins deux fois l'an, tant que subsistera l'accord, pour l'échange de renseignements d'ordre technique et pour mettre ses membres en mesure de conseiller leurs gouvernements respectifs quant aux moyens de seconder les buts de l'accord, et sur d'autres questions d'intérêt mutuel et national.

Le Comité de coordination, tel que présentement constitué pourrait officiellement subsister et se réunir chaque fois que l'intérêt général en démontrera l'utilité.

Nous espérons bien que d'autres conférences et consultations, comme celles-ci ou du même genre, entre le Dominion et les provinces, nous rapprocheront, d'ici trois ans, du but que nous visons; la solution définitive du problème de la coopération fédérale-provinciale.

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DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

(Plenary Session)

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada
Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
April 29, 1946.

The normal relationships between the Dominion and the provinces were materially affected by the war. In 1941, to enable the Dominion to mobilize the utmost financial resources of the nation for the prosecution of the war, the provinces withdrew from the income and corporation tax fields, in return for fixed annual payments, the amounts of which were set forth in war-time tax agreements. It was contemplated, at the time the tax agreements were entered into, that once the war was over and the tax agreements expired, the provinces would again be free to levy income and corporation taxes. At the time no one could possibly have foreseen how long hostilities would last, and, least of all perhaps, the full extent of the colossal expenditures the prosecution of the war would involve, and the inevitable obligations and commitments it would occasion for years thereafter.

The occasion of the Conference

As hostilities continued, it became obvious that the great changes the war was bringing about would make it difficult to revert to the financial relationships which had existed when the war-time tax agreements had been entered into. That was the first and main reason which necessitated the calling of a Dominion-Provincial Conference. A second reason was that the relationships between the Dominion and the provinces before the war had been far from satisfactory. In fact, the problem of Dominion-Provincial relations was one to which serious and urgent attention was being given when the war itself broke out.

For some time before the war ended, there was a growing appreciation of the complexity and difficulty of the situation through which the world would pass in the period of transition from war to peace. Chaotic conditions in the world, difficulties in the way of re-establishing ordinary peace-time markets and shortages of supplies of all kinds were to be anticipated. In the face of this prospect,

Dominion and provincial governments alike recognized the need of finding practicable means of establishing a satisfactory basis of Dominion-Provincial co-operation, which, for the period of transition, would place the Dominion government in a position to discharge effectively its international and national obligations, and at the same time, place the provincial governments in a position to carry out effectively their obligations and responsibilities.

During the years of the war Canada achieved a higher level of employment and national income than ever before. Effective Dominion-Provincial co-operation is essential if we are to maintain a high level of employment and national income, and to extend social security in Canada.

Proceedings of the Conference

The present Dominion-Provincial Conference opened its proceedings on August 6th of last year. Prior to the opening of the conference, and following months of co-operation with the provinces in the preparation of essential statistical material, a comprehensive set of proposals for a Dominion-Provincial agreement was worked out by the Dominion. These proposals were submitted to the conference at the opening of its proceedings.

The provinces had been invited to make proposals of their own. At the opening meeting certain of the provinces submitted proposals, other provinces made informal statements. It was felt by the provinces that time would be required to study the Dominion proposals, to prepare comments and to suggest modifications, or, as they were invited to do, to make alternative proposals. To facilitate these ends, a Co-ordinating Committee was established, consisting of the premiers of the nine provinces, three Dominion ministers, and the Prime Minister of Canada. As stated in the report of the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee, which was read this morning, the Committee has met from time to time. At the suggestion of some of the premiers, and with the approval of all, its meetings were held in camera. All formal submissions made by the provinces to the Co-ordinating Committee have, however been made public.

I should like to make it perfectly clear that holding the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee in camera was in no way due to a desire on the part of any of its members to conceal from the public ...

matters which necessarily were of vital concern to the people of Canada as a whole. It was solely for the purpose of making possible a freer discussion of all issues on their merits. Positions taken in open discussions are, as is well known, often difficult to change though in the light of circumstances change may be advisable.

Modifications of Dominion Proposals

A number of revisions and modifications of the Dominion proposals have, in the light of discussion, been made at the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee. In the Committee, the Dominion has sought to clarify its proposals as fully as possible, and to answer as completely as possible questions raised by the provincial governments. The Dominion government welcomes this opportunity to present, in summarized form, the complete Dominion proposals as they now stand.

Here I might point out that the fact that the Dominion has from time to time modified its proposals is in itself evidence of its desire to meet, as far as possible, the difficulties with which some of the provinces are faced, and its readiness to go as far as possible to reach a basis of agreement which will be at once fair and satisfactory to the provinces and the Dominion alike.

It is, I believe, all to the good that the exact position of the several governments should now be made known to the public in the words of their own representatives.

I might say that the Dominion doubly welcomes this plenary session in that, while its proposals and position are fully known to all the provinces, the Dominion has still to be informed of the position of some of the provinces, and of the full extent to which there is agreement in principle on the proposals which the Dominion has put forth.

I shall at once give a summary of the Dominion proposals as they now stand.

SUMMARY OF DOMINION PROPOSALS

With a view to achieving high and expanding production, employment and national income, greater social security and a less burdensome over-all tax system, the Dominion is seeking agreement with the provincial governments on the basis of the following proposals. The proposals are interdependent, and should be considered as an integrated whole.

PART I. Financial Arrangements

The Dominion's main financial proposal is that in return for specified unconditional payments to the provinces the provinces will undertake, for the next three years, not to levy income, corporation and succession duty taxation with the proviso that any province which wishes to continue to levy succession duties may do so on condition of the Dominion payment being appropriately reduced.

1. The Dominion will, for the duration of the agreement, pay each province a guaranteed minimum annual amount equal to $15.00 per capita. The minimum payment will be based on the 1941 actual or 1942 estimated population of the province, whichever is the greater. The actual payments to be made in 1947 will be substantially greater than the guaranteed minimum since the annual payments will be raised in proportion to increases both in population and in per capita gross national production based on the average of the last three years. The estimated 1947 payments are set forth in a table which is included in this statement, but which, unless specially requested, I shall not attempt to read. In no case will Dominion payments to a province be less than 150% of that province's annual receipts under its Wartime Tax Agreement. For no province will they be less than two million dollars. The description I have just given of the way in which the payments are calculated is in general terms. The precise method of calculation is outlined in an appendix to this statement.

The table does not take account of the relief which would be afforded to provincial budgets by implementation of the Dominion proposals with respect to unemployment assistance, old age pensions, health grants, and public investment.

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Dominion Payments to the Provinces

(In millions of dollars)

	Present Provincial Receipts from:-				Proposed Dominion Payments to Provinces	
	Wartime Tax Agreements	Statutory Subsidies	Provincial Succession Duties(x)	Total of Foregoing	Guaranteed Minimum **	1947 As Presently Estimated **
P.E.I.	.7	.4*	.1	1.2	2.0	2.0
N.S.	2.9	.7*	.6	4.2	8.9	10.0
N.B.	3.7	.7*	.4	4.8	7.0	7.5
Que.	20.6	2.9	7.8	31.3	50.9	57.3
Ont.	29.0	3.2	12.1	44.3	58.3	64.5
Man.	5.7	1.7	.6	8.0	10.9	11.8
Sask.	5.8	2.0	.4	8.2	13.4	13.7
Alta.	5.8	1.8	.6	8.2	11.9	13.3
B.C.	12.0	1.0	1.3	14.3	18.1	18.1
TOTAL	86.2	14.4	23.9	124.5	181.4	198.2

(x) Average collections in latest five-year period for which data is available, viz:- 1940 to 1944 inclusive.

* Excludes interim subsidies of $275,000 (P.E.I.), $1,300,000 (N.S.), and $900,000 (N.B.) which are included in the previous column under Wartime Tax Agreement receipts and which will become statutory upon expiration of the Wartime Tax Agreements.

** These amounts do not include provincial receipts from the 50% share of Dominion corporation income tax on specified public utilities, or from the provincial taxes on mining and logging profits which are referred to below.

The specified annual payments to the provinces set out in the table will be subject to certain necessary adjustments referred to below.

2. In return for the specified annual payments there would be an undertaking by the provinces not to levy income, corporation or succession duty taxation for the duration of the agreement, or to permit municipalities to do so.

3. If a province wishes to continue to levy succession duties, the succession duty amounts payable by a taxpayer to that province will be treated as a credit to the taxpayer against amounts due under the Dominion succession duty; the credit will be limited, however, to the amount which would have been payable to that province under its 1946 succession duty rates and conditions of liability. The total annual payments to the province, by the Dominion, under the agreement would be reduced by the amount of such credits.

4. The statutory Dominion subsidies will continue to be paid but will be included as part of the specified annual payments to be made by the Dominion under the agreement.

5. The provinces may tax mining and logging operations either through royalties or taxes on the net profits from such operations. For the duration of the agreement, the Dominion will recognize such levies as an expense deductible from income for Dominion tax purposes.

6. The Dominion is prepared to seek a constitutional amendment permitting delegation of powers from the Dominion Parliament to provincial legislatures, or vice versa. Once an amendment is made, the Dominion Government will request Parliament to delegate to the provinces, for the duration of the agreement, the right to levy retail sales taxes within limits to be specifically defined.

7. The Dominion will undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to enter the fields of real estate taxation and automobile licenses now exclusively occupied by the provinces.

8. The Dominion will also undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to increase its special excise taxes on gasoline, amusements or pari-mutuel betting, provided that in the event of a national emergency the Dominion will be free to take whatever steps are necessary to meet the emergency.

9. The Dominion will, in the case of companies whose main business is generating for distribution to the public or distributing electrical energy, gas and steam, pay to the province concerned one-half the Dominion's net corporation income tax collections from such companies, in respect to such business. This payment to a provincial government will be reduced by an amount equal to any taxes which the government of that province levies on such companies.

10. If a provincial government or one of its municipalities takes over a tax-paying corporation, the specified annual payments to that province will be reduced by the amount of the tax loss sustained by the Dominion. This provision would not apply to the companies referred to in the preceding paragraph.

11. Since the Co-ordinating Committee adjourned its proceedings on Friday last the Dominion Government has given further consideration to the suggestion of some of the provinces that the Dominion should withdraw from certain tax fields.

The most important of these, in terms of revenue, is the special 3 cent a gallon excise tax on gasoline imposed in 1941 which currently yields the Dominion about $30,000,000 a year. The Dominion has made it clear that in view of the financial burdens and responsibilities which it must bear it could only consider withdrawing from any tax field in return for an adequate financial equivalent. In the case of gasoline such an equivalent might be a reduction in the specified annual payments to the provinces equal to the annual amount now being collected by the Dominion from this tax. An alternative equivalent could be withdrawal of the Dominion offer to pay the provinces 50 per cent of the cost of old age assistance for those between the ages of 65 and 69 estimated to cost the Dominion up to $20 million a year.

If the provinces generally are prepared to offer either of these alternatives, the Dominion would be prepared to modify its proposals accordingly.

Another example of such an alternative might be for the Dominion to withdraw from the amusement tax field in consideration of its not paying the public health grants. The Dominion Government does not suggest this or the other alternatives as in the national interest or in the interest of the provinces; but nevertheless the Dominion would be prepared to consider any proposal along these lines which was desired by the provinces generally and which would not leave the Dominion worse off financially.

PART II. Public Investment

1. Planning grants: The Dominion will pay any provincial government which so desires one-half the cost, not exceeding 7½% of the cost of the project, of planning provincial and, through the provincial government, municipal public investment projects accepted by the Dominion as subject to timing. This offer will be effective as from a date to be set by the Dominion, and will be limited in the first year after that date to an amount equal to $1.00 per capita of the population of the province.

2. Timing grants: The Dominion will contribute to provincial and, through the provincial government, to municipal public investment projects on a scale and to an amount to be determined by the Dominion and to be announced in January of any year in which in the light of the general employment and economic situation the Dominion considers such assistance to be desirable.

3. Dominion programme: The Dominion will extend its natural resources development and conservation projects, and research programme, as soon as the situation respecting labour and materials will permit. These activities, where possible, will be varied in execution in accordance with the general employment and economic situation.

4. Joint Dominion-provincial programmes: The Dominion will discuss with provincial governments the formulation of agreements for Dominion assistance to provincial services and projects in the categories outlined in the August 1945 proposals.

PART III. Health

1. Planning grant: The Dominion will pay to any provincial government, which so desires, immediately upon completion of the agreement, $5,000 plus 5 cents per capita of its 1941 population (but not less than $15,000) to be spent within two years on studies of the requirements of the province in the field of essential medical, hospital and related services. Quarterly reports would be submitted by the provincial governments.

2. Health insurance: The Dominion is prepared to contribute up to 60% of the cost of specific services in any provincial health insurance programme approved by the Dominion. Upon conclusion of an agreement, the Dominion is prepared to proceed with discussions on a technical level with any provincial government which wishes to take advantage of this assistance.

3. Health grants: For preventive medicine, increased hospital facilities and the development of public health services, the Dominion will pay the provinces conditional grants in relation to General Public Health, Tuberculosis, Mental Health, Venereal Disease, Crippled Children, and will make additional provision for Professional Training and Public Health Research. The Dominion will contribute 50 per cent to the amounts required to permit the pension age for blind persons to be lowered from 40 to 21 years and the maximum amount paid to pensioners to be increased to $30 per month and to provide for treatment to prevent or cure blindness. These grants and payments are described at greater length in an appendix to this statement.

4. Hospital construction: The Dominion will assist provinces entering a health insurance agreement to meet the need for additional hospitals by lending money at or slightly above cost, secured by the various health grants payable to the provinces.

PART IV. Old Age Pensions

1. Aged 70 and over: The Dominion will institute a system of national old age pensions of $30. a month payable to everyone at 70 years of age. The Dominion will be solely responsible for administering these pensions. Old age pensions and the other parts of the Dominion social security programme when established will be financed by such modifications of taxation, or by such contributions, as Parliament may authorize.

2. Aged 65 to 69: The Dominion is prepared to enter into an agreement with any provincial government to pay 50 per cent of the cost (excluding administration) of pensions up to $30 a month to those persons between the ages 65 and 69 who need them. The provincial governments would administer these pensions on terms substantially similar to the present Old Age Pension system. In the event of the provinces accepting the alternative proposal respecting taxes on gasoline, this proposal would be withdrawn.

PART V. Unemployment Assistance

In addition to unemployment insurance, the Dominion will set up a system of unemployment assistance under which it will pay benefits equal to 85% of unemployment insurance benefits, to unemployed persons able and willing to work who are not entitled, or who have ceased to be entitled, to unemployment insurance benefits. This assistance will be limited to two years of continuous assistance, but a person will again become eligible for this assistance following an approved period of employment.

PART VI. Conclusion of New Agreements

In the event of a general expression of intention to conclude definitive agreements in accordance with the general terms here set forth, the Dominion will undertake to make every effort to have agreements completed and the necessary legislation to implement the agreements enacted before September 1 of the present year.

The new agreements would come into force on the day following the termination of the Wartime Tax Agreements between the Dominion and the Provincial governments concerned (unless an alternative date were mutually agreed upon). The agreements would be for three years, subject to extension for a further period by mutual agreement.

The Dominion will pay the provincial governments the hold-back of income and corporation taxes under the Wartime Tax Agreements within thirty days of the commencement of the new agreement. The Dominion will make the specified payments annually in four equal quarterly installments during the life of the agreement, the first installment to be paid six months after the commencement of the agreement, and the last installment to be paid three months after the expiration of the agreement.

Appendix A

Definition of the Specified Annual Payment to be made by the Dominion to a Province under the Proposed Agreement

1. The Dominion undertakes to pay the Province for the duration of the agreement a guaranteed minimum annual amount equal to Fifteen dollars multiplied by the number of the population of the Province in 1942 as estimated by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (or at the option of the Province the number of the population in 1941 as shown by the census of Canada). This guaranteed minimum, however, shall in no case be less than 150% of the annual payments made to the Province under the Wartime Tax Agreement (excluding gasoline tax guarantee payments) or less than Two Million dollars.

2. In any year in which the amount arrived at by the following formula exceeds the guaranteed minimum, the amount so arrived at shall be paid in lieu of the guaranteed minimum. The formula: Divide 'the Gross National Product per capita' for each of the three preceding years by the 'Gross National Product per capita for 1942'. Multiply the quotient in each case by $15.00. Multiply the product in each case by the number of the population of the Province for the year in question. If the result in any of the three years is less than the guaranteed minimum, substitute the amount of the guaranteed minimum. Average the three amounts so arrived at.

3. The calculations referred to in paragraph 2 will be made on the basis of the current Dominion Bureau of Statistics estimates of population and Gross National Product and will be adjusted, when necessary, on the basis of the final Dominion Bureau of Statistics report.

Appendix B

Health Grants

For preventive medicine, increased hospital facilities and the development of public health services the Dominion will pay conditional grants to the provincial governments for the following purposes:

(a) General public health grant - 35¢ per capita annually, increased at the end of two years by 5¢ per capita per year until the grant totals 50¢ per capita. The purposes for which this grant may be used would include research, education and treatment related to cancer and arthritis.

(b) Tuberculosis grant - $3,000,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed 50 per cent according to population and 50 per cent according to the average number of deaths from tuberculosis in each province over the previous five years. At the end of two years a supplementary grant of $1,000,000 annually would be made available for ten years to provincial governments able to make effective use of it.

(c) Mental health grant - $4,000,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed according to population. This total grant would be increased to $5,000,000 at the end of two years, $6,000,000 at the end of four years and $7,000,000 at the end of six years, if the provincial governments demonstrated they could make effective use of such amounts.

(d) Venereal disease grant - $500,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $4,000 to each province, the remainder to be distributed 50 per cent according to the number of new cases of syphilis reported in the previous year.

(e) Professional training - The Dominion will spend up to $250,000 annually in assisting the training of public health personnel.

(f) Public health research - The Dominion will spend up to $100,000 annually in assisting public health services.

(g) Civilian blind - The Dominion will contribute 50 per cent to the amounts required to permit the pension age for blind persons to be lowered from 40 to 21 years and the maximum amount paid to pensioners to be increased to $30 per month and to provide for treatment to prevent or cure blindness.

No Constitutional Change

In all its proposals, the Dominion has assumed that Canada's federal system of government should be preserved and strengthened. I should like to repeat what I said at the plenary session on August 6th, last:

"We do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization, or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada are equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own spheres can we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs."

My colleagues and I have scrutinized every aspect of our proposals in the light of these general principles. The Dominion proposals will, we believe, strengthen the position of each government in its respective field.

The only constitutional change suggested is the proposal, already mentioned, for the delegation of powers, and with this one exception under which the Dominion is prepared to enlarge the powers of the provinces, none of the Dominion proposals would require an amendment to the British North America Act, or involve any fundamental disturbance of the traditional pattern of Confederation. In this unsettled period of world transition, it would be unwise to seek constitutional change, or to make irrevocable commitments. What we are now seeking is to meet urgent needs, on a temporary basis, by the simplest and most effective means.

Avoidance of Double Taxation

In formulating its proposals, the Dominion government has kept constantly in mind the desirability of double taxation being avoided, and of the best possible use being made of the major fields of direct taxation.

When we speak of the best possible use of tax fields we have in mind more than tax collection costs to governments and taxpayers. We are deeply concerned that Canada's tax system should be efficient in the sense that, in this period of transition, it will impose the least possible discouragement to the expansion of business activity and employment. This is one of the main reasons for the proposal that the Dominion alone should levy income and Corporation Taxes and Succession Duties, and make in return unconditional payments to the provinces.

Forecast of Tax Policy

Here, may I indicate something of the tax policy the Dominion plans to follow should agreement be effected on the basis of the Dominion proposals.

In respect to the personal income tax, as now levied, the government is prepared to say that, once the Dominion proposals are accepted, and the risk of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects is thereby avoided, the government intends to make further reductions in the personal income tax. In the same circumstances, the government also intends to reduce the element of double taxation of corporate income with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise. It is intended to meet a part of the Dominion's share of the cost of the broad extension of social security, included in the Dominion proposals, by means of direct personal contributions.

Urgency of Problem

The Minister of Finance has been obliged to delay preparation of the Dominion budget, pending the outcome of the present conference. The preparation of the Dominion budget cannot, however, be much longer delayed. The nature of the budget vitally affects plans for business expansion for years ahead. The provinces also have their budgetary problems. Within a year, all the war-time tax agreements will have expired. The present uncertainty cannot be allowed to continue.

In its proposals, as they now stand, the Dominion government feels that it has gone as far as it possibly can in the light of its very heavy financial obligations. While we have not shut the door to possible alternatives or adjustments, any such modifications will have to be on the basis of financial equivalents.

If agreement is reached, the Dominion budget proposals will be based on the terms of the agreement. If agreement is not reached, final preparation of the Dominion budget will nevertheless have to be proceeded with immediately. In such case full account will have to be taken of the termination of existing tax agreements with the provinces, and the situation which will then result. The Dominion government will have to use its constitutional powers to the full extent necessary to meet its heavy national and international financial obligations and commitments. There is, perhaps, a third alternative. It may be that at the present plenary session something as yet undisclosed may be proposed which would offer a better solution. In view of the urgency of preparing Dominion and provincial budgets, a decision on any such proposal would necessarily have to be reached without delay.

Once the position of the provinces has been made perfectly clear at this plenary session, if it appears that agreement is possible on basic principles, it is our hope that the Co-ordinating Committee might resume its sittings in order to work out the agreement itself.

Continuing consultation

In conclusion, may I repeat that the Dominion proposals are for a period of only three years, and that they involve no permanent changes in our constitutional or financial relationships. In the event of agreement being reached at this time the Economic Committee might continue as presently established with a permanent secretariat, to facilitate Dominion-Provincial co-operation. The Committee might meet at least twice a year throughout the period of the agreement to exchange information at the technical level and to put its members in a position to advise their respective governments on ways and means of furthering the objectives of the agreement, and on other subjects of mutual and national interest.

The Co-ordinating Committee as presently constituted might remain formally in existence, and might meet whenever it appeared desirable in the general interest.

It would be our hope that further conference and consultation between the Dominion and the provinces, carried on in this or some similar way, would over the next three years bring us close to a permanent solution of the problems of Dominion-Provincial co-operation.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D63943 - D63986	
100		Hoover, Hon. Herbert. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 63987 - D 64004	
100		Record of Mackenzie King Administration. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 64005 - D 64076	
100		Peace Conference, Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 64077 - D 64089	
100		Speech at Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 64090 - D 64113	
100		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1946	D 64114 - D 64200	
100		Fundamental Principles of Liberalism, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 64201 - D 64268	
101		St. Laurent, Hon. Louis S. Complimentary Banquet, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 64269 - D 64615	

Not to be released before delivery at 8:30 p.m. E.D.T., June 28, 1946.

D 63987

Address of Welcome
to Hon. Herbert Hoover
by
Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Chateau Laurier, Ottawa,
June 28, 1946.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Canada, I am delighted to welcome to Ottawa this evening, the Honourable Herbert Hoover.

We welcome Mr. Hoover as one of the long line of distinguished statesmen who have filled the high office of President of the United States. Tonight, we welcome him, even more, as one of that great company of humanitarians whose service, to their day and generation, numbers them among "the helpers and friends of mankind". Of that company it may be truly said:

"Yours is the praise, if mankind
Hath not as yet in its march
Fainted, and fallen, and died."

From the days of the first World War, Mr. Hoover's name has been inseparably linked with international cooperation in the relief of starving peoples. There is no one who can speak with greater authority on the world's needs and the world's food resources.

D 63983

During recent months, on behalf of the Famine Emergency Committee, appointed by President Truman, Mr. Hoover has been to see for himself the actual food situation in many parts of Europe, Africa, Asia and in North and South America. He has been facing a problem of famine on a scale unprecedented in human history. His mission has been one of helping to rescue from mass starvation, vast numbers of the human race.

Tonight Mr. Hoover is to report on his findings to an international listening audience. I venture to say that, no one among his listeners will have heard, since the ending of hostilities, an account of comparable human interest and concern.

Mr. Hoover speaks in the name of Humanity. In the world picture which he will present tonight, we shall all see how true it is no less of nations than of individuals, that we are members one of another. We shall realize, as well, how completely the building of peace depends upon the immediate assistance we may be able to give towards meeting the needs of millions less fortunate than ourselves.

I should like to thank Mr. Hoover for accepting our invitation to make Canada's Capital, the centre from which to report on his world encircling mission. Mr. Hoover has confided in me that his readiness to come to Ottawa was

D 63^8)

due to a desire to accord special recognition to the assistance Canada has given by way of relief to war-ravaged countries. This is a high compliment which the people of Canada will much appreciate, and for which they will be deeply grateful. May I say to Mr. Hoover, we in Canada equally recognize the great contribution which the United States is making to the feeding of mankind.

Mr. Hoover's acceptance of our invitation, will be, to the Canadian people, even more an earnest of the task which still confronts us. It will take the combined effort of the nations, each seeking to do its utmost, to banish from the world community the gnawing spectre of hunger, and the devastating menace of starvation.

You may be assured, Mr. Hoover, that, in the privileged company of food supplying nations, Canada will find, in your words, a fresh incentive to the opportunity of world service that you have come to proclaim.

Ladies and gentlemen: it is with exceptional pleasure that I now call upon the Honourable Herbert Hoover.

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D 63990

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D 63[illegible]/2 JAG/27:vi:4

VISIT OF HON. HERBERT HOOVER, June 28, 19

Notes for informal remarks by Prime Minis
after conclusion of broadcast

1) Appreciation of Government of Canada
that Mr. Hoover has been able to cou
to Ottawa to make final report of hi
mission -

subject matter of much interest to
Canada, not alone of departments of
Government principally concerned,

but also to the VOLUNTARY AGENCIES
e.g. Church organizations,
Canadian Friends Service Comm
Service Clubs, &c

2) Value of experience of Mr. Hoover in
a matter of such international impor-
tance -

present visit involved travels to
38 Countries: Europe, Asia, Africa

visit itself a reminder of the
world-wide importance of food, and

Canada's interest as a principal
supplying nation -

the needs so great and so continu
that great efforts will still be
needed from the farming and fishi
communities of Canada;

Mr. Hoover's report will come as
further incentive if any were
needed.

D 63997

3) Canada's interest in new international body

International Emergency Food Council

created to take over responsibilities of Combined Food Board (U.S., U.K., Canada) (in it self one of the most successful of all the agencies of combined co-operation among the United Nations)

Organization meeting of IEFC concluded at Washington June 21 (last Friday)

19 of 21 eligible member countries participating (Argentina represented but not participating; USSR absent)

all will wish to join in wishes for abundant success of this new international agency.

4) Canadian interest also in Secretary-General of new organization,

Dr. D.A. FITZGERALD

described as "a lean, 43-year-old son of Western Canada" - now a U.S. Citizen

and since 1935 has held high positions in reserach and economic divisions of U.S. Department of Agriculture

bid him welcome to Ottawa on his first visit in this new capacity, and wish him well in the great tasks ahead of him:

(regret that circumstances made it impossible for two other distinguished representatives of our neighbour nations were unable to accompany Mr. Hoover:

D 63998

Hon. Clinton ANDERSON (Secretary of Agriculture);
Mr. Chester DAVIS, (Chairman, Food Emergency Committee appointed by President Truman);

ask our other distinguished guests to take to them greetings and good wishes.

6

5) The sense of unrest in the world - a world recovering from great storms - has given to FOOD an importance far beyond our comprehension even in the days when an utmost effort was being made to meet the needs of war;

the NEEDS of <u>peace</u> now make a claim greater than ever before upon

our productive repources
our transport facilities
our humanitarian impulses and upon
our good citizenship

M A 6399 [illegible]

Miss Gupon

Visit of Mr. Hoover

~~The following tentative programme is presented for your approval.~~

3:15 (approx.)	-	Mr. Hoover arrives at Rockcliffe Airport. Mr. Hoover will proceed with the United States Ambassador to the Embassy, where he will be staying.
4:30	-	Press Conference at the United States Embassy Residence, Rockcliffe. Mr. Hoover will fit in an appointment with the Associated Screen News for filming part of his broadcast - possibly on the Embassy grounds at Rockcliffe.
7:10	-	Arrival of the Prime Minister at the Quebec Suite in the Chateau to welcome the guests.
7:15	-	Mr. Hoover and the other guests arrive. Sherry is served.
7:30	-	The guests take their place at the table.
8:20	-	The Prime Minister toasts the King and the President of the United States.

8:30 - The C.B.C. announcer, who will be sitting at a little table in the corner, introduces the Prime Minister.

8:31 - The Prime Minister goes on the air and introduces Mr. Hoover.

8:34 (approx.) - Mr. Hoover delivers his report.

8:59 (approx.) - The broadcast is concluded by the announcer.

9:00 - The Prime Minister may wish to make some appropriate remarks after which the guests retire into the adjoining room and shortly thereafter take their leave.

~~We have not received word of the time when~~ Mr. Hoover will leave Ottawa on Saturday, but it is expected to be fairly early, since he has indicated that he could not stay more than a minimum of time in Ottawa.

At 10:00 a.m.

D 64001

Note re Arrangements for the Visit of Mr. Herbert Hoover:

1. Mr. Hoover will arrive at 3.15 P.M. on Friday, June 28, on the President's private plane, the "Sacred Cow". He will be accompanied by Dr. D. A. Fitzgerald of the United States Department of Agriculture, who was recently appointed Director General of the International Famine Emergency Council, and probably by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Capt. Westmoreland

2. The dinner in the evening will be in the Quebec Suite of the Chateau Laurier, at 7.30 P.M.

3. The broadcast by Mr. Hoover will take place at 9 P.M. It is understood that he will be introduced by the Prime Minister.

4. Associated Screen News requested that they be allowed to take a news reel of Mr. Hoover's broadcast. The Prime Minister did not approve of this and Mr. Hoover will make a separate recording for news reels in another room.

5. Mr. Hoover will leave some time on Saturday morning, by air.

R.G.R.

26th June, 1946.

RGR:McK

Not to be released before delivery at 8:30 p.m. E.D.T.,
June 28, 1946.

D 64002

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to Hon. Herbert Hoover
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101		St. Laurent, Hon. Louis S. Complimentary Banquet, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 64269 - D 64615	

D 64005

The First Year of Peace

Broadcast by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,
Leader of the Liberal Party,
C.B.C. National Network,

Ottawa, July 3, 1946.

It is just a little over a year since the Liberal Party was entrusted anew with the duty of carrying on the government of Canada. It is my purpose tonight to report to you on some of the government's activities in the first year of peace.

When the election was called, Canada was still at war with both Germany and Japan. The San Francisco Conference was about to meet. While the Conference was on, Germany surrend red. Because of the Conference, the electi campaign was fortunately short. It was happily decisive.

The election itself was scarcely over before it became necessary for me to return to San Francisco with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, to sign the United Nations Charter. In August, came the sudden and unexpected end of hostilities against Japan. Problems of reconstruction, at home and throughout the world, had become the main concern of government.

Preparatory Stages in the Making of Peace

The atomic bomb, which brought about the surrender of Japan, plunged the whole world into a new and terrible era of potential destruction. The need of effective action to ensure a lasting peace - and a peace of good-will - became far more urgent than ever. At the same time, the removal of immediate danger from a common enemy served the strongest of the bonds of common action among the allies. Difficult problems, postponed while the war was on, began instantly to cry out for attention. New problems, hitherto unthought of, made their presence felt.

On some pressing questions, it was not possible to postpone consultation with Britain and the United States. Accordingly, in October, although the first session of our new parliament had just commenced its proceedings, I visited London, where I had frequent and fruitful consultations with the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his principal colleagues. Later, at the invitation of President Truman, Mr. Attlee and I visited Washington. While there we agreed upon and signed the Declaration on Atomic Energy. The policy agreed to at Washington was designed to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to promote its use for the benefit of mankind. Mr. Attlee subsequently visited Canada for conferences at Ottawa with my colleagues and myself.

Quite recently, I have again had occasion to visit Great Britain for conferences with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues, and with the Prime Ministers or their representatives from other nations of the British Commonwealth. The meeting of Prime Ministers was characterized by a remarkable unanimity of view on matters of common concern.

It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the Peace Conference which was originally planned to be held in Paris in May. Differences between the Great Powers, unfortunately not yet wholly reconciled, occasioned delays. In bridging the gaps, considerable progress has recently been made. There is now a prospect of a peace conference being called in the near future.

The Restoration of a World Community

In the efforts to restore peace to the world, Canada, I am proud to say, has been much to the fore. We have created no difficulties. We have sought, wherever possible, to help in renoving obstacles and misunderstandings. Parliament was virtually unanimous in its approval of the United Nations Charter. In all the deliberations of the various conferences of the United Nations, the Canadian delegations have taken an active and useful part.

Our country has spared no effort to help bind up the wounds, and to rescue from starvation and disease, the stricken

peoples of war-ravaged lands. You must have been deeply impressed to hear the Hon. Herbert Hoover say in his broadcast from our capital on Friday last, "To Canada flows the gratitude of hundreds of millions of human beings who have been saved from starvation through the efforts of this great commonwealth of the North". We were told that Canada had provided over one-fifth of the supply of food to relieve the greatest famine in all human history. Since October of last year, two national voluntary collections will have provided about 25 million pounds of clothing for relief. These figures take no account of what has been done to relieve suffering by the Red Cross and many other voluntary agencies.

Canada is a leading supplier and a firm supporter of U.N.R.R.A. Canada is a member of the Food and Agriculture Organization, of the International Monetary Fund, and of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. We warmly welcomed the United States proposals for an international conference to work for freer trade among the nations of the world.

Canada's export credits, including the large loan to the United Kingdom, in relation to the wealth and population of our country, are unparalleled in their magnitude.

In other words, our government has sought to have Canada help to rebuild the economies of other nations, as well as to develop our own. In so doing, we are restoring world markets for Canada's exports. The Liberal party is convinced that, without world markets, our country can enjoy no enduring prosperity. We equally believe that a world economy is essential to lasting peace.

Repatriation and Demobilization

Veterans Charter

The surrender of Germany brought to the fore many immediate and difficult domestic problems. Most of these problems became still more urgent with the surrender of Japan. The greatest of all has been the task of bringing home our fighting forces and demobilizing the army, navy and air force.

Since Germany surrendered on May 8th, 1945, over three hundred and thirty thousand (330,000) men and women in the three services have been repatriated; over six hundred and fifty-seven thousand (657,000) have been discharged and returned to civil life. The vast majority have been quickly absorbed into employment. Many thousands have taken advantage of the special opportunity afforded them to continue their education or training. The whole process has been speedy and efficient. It reflects the greatest credit upon those immediately responsible.

The many provisions relating to the care and re-establishment of our veterans are being consolidated by Parliament. They constitute a Veterans Charter not anywhere surpassed.

Reconversion of Industry

While we have been bringing home our veterans and assisting their return to civil life, we have, at the same time, been faced with the immense task of changing industry over from war production to peace time production. For this task, the government had fortunately made careful plans long in advance. But we never dared to hope it could be accomplished so smoothly, so speedily, and with so little dislocation of employment as has been the case. Thanks to our foresight in starting unemployment insurance in 1940, individual hardships, resulting from reconversion have been kept at a minimum.

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To ensure continuing success in the battle against inflation, it is obvious that the reduction of taxes must proceed in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of wartime controls.

Conclusion

In all our policies, and in all our activities as a government, we have sought to maintain the unity and strength, both economic and spiritual, which our country displayed so magnificently in war. To preserve our unity at home, and to exert our strength abroad, in the promotion alike of peace and prosperity: these are our highest aims.

Let us not be unduly dismayed by the trouble and turmoil in the world of today. What else could be expected as the aftermath of the appalling hatred and strife of recent years? Having been taught to believe in Force, it will take time for men and nations to learn the wisdom of substituting Reason for Force in the settlement of their differences.

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The First Year of Peace

Broadcast by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,
Leader of the Liberal Party,
C.B.C. National Network,

Ottawa, July 3, 1946.

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The election itself was scarcely over before it became necessary for me to return to San Francisco with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, to sign the United Nations Charter. In August, came the sudden and unexpected end of hostilities against Japan. Problems of reconstruction, at home and throughout the world, had become the main concern of government.

Preparatory Stages in the Making of Peace

The atomic bomb, which brought about the surrender of Japan, plunged the whole world into a new and terrible era of potential destruction. The need of effective action to ensure a lasting peace - and a peace of good-will - became far more urgent than ever. At the same time, the removal of immediate danger from a common enemy served the strongest of the bonds of common action among the allies. Difficult problems, postponed whilile the war was on, began instantly to cry out for attention. New problems, hitherto unthought of, made their presence felt.

On some pressing questions, it was not possible to postpone consultation with Britain and the United States. Accordingly, in October, although the first session of our new parliament had just commenced its proceedings, I visited London, where I had frequent and fruitful consultations with the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his principal colleagues. Later, at the invitation of President Truman, Mr. Attlee and I visited Washington. While there we agreed upon and signed the Declaration on Atomic Energy. The policy agreed to at Washington was designed to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to promote its use for the benefit of mankind. Mr. Attlee subsequently visited Canada for conferences at Ottawa with my colleagues and myself.

Quite recently, I have again had occasion to visit Great Britain for conferences with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues, and with the Prime Ministers or their representatives from other nations of the British Commonwealth. The meeting of Prime Ministers was characterized by a remarkable unanimity of view on matters of common concern.

It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the Peace Conference which was originally planned to be held in Paris in May. Differences between the Great Powers, unfortunately not yet wholly reconciled, occasioned delays. In bridging the gaps, considerable progress has recently been made. There is now a prospect of a peace conference being called in the near future.

The Restoration of a World Community

In the efforts to restore peace to the world, Canada, I am proud to say, has been much to the fore. We have created no difficulties. We have sought, wherever possible, to help in removing obstacles and misunderstandings. Parliament was virtually unanimous in its approval of the United Nations Charter. In all the deliberations of the various conferences of the United Nations, the Canadian delegations have taken an active and useful part.

Our country has spared no effort to help bind up the wounds, and to rescue from starvation and disease, the stricken

peoples of war-ravaged lands. You must have been deeply impressed to hear the Hon. Herbert Hoover say in his broadcast from our capital on Friday last, "To Canada flows the gratitude of hundreds of millions of human beings who have been saved from starvation through the efforts of this great commonwealth of the North". We were told that Canada had provided over one-fifth of the supply of food to relieve the greatest famine in all human history. Since October of last year, two national voluntary collections will have provided about 25 million pounds of clothing for relief. These figures take no account of what has been done to relieve suffering by the Red Cross and many other voluntary agencies.

Canada is a leading supplier and a firm supporter of U.N.R.R.A. Canada is a member of the Food and Agriculture Organization, of the International Monetary Fund, and of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. We warmly welcomed the United States proposals for an international conference to work for freer trade among the nations of the world.

Canada's export credits, including the large loan to the United Kingdom, in relation to the wealth and population of our country, are unparalleled in their magnitude.

In other words, our government has sought to have Canada help to rebuild the economies of other nations, as well as to develop our own. In so doing, we are restoring world markets for Canada's exports. The Liberal party is convinced that, without world markets, our country can enjoy no enduring prosperity. We equally believe that a world economy is essential to lasting peace.

Repatriation and Demobilization

Veterans Charter

The surrender of Germany brought to the fore many immediate and difficult domestic problems. Most of these problems became still more urgent with the surrender of Japan. The greatest of all has been the task of bringing home our fighting forces and demobilizing the army, navy and air force.

Since Germany surrendered on May 8th, 1945, over three hundred and thirty thousand (330,000) men and women in the three services have been repatriated; over six hundred and fifty-seven thousand (657,000) have been discharged and returned to civil life. The vast majority have been quickly absorbed into employment. Many thousands have taken advantage of the special opportunity afforded them to continue their education or training. The whole process has been speedy and efficient. It reflects the greatest credit upon those immediately responsible.

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Leader of the Liberal Party

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" LA PREMIERE ANNEE DE PAIX "

Discours prononcé à la radio

par

Le Très honorable W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

Chef du parti libéral

Ottawa, le 3 juillet 1946

Voici un peu plus d'un an que le parti libéral a de nouveau reçu le mandat de gouverner le Canada. Je me propose ce soir de vous rendre compte de la manière dont nous nous sommes acquittés de cette tâche depuis l'élection.

Quand les élections furent annoncées, le Canada était encore en guerre avec l'Allemagne et le Japon. La Conférence de San-Francisco allait avoir lieu. Alors que la Conférence était en cours, l'Allemagne capitula. A cause de la Conférence, la campagne électorale fut heureusement courte. Elle se révéla agréablement décisive.

L'élection elle-même était à peine terminée que j'ai dû retourner à San-Francisco avec mon collègue, le ministre de la Justice, afin de signer la Charte des Nations-Unies. Au mois d'août survint de façon soudaine et inattendue la fin des hostilités contre le Japon. Les problèmes de reconstruction tant au pays qu'à travers le monde étaient devenus le souci principal du gouvernement.

Etapes préparatoires dans l'édification de la paix

Les bombes atomiques, qui forcèrent le Japon à se rendre, firent entrevoir au monde entier la perspective d'une nouvelle ère d'effroyable destruction. La nécessité de mesures efficaces pour établir une paix durable - une paix basée sur la bonne volonté - se fit sentir avec plus d'urgence que jamais. En même temps, la disparition du danger qu'inspirait l'ennemi commun avait relâché les liens solides qui faisaient l'unité des alliés. Des problèmes ardus, que la guerre avait fait oublier pour le moment, réclamèrent immédiatement l'attention. De nouveaux problèmes, qui ne s'étaient jamais posés, se firent jour également.

Il n'était pas possible de remettre à plus tard la discussion concertée de certaines questions urgentes avec la Grande-Bretagne et les Etats-Unis. En conséquence, au mois d'octobre, quoique la première session de notre nouveau Parlement fût à peine commencée, je suis allé à Londres où j'ai pris part à de

fréquentes et fructueuses discussions avec M. Attlee et ses principaux collègues. Plus tard, M. Truman m'a invité, en compagnie de M. Attlee, à aller à Washington où, en qualité de représentants des pays qui avaient pris part à l'invention de la bombe atomique, nous nous sommes mis d'accord sur la déclaration relative à l'énergie atomique et l'avons signée. Le principe adopté à Washington a pour but d'interdire l'emploi de l'énergie atomique à des fins destructives et d'en généraliser l'emploi pour le bien-être de l'humanité. M. Attlee est ensuite venu au Canada pour conférer avec moi et mes collègues.

Tout dernièrement, j'ai eu de nouveau l'occasion d'aller en Grande-Bretagne pour conférer avec le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni et ses collègues, ainsi qu'avec les premiers ministres des autres pays du Commonwealth britannique ou leurs représentants. La réunion des premiers ministres fut marquée d'une unanimité de vues remarquable sur des sujets d'intérêt commun.

J'avais espéré que ce récent voyage coinciderait avec la Conférence de la Paix qui devait avoir lieu à Paris, en mai. Malheureusement, des divergences d'opinions, qui n'ont pas encore été conciliées, ont occasionné des délais. Mais la solution de ces difficultés a accusé depuis un grand progrès et l'on s'attend maintenant à la convocation d'une conférence de paix dans un avenir prochain.

Restauration de l'économie mondiale

Dans tous les efforts déployés pour rétablir la paix dans le monde, Le Canada, je suis fier de le dire, a été a l'avant-garde. Nous n'avons pas suscité de difficultés.. Nous avons cherché par tous lesmoyens efficaces à supprimer les obstacles et les malentendus. Le Parlement a approuvé presque à l'unanimité la Charte des Nations Unies. Les délégations canadiennes ont joué un rôle actif et utile dans toutes les délibérations des diverses conférences des Nations Unies.

Notre pays n'a épargné aucun effort pour panser les plaies et sauver de la faim et des maladies les peuples éprouvés par les ravages de la guerre. Vous avez dû être profondément impressionnés d'entendre l'honorable Herbert Hoover dire, dans son discours à la radio prononcé dans notre capitale vendredi dernier: "Vers le Canada montent les flots de gratitude de centaines de millions d'êtres humains qui ont été sauvés de la faim grâce aux efforts de ce grand Commonwealth du Nord".

On nous a dit que le Canada avait fourni plus d'un cinquième de la nourriture requise pour prévenir la famine la plus sérieuse de l'histoire humaine. Depuis octobre de l'an dernier, deux collectes nationales volontaires ~~leur~~ ont rapporté environ 25,000,000 de livres de vêtements de secours. Ces chiffres ne tiennent pas compte des secours fournis par la Croix-Rouge et plusieurs autres agences bénévoles.

Le Canada est l'un des principaux fournisseurs et des plus chauds partisans de l'ASRNU. Le Canada est membre de l'Organisation de l'alimentation et de l'agriculture, du Fonds monétaire international et de la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement. Le Gouvernement a accueilli chaleureusement les propositions des Etats-Unis concernant la tenue d'une conférence internationale visant à assurer une plus grande liberté au commerce entre les pays du monde. Ses crédits d'exportation, y compris le gros prêt au Royaume-Uni sont, en proportion des richesses de la population de notre pays, d'une importance sans égale.

En d'autres termes, notre Gouvernement s'est efforcé de faire contribuer le Canada au rétablissement de l'économie des autres pays tout en développant la nôtre. Nous restaurons ainsi les marchés mondiaux pour assurer des débouchés à nos produits d'exportation. Le parti libéral est convaincu que, sans les marchés mondiaux, notre pays ne peut jouir d'une prospérité durable. Nous estimons également que la restauration de l'économie mondiale est essentielle à la stabilité de la paix.

Rapatriement et démobilisation

Charte des anciens combattants

La capitulation de l'Allemagne a fait surgir au pays un grand nombre de problèmes immédiats et difficiles et la plupart d'entre eux sont devenus encore plus pressants par suite de la capitulation du Japon. Le plus important de ces problèmes consistait à rapatrier nos forces combattantes et à démobiliser l'armée, la marine et l'aviation.

Depuis la capitulation de l'Allemagne, le 9 mai 1945, plus de 330,000 hommes et femmes des trois armes ont été rapatriés; plus de 657,000 ont été démobilisés et sont retournés à la vie civile. La plupart d'entre eux ont rapidement été absorbés par le marché du travail. Plusieurs milliers ont profité de la chance de poursuivre leurs études ou leur formation. Toute l'opération

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s'est effectuée avec diligence et efficacité et fait grandement honneur à ceux qui en ont directement assuré le succès.

Les nombreuses dispositions relatives au soin et à la réadaptation de nos anciens combattants sont codifiées par le Parlement et formeront une charte des anciens combattants sans précédent dans l'histoire.

LOGEMENT ET ALLOCATIONS FAMILIALES

Au Canada, comme ailleurs, le problème du logement est devenu de plus en plus difficile depuis la fin de la guerre. Chacun connait les insuffisances actuelles à ce sujet. Ce qu'on ignore généralement, c'est que 47,000 nouvelles maisons d'habitation ont été construites en 1945. Ce nombre dépasse celui des maisons construites en n'importe quelle autre année de l'histoire du pays.

La demande de maisons est due pour une large part à la situation créée par l'emploi intégral de la main-d'oeuvre et la stabilité des revenus familiaux. Les allocations familiales ont également permis à nombre de familles de se payer un logis convenable. C'est là, entre autres, une des manières dont les allocations familiales, versées pour la première fois en juillet dernier, serviront à maintenir la demande qui, elle-même, maintiendra le niveau d'emploi de la main d'oeuvre.

RELATIONS FEDERALES-PROVINCIALES

Le but de la politique du gouvernement libéral est de maintenir en temps de paix, les hauts niveaux d'embauchage et de revenu national que nous avons atteints durant la guerre, et de faire servir la productivité du Canada à la réalisation de rapides progrès dans le domaine de la sécurité sociale et du mode de vie de notre peuple.

Pour atteindre ce but, des relations fondées sur l'harmonie et la collaboration sont essentielles entre le gouvernement fédéral et les gouvernements provinciaux.

Dans ces réunions nombreuses, tenues avec les provinces, nous nous sommes efforcés de réaliser une entente assez complète non seulement en vue de prendre des dispositions financières, mais encore d'étendre à toutes les parties du pays l'application de mesures de santé et de bien-être social.

Il est manifeste maintenant que, pour atteindre un sihaut objectif, il faudra plus de temps que nous ne l'avions cru tout d'abord. D'ici que soit conclu un accord général avec l'ensemble des provinces le budget déposé mardi dernier

prévoit des ententes financières avec chacune d'elles, ententes qui semblent devoir aider effectivement à résoudre les problèmes provinciaux aussi bien que ceux du Dominion.

REDUCTIONS FISCALES

Depuis son retour au pouvoir il y a un an, le Gouvernement a sensiblement allégé le fardeau des impôts de guerre. Dans le premier budget d'après-guerre, une réduction proportionnelle uniforme de l'impôt sur le revenu des particuliers entrait immédiatement en vigueur; le présent budget comporte de nouvelles réductions sur une échelle progressive, et avec des exemptions plus importantes qui prendront effet le 1er janvier 1947. Pour encourager l'entreprise et aider à maintenir un haut niveau d'emploi, l'impôt sur les corporations a aussi été réduit. Pour assurer un succès continu dans la bataille contre l'inflation, il est évident que la réduction des taxes doit procéder de la même façon graduelle et ordonnée que le retrait des contrôles de temps de guerre

CONCLUSION

Dans tous nos programmes et dans toutes nos actions, le gouvernement a cherché à sauvegarder l'unité et la puissance, tant économique que spirituelles, dont notre pays a donné des preuves si magnifiques au cours de la guerre.

Préserver l'unité au pays, et exercer à l'étranger notre influence en vue de l'établissement de la paix comme de la prospérité, tels sont nos buts les plus nobles. Ne nous laissons pas ébranler par le désarroi et l'inquiétude qui règnent dans le monde. Quels autres effets auraient pu engendrer la haine terrible et l'hostilité déchaînée en ces dernières années. Parce qu'on leur a appris à croire dans la force, il faudra du temps aux individus et aux nations pour se convaincre de la sagesse de remplacer la force par la raison dans le règlement de leurs différents.

Le malaise qui sévit aujourd'hui dans le monde peut fort bien se comparer à l'agitation de la mer après une grande tempête. Pendant quelque temps beaucoup de furie et de confusion s'ensuivent. Mais tout comme le calme renait sur la mer, de même un grand calme pourra renaitre un jour dans les affaires des hommes et des nations si nous luttons patiemment et sans défaillance afin que la bonne volonté succède à la haine, et la concorde à la méfiance. Tel sera,

j'en suis sûr, en tout temps, l'idéal suprême dont s'inspirera le peuple canadien dans ses rapports avec les autres nations.

Si l'humanité doit survivre, l'entente et l'amitié internationales doivent remplacer ce qui reste de soupçons et de méfiance. L'importance de cette condition devrait être évidente pour tous tant que nous sommes en ce moment où l'humanité dans sa marche en avant se recueille à la croisée des chemins du monde.

(30)

D 64040

The First Year of Peace

The Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

Broadcast by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

Ottawa, July 3, 1946

Just over a year ago the Liberal party was entrusted anew with the duty of carrying on the government of Canada. It is my purpose tonight to report to you on the manner measures in which, since the election, we have discharged that trust.

Atmosphere of General Election

When the election was called, Canada was still at war with both Germany and Japan. The San Francisco Conference was about to meet. At the invitation of the government, leading members of opposition parties were associated with members of the government in the delegation to San Francisco. This was in accord with Liberal policy which aims at achieving a concensus of view in Canada's foreign relations.

Because of the San Francisco Conference, the election campaign was fortunately short. It was happily decisive. The Liberal administration had guided our country through the greatest war in history. It was now entrusted with the task of guiding Canada through the period of transition. Although the war against Japan had not ended, the problems of reconstruction were already the main concern of government.

The International Scene

The election itself was scarcely over before it became necessary for me to return to San Francisco with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, to sign the United Nations Charter. In August, came the sudden and unexpected end of hostilities against Japan.

The atomic bombs, which brought about the surrender of Japan, plunged the whole world into a new and terrible era of potential destruction. The need of effective action to ensure a lasting peace - and a peace of good-will - became far more urgent than ever. At the same time, the removal of immediate danger from a common enemy removed the strongest of the bonds of unity among

the allies. Difficult problems, postponed while the war was on, began instantly to cry out for attention. New problems, hitherto unthought of, made their presence known.

It was not possible to postpone discussion of some of these questions with Britain and the United States. Moreover, I had been invited by the new Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to come to London for purposes of consultation at the earliest moment possible. Accordingly, in October, although the first session of our new parliament had just begun, I visited London where I had frequent and fruitful consultations with Mr. Attlee and his principal colleagues. Later, at the invitation of President Truman, Mr. Attlee and I visited Washington where, as representatives of the countries associated with its development, we agreed upon and signed the Declaration on Atomic Energy. The policy agreed to at Washington was designed to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes and to promote its use for the benefit of mankind. Mr. Attlee subsequently visited Canada for conferences here with my colleagues and myself.

Quite recently, I have again had occasion to visit Great Britain for conferences with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues and with the Prime Ministers or their representatives from other nations of the British Commonwealth. It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the Peace Conference planned to be held in Paris in May. Unfortunately differences which have not yet been reconciled appeared between the great powers. Progress has since been made in bridging these gaps, and there is now the prospect of a peace conference being called without further delay.

International Economic Developments

In all the efforts to restore peace to the world, Canada, I am proud to say, has sought to take every effective means to help in removing obstacles and misunderstandings. No one can say that Canada has created any difficulties. Parliament was virtually unanimous in its approval of the United Nations Charter. The Canadian delegations have taken a useful part in the deliberations of the various conferences of the United Nations.

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Canada is a leading supplier and a firm supporter of UNRRA. Canada's export credits, including the large loan to the United Kingdom, are, in relation to the wealth and population of our country, unparalleled in their magnitude. Canada is a Member of the Food and Agriculture Organization, of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. The government has warmly welcomed the United States proposals for an international conference to work for freer trade among the nations of the world.

In other words, our government has sought to have Canada help to restore the economies of other nations, as well as to develop our own. In so doing, we are restoring the world markets for Canada's exports. The Liberal party is convinced that, without world markets, our country can enjoy no enduring prosperity. We equally believe that the restoration of a world economy is essential to lasting peace.

D 64045

Repatriation and Demobilization -

Veterans Charter

The surrender of Germany brought to the fore many immediate and difficult domestic problems; most of these became still more urgent with the surrender of Japan. The greatest of these problems was the task of bringing home our fighting forces and demobilizing the army, navy and air force.

Since Germany surrendered on May 8th, 1945, over 330,000 men and women in the three services have been repatriated; over 657,000 have been discharged and returned to civil life. The vast majority have been quickly absorbed into employment. Many thousands have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded to continue their education or training. The whole process has been speedy and efficient and reflects the greatest credit upon those immediately responsible.

The many provisions relating to the care and re-establishment of our veterans are being consolidated by Parliament into a Veterans Charter not anywhere surpassed.

Reconversion of Industry-Labour Relations

While we have been bringing home our veterans and helping them to return to civil life, we have at the same time been faced with the immense task of changing industry over from war production to peacetime production. For this task, the government had fortunately made careful plans long in advance. But we never dared to hope it could be accomplished so smoothly, so speedily, and with so little dislocation of employment as has been the case. Thanks to our foresight in starting unemployment insurance in 1940, the individual hardships of the change-over have been vastly reduced.

In a period of sudden and rapid transition labour disputes and strikes seem to be almost inevitable. So far, Canada's record in this field compares favourably with that of almost any other country. This has not been a matter of chance or of mere good fortune. In large part, the explanation is to be found in the success of our battle against inflation, and in the orderly and systematic way in which the economic controls of wartime are being removed.

D 64047

Insert for Prime Minister's Broadcast

7 1/2

Housing and Family Allowances

(to follow Reconversion of Industry)

We are all aware of the shortage of houses which has grown more acute since the end of the war. What is not so generally known is that over 47,000 new dwelling units were created in 1945. This is more houses than were ever built before in one year in our history.

I might point out that a large part of the demand for houses is the result of conditions of full employment and steady family incomes. Family allowances have also made it possible for many families to pay for proper housing. This is but one of the ways in which family allowances - first paid in July of last year - will keep up demand which, in turn, will keep up employment. For many years to come, the government's long term housing policy will, we believe, be one of the major sources of employment.

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Dominion-Provincial Relations

The goal of Liberal government policy is the maintenance, in peacetime, of the high levels of employment and national income attained in wartime, and the use of Canada's productive capacity to bring about a rapid advance in social security and the standard of living of the people.

To attain that goal, harmonious and co-operative relations are needed between the Dominion and Provincial governments. As soon as the election was over, our government prepared a comprehensive set of proposals which the provincial governments were invited to consider at a conference which opened in August of last year. Since that time, at repeated meetings, we have earnestly sought to reach agreement sufficiently comprehensive not only to cover financial arrangements, but, as well, to further policies of health and social well-being in all parts of our country. It is now apparent that this large objective will take longer to attain than we had originally hoped. We shall, however, continue to seek to establish relationships which place not only the Dominion government,

but the governments of all the provinces, in a position to contribute adequately to the maintenance of conditions which make for employment, prosperity and social security throughout Canada.

Tax Reductions

Pending a general agreement with all provinces, provision has been made in the budget brought down on Thursday last, for financial agreements with individual provinces, which it is believed will assist effectively in meeting their problems as well as those of the Dominion. Since its return to office, a year ago, the government has made substantial reductions in the burden of wartime taxation. In the first post-war budget, there was an immediate flat percentage reduction in the personal income tax; the present budget has included further reductions on a graduated scale and with higher exemptions which are to go into effect on January 1, 1947. To encourage enterprise and to assist in maintaining a high level of employment, corporation taxes have also been reduced.

Conclusion

During the year our pride in our citizenship has been enhanced by the enactment by parliament of the Bill respecting Canadian citizenship. An amendment to the British North America Act is now being sought by a resolution which reaffirms as the basis of redistribution of seats in the House of Commons the historic principle of representation by population.

In all our policies and in all our activities we have sought to maintain the unity and strength, both economic and spiritual, which our country displayed so magnificently in war.

To preserve our unity at home, and to exert our strength abroad in the promotion alike of peace and prosperity, these are our highest aims. Let us not be dismayed by the trouble and turmoil in the world. What more could be expected as the aftermath of the hatred and strife of recent years? The unrest of the world today may well be likened to the distrubance of the sea which follows a great storm. There remains much of fury and confusion. But just as calm comes to the sea, so a great calm may some day come in the affairs of men and nations if we but strive patiently and tirelessly to replace ill-will with good-will, and conflict with co-operation. Speaking for

D 64051

the government of today, and speaking, I believe, for men and women of all political parties, such, at all times, will be the supreme purpose of the Canadian people in their relations with all other nations.

How important it is that a policy of international understanding and friendship should replace what remains of suspicion and distrust must be apparent to all of us as mankind on its onward march pauses today at the crossroads of the world.

D 64052 (A) amended

"THE FIRST YEAR OF PEACE"

Broadcast by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

Leader of the Liberal Party

C.B.C. National Network

Ottawa, July 3, 1946.

It is just a little over a year since the Liberal party was entrusted anew with the duty of carrying on the government of Canada. It is my purpose tonight to report to you on some of the government's activities in the first year of peace.

When the election was called, Canada was still at war with both Germany and Japan. The San Francisco Conference was about to meet. While the Conference was on, Germany surrendered. Because of the Conference, the election campaign was fortunately short. It was happily decisive.

The election itself was scarcely over, before it became necessary for me to return to San Francisco with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, to sign the United Nations Charter. In August, came the sudden and unexpected end of hostilities against Japan. Problems of reconstruction, at home and throughout the world, had become the main concern of government.

Preparatory Stages in the Making Of Peace

The atomic bomb, which brought about the surrender of Japan, plunged the whole world into a new and terrible era of potential destruction. The need of effective action to ensure a lasting peace - and a peace of good-will - became far more urgent than ever. At the same time, the removal of immediate danger from a common enemy served the strongest of the bonds of common action among the allies. Difficult problems, postponed while the war was on, began instantly to cry out for attention. New problems, hitherto unthought of, made their presence felt.

On some pressing questions, it was not possible to postpone consultation with Britain and the united States. Accordingly, in October, although the first session of our new parliament had just commenced its proceedings, I visited London, where I had frequent and fruitful consultations with the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his principal colleagues. Later, at the invitation of President Truman, Mr. Attlee and I visited Washington. While there we agreed upon and signed the Declaration on Atomic Energy. The policy agreed to at Washington was designed to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to promote its use for the benefit of mankind. Mr. Attlee subsequently visited Canada for conferences at Ottawa with my colleagues and myself.

Quite recently, I have again had occasion to visit Great Britain for conferences with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues, and with the Prime Ministers or their representatives from other nations of the British Commonwealth The meeting of Prime Ministers was characterized by a remarkable unanimity of view on matters of common concern.

It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the Peace Conference which was originally planned to be held in Paris in May. Differences between the Great Powers, unfortunately not yet wholly reconciled, occasioned delays. In bridging the gaps, considerable progress has recently been made. There is now a prospect of a peace conference being called in the near future.

The Restoration of a World Community

In the efforts to restore peace to the world, Canada, I am proud to say, has been much to the fore. We have created no difficulties. We have sought, wherever possible, to help in removing obstacles and misunderstandings. Parliament was virtually unanimous in its approval of the United Nations Charter. In all the deliberations of the various conferences of the United Nations, the Canadian delegations have taken an active and useful part.

Our country has spared no effort to help bind up the wounds, and to rescue from starvation and disease, the stricken peoples of war-ravaged lands. You must have been deeply impressed to hear the Hon. Herbert Hoover say in his broadcast from our capital on Friday last, "To Canada flows the gratitude of hundreds of millions of human beings who have been saved from starvation through the efforts of this great commonwealth of the North". We were told that Canada had provided over one-fifth of the supply of food to relieve the greatest famine in all human history. Since October of last year, two national voluntary collections will have provided about 25 million pounds of clothing for relief. These figures take no account of what has been done to relieve suffering by the Red Cross and many other voluntary agencies.

Canada is a leading supplier and a firm supporter of U.N.R.R.A. Canada is a member of the Food and Agriculture Organization, of the International Monetary Fund, and of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. We warmly welcomed the United States proposals for an international conference to work for freer trade among the nations of the world.

Canada's export credits, including the large loan to the United Kingdom, in relation to the wealth and population of our country, are unparalleled in their magnitude.

In other words, our government has sought to have Canada help to rebuild the

economies of other nations, as well as to develop our own. In so doing, we are restoring world markets for Canada's exports. The Liberal party is convinced that, without world markets, our country can enjoy no enduring prosperity. We equally believe that a world economy is essential to lasting peace.

REPATRIATION AND DEMOBILIZATION

Veterans Charter

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Since Germany surrendered on May 8th, 1945, over three hundred and thirty thousand (330,000) men and women in the three services have been repatriated; over six hundred and fifty-seven thousand (657,000) have been discharged and returned to civil life. The vast majority have been quickly absorbed into employment. Many thousands have taken advantage of the special opportunity afforded them to continue their education or training. The whole process has been speedy and efficient. It reflects the greatest credit upon those immediately responsible.

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In any period of sudden and rapid transition, involving adjustments in industrial relations, labour disputes and strikes seem to be all but inevitable. So far, Canada's record in this field compares favourably with that of almost any other country. This has not been a matter of chance, or of mere good fortune. In large part, the explanation is to be found in the success of our battle against inflation, and in the orderly and systematic way in which the economic controls of wartime are being removed. In no country have inflationary tendencies been held more effectively in check.

Housing and Family Allowances

In Canada, as in other countries, the housing problem has grown more acute since the end of the war. We are all aware of existing shortages. What is not so generally known is that over forty-seven thousand (47,000) new dwelling units were created in 1945. This is more houses than were ever built before in one year in Canada.

A large part of the demand for houses is the result of conditions of full employment and steady family incomes. Family allowances have also made it possible for many families to pay for proper housing. This is but one of the ways in which family allowances - first paid in July of last year - will keep up demand which, in turn, will keep up employment.

Dominion-Provincial Relations

The goal of Liberal government policy is the maintenance, in peacetime, of the high levels of employment and national income attained in wartime, and the use of Canada's productive capacity to bring about a rapid advance in social security, and in the standard of living of the people.

To attain that goal, harmonious and co-operative relations are needed between the Dominion and Provincial governments. At repeated meetings with the provinces, we have earnestly sought to reach agreement sufficiently comprehensive not only to cover financial arrangements, but, as well, to further policies of health and social well-being in all parts of our country.

It is now apparent that this large objective will take longer to attain than we had originally hoped. We shall, however, continue to seek to establish relationships which will place, not only the Dominion government but the governments of all the provinces, in a position to promote employment, prosperity and social security throughout Canada. Pending a general agreement with all provinces, proposals were made in the budget brought down on Thursday last, for financial agreements with individual provinces, which it is believed will assist effectively in meeting their problems as well as those of the Dominion.

Tax Reductions

Since its return to office, a year ago, the government has made substantial reductions in the burden of wartime taxation. In the first post-war budget, there was an immediate flat percentage reduction in the personal income tax; the present budget has included further reductions, on a graduated scale, and with higher exemptions, which are to go into effect on January 1, 1947. To encourage enterprise and to assist in maintaining a high level of employment, corporation taxes have also been reduced.

To ensure continuing success in the battle against inflation, it is obvious that the reduction of taxes must proceed in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of war-time controls.

Conclusion

In all our policies, and in all our activities as a government, we have sought to maintain the unity and strength, both economic and spiritual, which our country displayed so magnificently in war. To preserve our unity at home, and to exert our strength abroad, in the promotion alike of peace and prosperity: these are our highest aims.

Let us not be unduly dismayed by the trouble and turmoil in the world of today. What else could be expected as the aftermath of the appalling hatred and strife of recent years? Having been taught to believe in Force, it will take time for men and nations to learn the wisdom of substituting Reason for Force in the settlement of their differences.

The unrest of the world today may well be likened to the unrest of the sea which follows a great storm. For some time much remains of fury and confusion. But just as calm comes to the sea, so a great calm may some day come to the world if we but strive patiently and tirelessly to replace ill-will with goodwill, and conflict with co-operation. Such, at all times, will I believe, be the supreme purpose of the Canadian people in their relations with all other nations.

If Humanity is to survive, international understanding and friendship must replace what remains of suspicion and distrust. How important that is should be apparent to all of us as mankind, on its onward march, pauses today at the crossroads of the world.

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D 64057

"THE FIRST YEAR OF PEACE"

Broadcast by

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Leader of the Liberal Party

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D 64062

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Broadcast by

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C.B.C. National Network

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100		Hoover, Hon. Herbert. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 63987 - D 64004	
100		Record of Mackenzie King Administration. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 64005 - D 64076	
100		Peace Conference, Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 64077 - D 64089	
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100		Fundamental Principles of Liberalism, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 64201 - D 64268	
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NOT TO BE RELEASED UNTIL THE PRIME MINISTER HAS BEGUN TO SPEAK.

ADDRESS BY THE Rt.Hon. W.L. MACKENZIE KING, Prime Minister of CANADA, before the PLENARY SESSION of the PARIS CONFERENCE, August 2,1946

Mr.President:

The nations represented at this Conference have willingly accepted the invitation of the Great Powers to be associated with them in the task of making peace with Italy and the Eastern European belligerents.

It was with particular pleasure that the Government of Canada received this invitation at the hands of the Government of France. The special ties between Canada and France reach back for more than 400 years. During two centuries, our countries shared a common history. Twice in the past thirty years, in the defence of civilization, French and Canadian fighting men have been valiant comrades on the battlefields of Europe. Canada is happy, today, to be associated with France in rebuilding the peace of Europe.

Canada's interest in the successful outcome of the deliberations of this Conference is obviously lessimmediate and direct than that of some of the participating countries. Clearly, there are many countries represented here that will be more closely and directly concerned with the specific solutions of questions of territorial boundaries, population transfers, war damage indemnities and so on. I can truly say that Canada has no specific national interest in the adoption of any particular formula for the solution of individual conflicts and differences which, in the aggregate, will constitute the general settlement. But we have a vital and compelling interest in the kind of settlement that results from these deliberations. Our principal duty and interest lies, it seems to me, in helping the countries more directly concerned to work out agreed solutions which are fair and likely to endure. Our concern as a nation is to see that, as far as we can help to make them so, the peace treaties will be based upon broad and enduring principles of justice and equity. Canada seeks no territory, no reparations, no special concessions of any kind, but we do seek to build a lasting peace.

Canada's interest in the peace springs from deep within the heart of Canada's nationaood. It might have been thought from our geographical position, that we were bemote from and had no concern with central Europe. But the fact that we were early in

the struggle, and that Canada entered the war by the deliberate decision of the Canadian Parliament, was evidence of our immediate realization that the peace of the world was one and indivisible. If the peace and security of Europe were threatened, so also were the peace and security of Canada. No one could say where the aggressor might strike.

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

May I say a word in reference to the nations of Europe against which Canada, in common with her allies, declared the existence of a state of war, and with whose future the present Conference is immediately concerned.

Italy and Finland, Hungary and Roumania have, like other nations of Europe, each made their contribution to the up-building of the Canadian people. Many thousands of our citizens, whose parents came to Canada as humble immigrants not so very long ago, returned to fight in Europe as Canadian soldiers volunteers in the war to preserve democraty from Fascist agression. We welcome the opportunity, which the making of peace affords, for the emergence, in the lands of their forefathers, of new governments and institutions dedicated to the realization of those ideals of Right and Justice for which we believe the war was fought. Of the countries in the world taking part in this Conference, /

/ Canada has, from these close associations of blood and history a particular interest in hoping that, out of the peace treaties, will come settlements which will be definitive, because they will be recognized as fair and just.

The process of peace-making is seldom an easy process. Let us frankly admit that the course which has been followed has not, in all respects, been that which some of us had hoped for. That perhaps may be said of all the countries represented here.

We in Canada felt that the measure of our participation in the war against aggression would have warranted a similer measure of participation in the decisions of peace. In the event, these hopes are not being realized. We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this Conference not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties, but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement.

We all have a stake in helping, as best we can, to bring about wise and agreed solutions to the problems which the war has left in its wake. If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, unfortunately we cannot, if peace should not be secured, place a similar limit on our liabilities. For this reason I hope that the Conference arrangements will permit of each member nation making its maximum contribution to the solution of the problems confronting us.

It would be unfortunate if, in this Conference, the real issues were to be obscured by any false antithesis between the interests of the larger and smaller nations.

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

Already, difficulties have arisen and divisions have appeared in relation to procedure. Views strongly held have given emphatic expression, within these walls and without, in opposition to and in support of some of the proposals of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

I have been in public life a long time, perhaps longer than any one there. It certainly cannot be said of me that I underestimate the importance of being in the majority. It has not therefore been difficult for me to sympathize with the positions stated by both Dr.Evatt and Mr.Molotov. I have learned, however, that even better than a majority is unanimity and common consent.

With this in mind, I would like to see the four great powers willing to consider, and consider promptly, any changes in the foreign ministers' proposals which are seriously suggested and supported by strong arguments. I should like to see any suggested changes considered by them before a vote is taken. In other words, I would venture to suggest - and I believe the suggestion to be important - that the Council of Foreign Ministers should not wait, until the Conference has ended, to examine recommendations. I would suggest that the Council of Foreign Ministers all of Whom will be attending the Conference, should meet from time to time, during the Conference, to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations. This course would facilitate the immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications of the draft treaties. It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions. In saying that it is of the highest importance that we should, at this time, do everything possible to minimize divisions, I believe that I can speak for everyone here, - indeed for the

peoples of an anxious world.

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

Were the Council of Foreign Ministers to meet, during the Conference, in the way I have suggested, it would require no change in the formal position. The final stage provided for under the Moscow Agreement would still take place, and the Foreign Ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties. But, if there is merit in this proposal, they would, I believe, find at that time, that many problems of the final stage had been resolved.

Indeed, it might not be too much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore, this course would have the advantage of emphasizing our common partnership in the making of peace.

Too great significance cannot be attached to the present Conference. If for no reason other that it is the first of the conferences concerned with the treaties of peace, it must pave the way for future conferences. If it succeeds, the success of future conferences will be commensurately ensured. Should it fail, what hope would be left of future success in the making of peace?

If we succeed, we shall lighten Humanity's load as it seeks to be relieved of its heaviest burdens. To lighten a man's spirit by giving him fresh hope is to increase his strenght and his ability to pursue his way. It is the same with nations as with men. To fail to bring this conference to a successful conclusion, or to prolong it indefinitely, would be to discourage the nations, and to hold them back in their onward march.

I would be untrue to my deepest convictions were I not to give to this gathering of nations, a statement of the magnitude of the task with which, as I see it, our world is faced today. Fortunately, for what I have to say, I have high scientific authority. Ours is an age in which there has been much of scientific progress, and in which great store is placed upon scientific discovery. High honour is paid to Science itself.

Of her many contributions to the advancement of Science, and to the betterment of the human race, France has

bestowed no gift comparable to that of the researches of her great scientist, Louis Pasteur.

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

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

This profound analysis of the nature of international confilct was made a little over half a contury ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We would do well to recognize that beneath all else, and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful, and which have operated, not in our day only, but from the beginning of recorded time. The wars the world has winnessed have been no matter of Chance or of Circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws, wrestling in human society, and working the destruction of civilization from within.

The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself, and that no nation liveth to itself. We are all members one of anothers. Henceforth, in the interest of its

own people, no nation can afford to serve selfish national ends, whether these ends be isolated self defence, or world domination. It is for every nation to remember that "Over all nations is Humanity".

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

D 64083

C.P./PRESS

DISCOURS prononcé par M. W.L. MACKENZIE KING, Premier Ministre du Canada, à la séance plénière de la Conférence de Paris, le 2 Août 1946

Monsieur le Président,

Les nations représentées à cette Conférence ont accepté avec plaisir l'invitation que leur ont faite les grandes Puissances de participer avec elles à l'établissement de la paix avec l'Italie et les Etats belligérants de l'Europe orientale.

C'est avec une satisfaction particulière que le Gouvernement canadien a reçu cette invitation des mains du Gouvernement français. Les liens spéciaux qui existent entre le Canada et la France remontent à plus de quatre cents ans. Pendant deux siècles nos pays ont eu une histoire commune. Deux fois, au cours des trente dernières années, pour la défense de la civilisation, combattants français et canadiens ont été de valeureux frères d'armes sur les champs de bataille européens. Le Canada est heureux, aujourd'hui, de se trouver associé avec la France dans l'oeuvre de reconstruction de la paix de l'Europe.

Le Canada a évidemment, à l'heureuse issue des délibérations de la présente Conférence, un intérêt moins immédiat et moins direct que certains des pays participants. Manifestement, parmi les pays ici représentés, il y en a beaucoup qui sont plus étroitement et plus directement intéressés aux solutions particulières qui seront données aux questions de frontières territoriales, de transferts de populations, d'indemnités pour dommages de guerre et autres questions.

Je puis dire, en toute vérité, que le Canada n'a pas d'intérêt spécifique au point de vue national à ce que soit adoptée une formule spéciale pour les solutions de conflits et de différences individuelles, dont l'ensemble constituera le règlement général. Mais nous avons un intérêt d'une urgence vitale dans la sorte de règlement qu'engendreront ces délibérations. Le principal de notre devoir et de notre intérêt consiste, me semble-t-il, à aider les pays qui s'occupent plus directement

de découvrir des solutions communément acceptées et qui soient équitables et susceptibles de durer. Notre affaire, en tant que nation, est dans la mesure où nous pouvons contribuer à ce résultat, d'assurer que les traités de paix soient fondés sur de larges et durables principes de justice et d'équité. Le Canada ne veut obtenir ni territoire ni réparations ni concessions spéciales d'aucune sorte, mais veut bâtir une paix durable.

L'intérêt que prend le Canada à la paix a sa source au profond du coeur de la Nation canadienne. D'après notre position géographique, on pourrait croire que, éloignés que nous sommes de l'Europe centrale, elle ne nous intéresse pas; mais le fait que nous sommes entrés de bonne heure dans la lutte et que nous nous soyons engagés dans la guerre par une décision consciente et réfléchie du Parlement Canadien est la preuve que nous avons compris d'emblée que la paix du monde est une et indivisible. Si la paix et la sécurité de l'Europe étaient menacées, nous savions que la paix et la sécurité du Canada l'étaient aussi.

L'effort de guerre du Canada a été un effort sans réserve. Il a été organisé et fourni jusqu'à la limite de nos possibilités et cela pour deux raisons principales. Nous voulions contribuer à mener le plus rapidement possible la guerre à une fin victorieuse. Nous voulions aussi que la contribution du Canada fût telle qu'elle nous donnât le droit de participer de manière effective à l'établissement de la paix.

Qu'il me soit permis de faire une brève allusion aux pays d'Europe contre lesquels le Canada s'est déclaré en état de guerre, aux côtés de ses alliés et dont la présente Conférence doit immédiatement fixer le sort futur.

L'Italie et la Finlande, la Hongrie et la Roumanie, de même que d'autres nations européennes, ont fourni chacune leur contribution aux éléments dont est formé le peuple canadien. Des milliers de nos concitoyens, dont les parents étaient venus au Canada, en modestes immigrants, il n'y a pas si longtemps encore, sont allés combattre [illegible] pour la guerre de la démocratie contre l'agression fasciste. Nous avons accueilli volontiers leurs services et l'appui loyal qu'ils nous offraient. Nous saluons maintenant l'occasion que nous offre le règlement de la paix, d'établir dans les pays de leurs ancêtres, de nouveaux gouvernements et de nouvelles institutions consacrés à la réalisation des idéals de droit et de justice pour lesquels nous croyons que l'on s'est battu pendant cette guerre.

Parmi les pays du monde qui ont pris part à la présente Conférence, le Canada, en raison de ses liens étroits créés par le sang et par l'histoire, a des raisons particulières d'espérer que les traités de Paix se traduiront par des accords qui seront définitifs parce qu'ils seront reconnus comme justes et équitables.

Faire la paix est rarement une tâche aisée. Reconnaissons en toute franchise que la ligne de conduite suivie jusqu'ici n'a pas été à tous égards celle qu'avaient espérée certains d'entre nous. Cette remarque pourrait peut-être s'appliquer à tous les pays représentés ici.

Au Canada, nous avions l'impression que l'importance de notre participation à la guerre contre l'agression nous aurait garanti une participation d'une importance semblable aux décisions d'où sortira la paix. En l'espèce, ces espérances ne sont pas en voie de se réaliser. Notre participation à la présente Conférence nous donne toutefois la possibilité restreinte, non seulement de contribuer à établir les premiers traités de paix, mais aussi d'exposer notre point de vue sur certains chapitres du règlement général de la paix.

Il est de notre intérêt à tous d'apporter toute l'aide dont nous sommes capables à l'adoption de solutions raisonnables aux problèmes que la guerre a laissés à sa suite. S'il y a des restrictions à la possibilité qui nous est donnée de formuler des décisions, nos responsabilités, elles, ne souffriraient aucune restriction analogue si la paix ne devait pas être assurée. C'est pourquoi j'espère que les dispositions qui seront prises pour les travaux de la Conférence offriront à chaque Etat membre la possibilité de contribuer, dans la plus large mesure, à la solution des problèmes en face desquels nous nous trouvons.

Il serait fâcheux que, dans cette Conférence, les problèmes véritables fussent obscurcis par une opposition fallacieuse entre les intérêts des grandes et des petites nations.

Le facteur déterminant dans la construction de la paix ne devrait être ni l'importance ni la puissance des Etats participants, ni l'étendue de leurs contributions respectives à la victoire. Ce qui doit l'emporter, en dernière analyse, c'est le bon droit et la justice.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Déjà des difficultés se sont élevées, et des divergences se sont manifestées en ce qui concerne la procédure. Ici même et en dehors de la Conférence des points de vue soutenus avec force ont, tour à tour, combattu énergiquement les propositions du Conseil des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères ou s'y sont ralliées.

J'ai derrière moi une longue carrière politique, plus longue peut-être que celle d'aucun d'entre vous. On ne peut certainement pas dire de moi que je méconnaisse l'importance qu'il y a à faire partie de la majorité. Je n'ai donc éprouvé aucune difficulté à envisager favorablement aussi bien la thèse de M. Evatt que celle de M. Molotov. J'ai appris, toutefois, à considérer préférables à une majorité l'unanimité et le consentement de tous.

De ce point de vue, il ne serait agréable de voir les quatre grandes Puissances disposées à examiner, et à examiner sans délai, les modifications aux propositions des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, qui seront présentées après mûres réflexions et appuyées par des arguments valables. Je préférerais les voir examiner les modifications ainsi présentées avant qu'on ne procède à un scrutin. En d'autres termes, je prendrai la liberté de suggérer, et je crois que cette suggestion est d'importance, que le Conseil des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères n'attende pas la fin de la Conférence pour examiner les recommandations.

Je me permets de proposer que le Conseil des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, dont tous les membres sont présents à la Conférence, se réunisse de temps à autre au cours de celle-ci, pour examiner à nouveau et étudier les propositions à mesure qu'elles sortiront de nos délibérations. Cette méthode faciliterait l'acceptation immédiate de toutes les modifications aux projets de traité sur lesquels l'accord aurait été réalisé. Elle aurait pour objet d'éviter la nécessité des votes par appel nominal et autre. Lorsque je dis qu'il est de la plus haute importance que nous fassions, maintenant, tout le possible pour réduire les votes au minimum, je crois pouvoir parler au nom de tous ceux qui sont ici, et en vérité au nom des peuples d'un monde en proie à l'anxiété.

Il se pose encore la question du temps. Pour différentes raisons il serait regrettable que la Conférence se prolongeât indûment. Il est certes de notre devoir de veiller à ce que notre tâche soit accomplie d'une manière complète; il est presque aussi important qu'elle soit accomplie rapidement.

Si le Conseil des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères se réunissait pendant la Conférence, suivant la méthode que j'ai proposée, cela n'entraînerait aucune modification dans la situation au point de vue de la forme. La dernière phase des travaux prévus par l'accord de Moscou n'en aurait pas moins lieu et les Ministres des Affaires Etrangères se réuniraient afin de donner leur approbation au texte définitif des traités. Mais, si ma proposition est bonne, je suis convaincu que les Ministres constateraient à ce moment qu'un grand nombre des problèmes de la dernière phase des travaux ont été résolus. Il ne serait même peut-être pas excessif d'espérer qu'il s'ensuivrait à bref délai un accord définitif. Bien plus, cette méthode aurait pour avantage de faire ressortir notre commune participation à l'établissement de la paix.

On ne saurait attacher trop d'importance à la Conférence actuelle. Ne serait-ce que parce qu'elle est la première de celles qui s'occuperont des traités de paix, il faut qu'elle prépare la voie aux Conférences futures. Si elle réussit, le succès des suivantes en sera facilité d'autant. Si elle échouait, quel espoir demeurerait-il de réussir, dans l'avenir, à établir la paix?

Si nous réussissons, nous déchargerons immédiatement les épaules des hommes d'un de leurs fardeaux. Nous allégerons le faix de l'humanité au moment où elle cherche à se libérer des plus pesants d'entre eux. Alléger les âmes en ranimant l'espérance c'est augmenter la force de l'homme et accroître son pouvoir de poursuivre sa route. Il en va de même pour les nations et pour les hommes. Si on ne menait pas cette Conférence à une conclusion satisfaisante, ou si on la prolongeait indéfiniment, on découragerait les nations et on ralentirait leur marche en avant.

Je mentirais à mes convictions les plus profondes si je ne faisais . ., devant cette Assemblée des Nations une déclaration sur l'ampleur de la tâche que, selon moi, le monde doit affronter aujourd'hui. Heureusement pour ce que j'ai à dire j'ai à une haute autorité scientifique. Notre époque est une époque de grands progrès scientifiques et elle fait grand cas de la découverte scientifique. La science elle-même est hautement honorée.

Parmi les nombreuses contributions que la France a apportées aux progrès de la science et aux perfectionnements de la race humaine, aucun bienfait n'est comparable aux recherches de son grand savant , Louis Pasteur.

HB.

D 64083

C.P.PRESS 6.

A l'occasion de l'inauguration de l'Institut Pastour, dans la cité où nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui rassemblés, Louis Pasteur, en l'honneur de qui fut fondé cet Institut, s'est étendu sur le sens de la recherche scientifique - très ému par la réception que lui avaient ménagée les étudiants et les hommes d'Etat français, ce grand bienfaiteur de l'humanité pria son fils de lire à sa place un manuscrit qu'il avait préparé. Dans ce document remarquable, figurait le paragraphe suivant qui fait époque :

"Deux lois contraires semblent aujourd'hui en lutte: une loi de sang et de mort qui, en imaginant chaque jour de nouveaux moyens de combat, oblige les peuples à être toujours portés pour le champ de bataille; et une loi de paix, de travail, de salut qui ne songe qu'à délivrer l'homme des fléaux qui l'assiégent. L'une ne cherche que des conquêtes violentes, l'autre que le soulagement de l'humanité. Celle-ci met une vie humaine au-dessus de toutes les victoires; celle-là le sacrifice des centaines de mille existences à l'ambition d'un seul."

Cette analyse pénétrante de la nature de l'antagonisme international a été faite il y a un peu plus d'un demi siècle. Elle n'a pas reçu jusqu'à présent l'attention qu'elle mérite. Nous agirions sagement en admettant qu'il existe, par dessus tout le reste, et plus fortes que tout le reste, des forces invisibles et d'une puissance considérable qui ont exercé leur action non seulement de nos jours mais depuis les origines de l'histoire.

Les guerres dont le monde a été témoin ne sont nullement l'effet du hasard ou des circonstances. Elles sont les hideuses manifestations de lois contraires qui combattent la société humaine en son sein même et travaillent, de l'intérieur, à détruire la civilisation.

Les années de guerre nous ont incontestablement appris qu'aucun homme ne vit pour lui-même et qu'aucune nation ne vit pour elle-même. Nous sommes tous solidaires les uns des autres. Par conséquent, dans l'intérêt même de son propre peuple, nul pays ne peut se permettre de poursuivre des fins nationales égoistes, que ces fins consistent en une auto-défense d'isolement ou en la domination du monde. Il appartient à chaque nation de se souvenir que "Au-dessus de l'ensemble des nations existe l'Humanité."

HE.

D.64089

C.P. PRESS 7.

Nous avons assez connu la main gantée de fer. Aujourd-hui c'est de la main du médecin que notre monde a besoin. En répandant le sang et en semant la mort, les forces d'agression ont tenté de reculer les limites de leurs domaines déjà vastes. Par la paix, par le travail et par l'hygiène, dans le respect des lois de l'Humanité nous nous efforcerons, selon les paroles de Louis Pasteur, a reculer, avec l'aide de la science, les limites de la vie.

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CANADIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Press Release

(For release 11:00 a.m., Monday, August 19, 1946.)

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Speech at Dieppe

The text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech at Dieppe today at the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the monument to be erected to the Canadian Armed Forces is as follows:

"Mr. Minister, Mr. Prefect, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you Mr. Minister for the honour you have done Canada in representing the President of the Government of France at today's ceremony. I thank you for the moving tribute you have paid Canada's armed forces. Your words will be deeply appreciated in all parts of our country. In the darkest days of the war we also shared your faith in ultimate victory; we share today your hopes of an enduring peace.

I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for the kind sentiments of your address. I extend to you and to the citizens of Dieppe the heartfelt thanks of the government and people of Canada for all that your words express of welcome, of remembrance and of gratitude. The present anniversary is to us, as it is to you, a day of sacred remembrance in our country's history. It will ever recall one of the most gallant exploits in the annals of war.

We in Canada were deeply touched when we learned that the citizens of Dieppe had decided to erect this memorial. It will bear enduring tribute to the memory of the members of Canada's armed forces who invaded these shores four years ago today. The memorial will speak as well of the part taken by Canadian forces, in combination with those of other of the Allied nations, in the subsequent liberation of France. For this act of remembrance, especially at a time when poignant memories of your own suffering and losses are still weighing heavily upon you, all Canada will be lastingly grateful.

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Nothing I have seen has touched me more than the solicitude of the people of France for the homes in Canada which have been bereaved. It will greatly comfort all who have suffered loss to know of the reverent and tender care bestowed upon the last resting places of those whose lives were given in the battles of liberation. There can be no doubt of the place which Canada holds today in the hearts of the people of France.

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It was not the men of Old France only who three and more centuries ago crossed the Atlantic to face unknown perils and privations; nor in our day was it the men of Canada only who crossed to Europe to share the vicissitudes of war. The women of both our lands, no less brave and venturesome, have played their role in the epic tale of early and present day relations between France and Canada. Many were the missions of mercy in which Sisters of the Religious Orders of France risked their lives in the days of early settlement in Canada. Centuries later Nursing Sisters in two World Wars came from Canada to minister to the sick and the wounded on the battlefields of France and Flanders. What woman's part has been in all the services we know full well. This page of history has not passed unnoticed. In the Hall of Fame of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa may be seen in marble relief a representation of the part women have played in the founding and restoring of nations. There one sees depicted the Sisters of Old France ministering to the needs and education of the children of Indian tribes in the wilds of North America. There also is depicted the service of Nursing Sisters of Canada in caring for the wounded on the battlefields of Europe. In the foreground, as the central feature of this relief, is a figure symbolical of humanity; in the background, wholly subdued is another figure symbolizing history. Beneath the memorial appear the words: "To perpetuate a noble tradition in the relations of the Old World and the New, led by the spirit of humanity across the seas, woman by her tender ministrations to those in need has given to the world the example of an heroic service embracing three centuries of Canadian history."

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This memorial will stand to future generations as a symbol of enduring friendship between France and Canada. Is it too much to hope that its foundation stone may also be a record of the country and the year in which the warring nations of our time had found a way out of conflict into co-operation? What could speak more eloquently of the wisdom of our day and generation? What more substantial hope of an enduring peace could be given to a war-weary world?

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D 64096

CANADIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Press Release

(For release 11:00 a.m., Monday, August 19, 1946.)

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Speech at Dieppe

The text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech at Dieppe today at the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the monument to be erected to the Canadian Armed Forces is as follows:

"Mr. Minister, Mr. Prefect, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you Mr. Minister for the honour you have done Canada in representing the President of the Government of France at today's ceremony. I thank you for the moving tribute you have paid Canada's armed forces. Your words will be deeply appreciated in all parts of our country. In the darkest days of the war we also shared your faith in ultimate victory; we share today your hopes of an enduring peace.

I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for the kind sentiments of your address. I extend to you and to the citizens of Dieppe the heartfelt thanks of the government and people of Canada for all that your words express of welcome, of remembrance and of gratitude. The present anniversary is to us, as it is to you, a day of sacred remembrance in our country's history. It will ever recall one of the most gallant exploits in the annals of war.

We in Canada were deeply touched when we learned that the citizens of Dieppe had decided to erect this memorial. It will bear enduring tribute to the memory of the members of Canada's armed forces who invaded these shores four years ago today. The memorial will speak as well of the part taken by Canadian forces, in combination with those of other of the Allied nations, in the subsequent liberation of France. For this act of remembrance, especially at a time when poignant memories of your own suffering and losses are still weighing heavily upon you, all Canada will be lastingly grateful.

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Ceremonial occasions, especially those related to erection of memorials, derive their significance not less from the place and time at which they are dedicated than from the events which the memorials themselves seek to commemorate. This being true, what ceremony, I ask, could be more appropriate than the one in which we have been invited to participate today?

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CANADIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Press Release

(For release 11:00 a.m., Monday, August 19, 1946.)

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Speech at Dieppe

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"Mr. Minister, Mr. Prefect, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you Mr. Minister for the honour you have done Canada in representing the President of the Government of France at today's ceremony. I thank you for the moving tribute you have paid Canada's armed forces. Your words will be deeply appreciated in all parts of our country. In the darkest days of the war we also shared your faith in ultimate victory; we share today your hopes of an enduring peace.

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SERVICE D'INFORMATION CANADIEN

Communiqué de presse

Pour publication le lundi
19 août 1946 à 11 heures
du matin

Traduction du discours de M. Mackenzie King à Dieppe

Voici la traduction du discours prononcé aujourd'hui à Dieppe par le premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King, à l'occasion de la pose de la première pierre du monument qui y sera érigé à la mémoire des combattants canadiens:

M. le Ministre; M. le Préfet, M. le Maire, Mesdames et Messieurs,

Je vous remercie, M. le Ministre, de l'honneur que vous faites au Canada en représentant le Président du gouvernement français à la cérémonie d'aujourd'hui. Je vous remercie de l'émouvant hommage que vous avez rendu aux combattants canadiens. Dans toutes les parties de notre pays, on sera profondément ému par vos paroles. Aux jours les plus sombres de la guerre, nous avons partagé votre foi en la victoire finale; aujourd'hui, nous partageons votre espoir en une paix durable.

Je vous remercie, M. le Maire, des sentiments que vous avez exprimés. Je vous présente, ainsi qu'aux citoyens de Dieppe, les vifs remerciements du gouvernement et du peuple canadiens pour vos paroles de bienvenue, de commémoration et de gratitude. Cette journée, pour nous comme pour vous, est un anniversaire sacré dans l'histoire de notre pays. Elle rappelle un des exploits les plus chevaleresques de la derniere guerre.

Au Canada, nous avons été profondément touchés lorsque nous avons appris que les citoyens de Dieppe avaient décidé d'ériger ce monument. Il constituera un tribut durable à la mémoire des combattants canadiens qui ont envahi ces côtes il y a quatre ans aujourd'hui. Ce monument rappellera aussi la part prise par les Canadiens, de concert avec les

autres alliés, dans la libération de la France. Votre geste, venant surtout à un moment où le souvenir de vos propres souffrances et vos propres pertes pèse encore lourdement sur vous, vous a acquis la reconnaissance du Canada tout entier.

Je tiens à dire dès maintenant que les Canadiens n'oublient pas les blessures de votre pays, qui a tant souffert au nom de la liberté. Pour tout ce que la France a souffert, pour tout ce que son peuple souffre encore aujourd'hui, je vous exprime, au nom du Canada, notre plus profonde sympathie. Et je vous exprime aussi notre gratitude, car si la liberté avait péri dans le Vieux Monde, elle n'aurait certainement pas survécu dans le Nouveau.

Je suis d'autant plus fier aujourd'hui de ce que le Canada a été prompt à reconnaître que nous sommes tous solidaires les uns des autres. Si les pays de l'Amérique du Nord ont pu échapper à l'invasion, c'est à cause de la résistance des pays de ce côté de l'Atlantique. Si notre pays ne porte pas aujourd'hui les cicatrices de la guerre, c'est parce que la lutte pour la liberté s'est faite sur votre sol et sur celui d'autres pays européens; parce que vous avez résisté là où nous avons porté secours. C'est parce qu'en terrassant l'adversaire, nos fils et les vôtres se sont battus côte à côte; comme ils dorment aujourd'hui côte à côte dans des terres silencieuses et lointaines.

Rien ne m'a plus touché que la sollicitude du peuple français à l'égard des foyers canadiens endeuillés par la guerre. C'est un grand réconfort pour les familles éprouvées de savoir que les tombes de ceux qui ont donné leur vie font l'objet d'un soin si respectueux et si délicat. Il n'y a plus à douter de la place que le Canada occupe aujourd'hui dans le coeur du peuple français.

Une cérémonie, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de l'érection d'un monument, tient son sens non seulement du lieu et du temps où elle se déroule mais des événements qu'elle veut commémorer. Peut-on alors trouver de cérémonie mieux choisie que celle à laquelle nous avons été invités aujourd'hui?

C'est ici, dans cette ville de Dieppe, le 19 août 1942, que pour la première fois depuis l'occupation allemande des points stratégiques de l'Europe occidentale, un contingent armé a traversé la Manche pour débarquer sur le continent. Ce contingent était composé, en majeure partie, de régiments de la Deuxième Division de l'Armée Canadienne. Depuis deux ans, ces formations se préparaient pour le moment où elles rencontreraient l'ennemi face à face. Les soldats canadiens qui sont débarqués à Dieppe ce jour-là, les marins canadiens qui les escortèrent et les aviateurs canadiens qui les survolèrent comptaient parmi les plus braves fils du Canada. Jusqu'au dernier, ils étaient prêts à toutes les souffrances, à tous les sacrifices que leur tâche comporterait.

Nous n'oublions pas non plus, en cette occasion, la vaillance et les sacrifices des soldats, marins et aviateurs britanniques qui prirent part à ce périlleux assaut. Nous sommes honorés aujourd'hui par la présence du Major Général J.H. Roberts qui commandait à Dieppe les forces de terre. Je tiens à lui rendre, au nom de son pays, l'hommage qui est dû à son courage et à ses qualités de chef.

Pour Hitler et ses hordes, Dieppe représentait ce que l'Allemagne craignait alors le plus. Dieppe voulait dire que des forces alliées avaient réussi à traverser la Manche et à débarquer sur les côtes de Normandie. Le 19 août 1942, ce nuage avant-coureur n'était qu'un point à l'horizon mais il prit par la suite des proportions de plus en plus menaçantes. Deux ans plus tard, les forces alliées, dans toute leur puissance, emportèrent d'assaut les positions fortifiées du Nord-Ouest de la France. Elles balayèrent ces côtes d'une position à l'autre, et d'un pays à l'autre. Elles repoussèrent l'ennemi devant elles jusqu'à ce que ses derniers effectifs en Europe occidentale soient complètement détruits. Quelque temps après, dans son propre repaire, le coeur du monstre nazi devait être percé de tous côtés.

La France, de même que la Belgique, la Hollande et la Grande-

Bretagne n'oublieront jamais -- le Canada n'oubliera jamais que les soldats, marins et aviateurs canadiens furent au premier rang des forces qui nettoyèrent ces côtes de l'occupation ennemie. Au cours de combat sur combat, ils détruisirent une à une ces positions qui avaient si longtemps menacé la Grande-Bretagne. De concert avec leurs alliés, ils ont hâté la libération des peuples qui y vivaient sous l'oppression.

Le coup de main de Dieppe, il y a quatre ans, était une lueur momentanée du phare de la liberté. Pour un instant, sa lumière perça l'obscurité comme un rayon d'espoir. Presque aussitôt, elle s'évanouit, et dans les ténèbres de ces terribles années, il sembla par moments qu'elle s'était éteinte pour toujours. Mais elle devait briller de nouveau lors du Dieppe de 1944.

Aujourd'hui, nous voyons Dieppe 1942 sous le jour que le temps seul pouvait lui donner: comme un éclair avant-coureur de la victoire. Cette lumière brille maintenant dans toute sa gloire sur les peuples libérés d'Europe.

Ici, à Dieppe, en cet anniversaire, nous avons présents à l'esprit les valeureux exploits des armées de toutes les nations éprises de liberté. Mais Dieppe a une autre signification pour la France et le Canada ainsi que pour le monde. Dieppe marque le caractère des liens qui unissent nos deux pays et dont la réalité contient un motif d'espoir pour les générations à venir. Il y a plus de trois siècles, de ce port de Dieppe, de courageux marins de Normandie faisaient voile à travers l'Atlantique inconnu jusqu'aux eaux du Saint-Laurent. Sur ses bords, ils contribuèrent à l'établissement de la colonie et du gouvernement dont, presque un siècle avant eux, les hardis marins de France avaient jeté les fondements. Au cours des années qui suivirent, le Canada de Cartier et de Champlain devait devenir le théâtre du choc des armées de Wolfe et de Montcalm. Mais ce pays qui devait tant aux pionniers normands et à leurs descendants devait faire luire une autre lumière sur le monde. Comme aujourd'hui, il devait donner à tous les peuples l'exemple d'une nation façonnée par des hommes

de races, de langues et de religions différentes, jadis ennemis -- l'exemple d'une nation enrichie par les apports de cultures diverses et plaçant au-dessus de tout un commun héritage de liberté.

Au cours de la première guerre mondiale, les fils du Canada vinrent se joindre aux fils de France et à ceux d'autres peuples libres, dans un combat pour la survivance de la liberté en Europe. Dans la dernière guerre de libération, l'univers a vu les armées du Canada et de la France, une fois encore, lutter ensemble sur les champs de bataille d'Europe. Dans l'esprit des Français, le Canada de Wolfe et de Montcalm est devenu le Canada des Currie, des McNaughton et des Crerar.

Mais les hommes de la vieille France ne furent pas seuls à affronter les périls et les privations de l'Atlantique, il y a trois siècles; ce ne furent pas non plus seulement les hommes du Canada qui revinrent en Europe affronter les vicissitudes de la guerre. Les femmes de France et du Canada, non moins braves et non moins aventureuses, ont joué leur rôle dans l'histoire de nos deux pays. Combien d'épisodes de l'histoire du Canada offrent le spectacle des dames des ordres religieux de France risquant leur vie aux premiers jours de la colonie. Des siècles plus tard, des infirmières, au cours de deux guerres, vinrent du Canada porter secours aux blessés sur les champs de bataille de France et des Flandres. Nous savons tous quelle part énorme les femmes ont joué dans nos armées. Nous ne saurions tourner cette page d'histoire sans nous y arrêter. Dans le hall d'honneur du Parlement à Ottawa, un relief dans le marbre illustre le rôle que les femmes ont joué dans la fondation et le relèvement des nations. Ce relief montre les Soeurs de la vieille France enseignant aux enfants indiens de l'Amérique du Nord. On y voit aussi des infirmières des armées canadiennes portant secours aux blessés sur les champs de bataille d'Europe. A l'avant-plan, dominant le relief, une figure symbolise l'Humanité; à l'arrière-plan, en retrait, une autre figure symbolise l'Histoire. L'inscription se lit: "Maintenant une noble tradition dans les relations du Vieux Monde avec le Nouveau, animée par un esprit humanitaire qui s'étend par delà les océans, la femme, par la tendresse de ses soins aux affligés,

a donné au monde l'exemple d'un service héroïque embrassant trois siècles d'histoire canadienne. "

C'est cette tradition d'entr'aide, dans les multiples rapports entre les peuples, que le Canada cherche avant tout à renouer aujourd'hui à Paris. Les représentants de nombreuses nations s'efforcent de mettre un terme aux inimitiés nées de la méfiance raciale et du malaise international. Ils sont réunis dans le but de jeter les bases d'un monde nouveau où l'homme puisse trouver plus de bonheur. A cette conférence, le Canada apporte un motif d'encouragement et d'espoir par l'exemple de sa propre vie nationale. Le Canada désire ardemment voir tous les peuples partager plus pleinement encore les riches fruits de la compréhension, de l'amitié et de la bienveillance. Les nations prient que ceux qui ont mission de formuler la paix réussissent à jeter les bases d'un monde nouveau et meilleur.

Ce mémorial symbolisera pour la postérité l'indéfectible amitié qui unit le Canada à la France. N'est-il pas permis d'espérer que sa pierre angulaire marque en même temps l'année et le pays où les peuples belligérents d'une génération auront enfin trouvé dans la coopération la solution de leurs conflits? Quel éloquent témoignage ce serait de la sagesse de notre temps! Quel espoir plus réel d'une paix durable un monde fatigué de la guerre pourrait-il attendre?

-30-

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D63943 - D63986	
100		Hoover, Hon. Herbert. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 63987 - D 64004	
100		Record of Mackenzie King Administration. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 64005 - D 64076	
100		Peace Conference, Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 64077 - D 64089	
100		Speech at Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 64090 - D 64113	
100		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1946	D 64114 - D 64200	
100		Fundamental Principles of Liberalism, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 64201 - D 64268	
101		St. Laurent, Hon. Louis S. Complimentary Banquet, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 64269 - D 64615	

Suggested Outline

D 64114

The First Year of Peace

Employment

1. Broad outlines of Liberal post-war policy laid down by Prime Minister in A.F.L. speech, Toronto, Oct. 9, 1942.

Prime objectives can be summed up in 5 words - Abroad - Peace; At Home - Employment.

2. This broadcast is concerned with Employment in the First Year of Peace.

(a) Quote Liberal creed on employment from Toronto speech (p.5 - as marked)

(b) Recognition of what is needed to maintain employment (P.M's Winnipeg speech, Red book p.63) (see marked passage)

3. The four sources of employment

(a) exports

(b) consumption

(c) private capital investment

(d) governmental spending on works and development

(Outline very briefly what done to encourage (a) (b) (c))

4. Balancing the Manpower Budget just as essential as balancing the Financial Budget.

How do we intend to balance the manpower budget? Here give in brief non-technical language white paper plan for cyclical budgetting and planned works and developments - in other words, public investment - the balance wheel in planned "full employment".

5. Co-operation with provinces essential to full success, since provinces have large place in public works and natural resources - one of long-term aims of Dominion proposals to D-P Conference.

6. Give present picture - noting that full employment exists and giving careful definition of full employment i.e. not a job for every man every day - only possible with regimentation - but an abundance of jobs making changes in employment with industrial and social progress relatively easy.

7. Conclude with point that <u>full employment</u> has become essential to <u>preservation of a free society</u> - men will never stand again for mass unemployment - All who really believe in free enterprise must therefore work for full employment. Liberal party the only one with a policy fully worked out in detail to maintain full employment.

Suggested Outline

D 64117

The First Year of Peace

Employment

1. Broad outlines of Liberal post-war policy laid down by Prime Minister in A.F.L. speech, Toronto, Oct. 9, 1942.
   Prime objectives can be summed up in 5 words - Abroad - Peace; At Home - Employment.

2. This broadcast is concerned with Employment in the First Year of Peace.
   (a) Quote Liberal creed on employment from Toronto speech (p.5 - as marked)
   (b) Recognition of what is needed to maintain employment (P.M's Winnipeg speech, Red book p.63) (see marked passage)

3. The four sources of employment
   (a) exports
   (b) consumption
   (c) private capital investment
   (d) governmental spending on works and development
   (Outline very briefly what done to encourage (a) (b) (c))

D 64113

4. Balancing the Manpower Budget just as essential as balancing the Financial Budget.

How do we intend to balance the manpower budget? Here give in brief non-technical language white paper plan for cyclical budgetting and planned works and developments - in other words, public investment - the balance wheel in planned "full employment".

5. Co-operation with provinces essential to full success, since provinces have large place in public works and natural resources - one of long-term aims of Dominion proposals to D-P Conference.

6. Give present picture - noting that full employment exists and giving careful definition of full employment i.e. not a job for every man every day - only possible with regimentation - but an abundance of jobs making changes in employment with industrial and social progress relatively easy.

7. Conclude with point that <u>full employment</u> has become essential to <u>preservation of a free society</u> - men will never stand again for mass unemployment - All who really believe in free enterprise must therefore work for full employment. Liberal party the only one with a policy fully worked out in detail to maintain full employment.

D 64120

Prime Minister
The request about which spoke to you last night.
Just

"no message"
W. L. M. K.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

29.VI.46

Re: July 1st

A verbal request was received from the International Service of the C.B.C. for a brief message from the Prime Minister, which could be broadcast to the world on July 1st. I suggested that a draft of the kind of thing they had in mind be submitted, and the draft is attached, together with a slight revision I have made.

I have also had the record of the past few years looked up to see what had been done about marking the day in other years. The memorandum is attached.

In view of the controversy over the designation of the day and the fact that Parliament will not be sitting, I felt some doubt as to the advisability of anything being said in addition to the statement I understand you propose to make in connection with the proclamation of the Citizenship Act. If, however, any message is to be issued, it might be desirable to phrase it in such a way that its primary purpose was to be broadcast outside Canada.

The C.B.C., of course, would like you actually to record your message. I explained that this would be difficult in view of other commitments over the next few days. There is no great advantage, in any event, in making a record because most of the international broadcasting is in foreign languages. The C.B.C. would, as a second best, be glad to have a message which they, themselves, could broadcast as coming from you.

N.B. The request for a recording has been withdrawn: all that is now desired is an authorized message

J.W.P.

June 27, 1946.

D 6[illegible]

Revised by J.W.P.

Message by
Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada
for broadcast on International Service, C.B.C.
July 1, 1946

Seventy-nine years ago the provinces of British North America were joined together in a federal union, and a new nation came into being in the New World. In its growth and development, the Canadian nation has been nourished by the traditions and political experience of the European homelands from which our people originally came. From Britain, from France, from Europe at large, we have received much.

In the terrible years of war through which we have passed, the people of Canada have sought to do their part to preserve the free civilization which is our common heritage. We know that we cannot live alone. We know that nations

large and small, strong or weak, can only survive in a neighbourly world which knows the laws of hospitality and reciprocity. Our task, as that of any people young or old, is to assist in building a world where true national feeling can develop into world community. Today the tools of science, culture and industry are all at hand for the building of such a world society.

On this anniversary of Canadian nationhood, then, I speak not only as a Canadian citizen, but also as a world citizen. We, in Canada, look back on the seventy-nine years of our country's growth with pride. That is natural and proper. But we know that an exclusive concern for self in a nation, as in an individual, is the way of destruction; that only in mutual aid and co-operation can the life of men and nations mature and preserve and enrich itself on this earth. Only by the development of the larger sense of responsibility to a world community can any nation anywhere survive and prosper in the atomic age.

D 64123

IS 3 RUSH RUSH

ARTHUR L PHELPS OTTAWA

HEREWITH DRAFT OF STATEMENT WE DISCUSSED YESTERDAY.

SEVENTY NINE YEARS AGO CANADA CAME OF AGE. ~~THROUGH~~ By THE EFFORTS OF COURAGEOUS AND DETERMINED MEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF A NATION WERE LAID. TODAY, THROUGH THE LABOURS OF WAR AND AMID THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, CANADA IS AN ENTITY AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. ~~AND~~ As CANADIANS ON THIS ANNIVERSARY WE KNOW THAT OUR GROWING MATURITY IMPOSES ON US THE TASK OF SELF-APPRAISAL. WE REALIZE THAT OUR CANADIAN DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN NOURISHED BY THE POLITICAL THOUGHT AND PRACTISE OF MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. WE HAVE RECEIVED MUCH, ~~AND~~ But IN SO DOING WE HAVE BEGUN TO FIND OUR OWN SOCIETY AND TO FEEL A RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS AIMS AND SPIRIT. both within itself and in relation to world society. ~~A~~ A CANADIAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY WHICH IS A PRODUCT SHOULD ALSO BE A CONTRIBUTION. ~~WE DO NOT WISH TO BE A VICTIM OF ISOLATED SELF-SUFFICIENCY.~~ // WE KNOW THAT WE CANNOT LIVE ALONE. WE KNOW THAT NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL, STRONG OR WEAK, CAN ONLY SURVIVE IN A NEIGHBORLY WORLD WHICH KNOWS THE LAWS OF HOSPITALITY AND RECIPROCITY. OUR TASK, AS THAT OF ANY PEOPLE YOUNG OR OLD, IS TO ASSIST IN BUILDING A WORLD WHERE TRUE NATIONAL FEELING CAN DEVELOP INTO WORLD ~~COMITY~~ Community. TODAY THE TOOLS OF SCIENCE, CULTURE AND INDUSTRY ARE ALL AT HAND FOR THE BUILDING OF SUCH A WORLD SOCIETY. ON THIS ANNIVERSARH OF CANADIAN NATIONHOOD, THEN, I SPEAK NOT ONLY AS A CANADIAN CITIZEN, BUT ALSO AS A WORLD CITIZEN. // I LOOK BACK ~~AT~~ ON THE SEVENTY-NINE YEARS OF ~~MY COUNTRY'S~~ Canada's GROWTH WITH PRIDE. THAT IS NATURAL AND PROPER. BUT I KNOW, NEVERTHELESS THAT PRE-OCCUPATION WITH SELF IN THIS NATION, ~~XXX~~ OR IN ANY NATION, IS DEATH; THAT ONLY IN MATUALNESS CAN THEXOLIFE OF MAN MATURE AND PRESERVE AND ENRICH ITSELF ON THIS EARTH. ONLY BY THE DEVLOPMENT OF THE LARGER SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO A WORLD SOCIETY CAN ~~NO~~ ANY SOCIETY ANYWHERE ENDURE IN THIS NEW AGE THAT CHALLENGES US ALL.

STUART GRIFFITHS ISW JUNE 26/46 10.17 ER B 1

D 6[illegible]

Memorandum for Mr. Pickersgill

Re: July 1

Checking of Hansard and press release files from 1940 to 1945 shows that the Prime Minister made statements in the House regarding anniversary of Confederation only in 1942 and 1943, In the other four years, Mr. King made no statements of any sort on this occasion, either in the House or to the press.

Detailed summary follows:

1940 Hansard, June 27. Prime Minister briefly moved adjournment from June 28 to July 2. (No other statement)

1941 No statement of any sort (House had adjourned June 14 to meet again in November)

1942 Hansard, July 1. Statement in House by Prime Minister on 75th National Anniversary. (Copies of congratulatory messages received from foreign governments released to press)

1943 Hansard, July 1. Statement in House by Prime Minister on 76th Anniversary of Confederation. (Copies of congratulatory messages from foreign governments released to press)

Hansard, July 3, Prime Minister read to House text of congratulatory messages received from abroad.

1944 No statement in House on Anniversary of Confederation. Hansard, July 3, Hon. T. A. Crerar, as Acting Leader of Government, read congratulatory messages from abroad received by Prime Minister on 77th Anniversary of Confederation.

(On July 1 and following days, copies of congratulatory messages from foreign governments were released to press)

1945 House not sitting on July 1.
No statement to press by Prime Minister.
(On July 2nd and succeeding days, copies of congratulatory messages from governments abroad were released to press)

P.A.

P.A.

June 26, 1946.

D 64126

We are very much interested in this discussion, and we shall gladly fall in line in order to facilitate a discussion of the wheat problem.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then does the hon. member wish to withdraw his motion?

Mr. PERLEY: Yes.

Motion withdrawn.

QUESTIONS

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

*CHARTERED BANKS—DAILY SURPLUS

Mr. COLDWELL:

1. Do the chartered banks report the amounts of unclaimed daily surplus to the department?

2. If so, what amounts have been reported during the last fifteen years?

3. How frequently are these overages disposed of, and in what manner?

Mr. RALSTON: There may be a typographical error in this question. It purports to ask whether the chartered banks report the amounts of "unclaimed daily surplus" to the department. I wonder if what is meant is unclaimed balances or unclaimed deposits.

Mr. COLDWELL: Unclaimed balances accumulated by the tellers in their daily operations. That is why I used the term "overages", which I believe is used by the banks.

Mr. SPEAKER: Stands.

LOBSTER MARKETING—CENTRAL WAREHOUSES

Mr. BROOKS:

1. Have central warehouse depots been established for the purchase and sale of canned lobsters under the lobster marketing scheme at Halifax, Nova Scotia, Shediac, New Brunswick, and Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island?

2. If so, what is the amount being paid in each centre for (a) warehouses; (b) salaries; (c) other expenses?

3. What are the names of individuals or companies concerned?

Mr. MICHAUD:

1. Yes.

2. (a) Halifax, National Harbour Board, $58.13 per month; Shediac, Simpson Roberts Co., Ltd., $20.84 per month; Charlottetown, Charlottetown Forum, Ltd., $100 per month. (b) Halifax, W. S. Lee, assistant controller, $300 per month, Florence H. Clancey, stenographer, $60 per month; Shediac, J. A. Kelly, depot manager, $200 per month; Charlottetown, W. H. Tidmarsh, depot manager, $200 per month. Casual assistance and labour as required. (c) Other expenses are largely of unforeseen nature and not readily estimated.

3. Answered by No. 2.

QUESTION PASSED AS ORDER FOR RETURN

PRAIRIE AIRWAYS LIMITED

Mr. DIEFENBAKER:

1. Has the Prairie Airways Limited been given a contract at the airports in Regina and Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, or either of these, by the terms of which said company will train or provide training for pilots for service in the air force?

2. If so, what are the terms respecting remuneration or payment for such training?

3. Have contracts of a similar kind or nature been entered into elsewhere?

4. If so, with whom?

Mr. POWER: Return tabled. I should like to make this observation, with the consent of the house. In connection with this return I am tabling a copy of the standard form of contract entered into between commercial companies or flying clubs and the Department of National Defence for Air. In connection with this contract there are certain syllabi which are marked for official use only, and I would therefore ask hon. members to treat them with some discretion and not broadcast them.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

DOMINION DAY ADJOURNMENT

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING: (Prime Minister) moved:

That when this house adjourns on Friday, the 28th June next, it stand adjourned until Tuesday, the 2nd July, 1940.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): May I ask the Prime Minister if we shall sit on Friday evening?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If we are to adjourn for Saturday, Sunday and Monday, probably hon. members will wish to leave early on Friday. We might therefore adjourn at six o'clock.

Motion agreed to.

APPLE SURPLUS

QUESTION OF FREE DISTRIBUTION TO CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS AND DESTITUTE FISHERMEN

On the orders of the day.

Mr. J. S. ROY (Gaspe): Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct two question to the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) regarding the free distribution made last year in his province, and few others, of a surplus of apples of an estimated value of $87,000.

First, when the decision was arrived at and made known, were any representations made to have a portion of this surplus distributed to the most deserving charitable institutions

in the province of Quebec, and particularly to the destitute fishermen of the Magdalen Islands? If the answer is in the affirmative, why has not this distribution been made? Second, is it the department's intention—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. ROY: —to give a share to the parties I have mentioned out of this year's surplus, of which, according to the minister's statement in the house—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I cannot hear what the hon. member is saying.

Mr. ROY: —of which, according to the minister's statement in the house on June 6, a large part will be put at the disposal of the refugees in Europe?

Mr. GARDINER: I think the hon. member's observations should be taken as notice of question.

THE BUDGET

DEBATE ON THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

The house resumed from Monday, June 24, consideration of the motion of Hon. J. L. Ralston (Minister of Finance) that Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair for the house to go into committee of ways and means.

Mr. J. H. HARRIS (Danforth): Mr. Speaker, ever since the tragedy which caused a vacancy in the treasury benches I have been anxious at the first formal opportunity to express my profound sorrow and to offer my sincerest condolences to the family of the late Hon. Norman McLeod Rogers. To the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King), his associates and all the members of this house I express my sympathy as well as that of the constituency which I have the honour to represent. The late minister's industry and application in the several departments with which he was connected offers a good example to future generations. The knowledge which he gained as professor of political science and history at Queen's university must have been of considerable assistance to the government in carrying out their onerous tasks. His last words to the Prime Minister were, "Very well; I will carry on." Those who heard those words reiterated must have been inspired. It should inspire all and act as a clarion call—"carry on, Canada."

The Minister of Finance (Mr. Ralston) will soon take over a most difficult task. I commend the government for its choice of a Minister of National Defence. The minister was a previous incumbent of this office. From his youth up he has been interested in military matters generally. The hon. and gallant member for Prince will, I know, give a good account of himself in the portfolio of defence. He has had legal training; he has been associated with the business life of this country; he has the confidence of Canada. I look forward to his accelerating Canada's war effort and inspiring our people to greater effort. Never in the history of Canada have we been asked to place at the disposal of the government a sum ranging from $600,000,000 to $700,000,000 in the short space of twelve months. We should be able to do it. Given leadership, I think we will be able to do it. I am rather in favour of the principle which was laid down, that we should pay as we go.

I shall endeavour this afternoon to follow the course adopted by the Minister of Finance in his budget speech. First, I shall discuss the economical and financial review or, as I like to put it, the financial operations of the dominion for the fiscal year. Second, I shall discuss the budget forecast or estimate of revenues and expenditures for the present year. Third, I shall take up the government accounts, or the balance sheet of the dominion for the year just closed, considering active and non-active assets together with liabilities, both direct and indirect. Fourth, I shall review our trade and commerce. In the budget speech I do not think sufficient emphasis was placed upon this feature of our work. Fifth, I shall deal with the ways and means mentioned in the budget speech for providing the necessary revenue to meet expenditures. Then perhaps I may be permitted to make a few constructive suggstions as to what should have been taken from, as the minister said in his preliminary remarks, or what should be added to the policy of the government as set out in the budget speech.

I feel that all our thoughts and actions should have but one end in view, to gear everything to Canada's war effort. That will be the thought back of any observations or criticism which I shall utter in this house. By directing all our efforts and actions to the war effort, we as a nation will simply be doing our duty. As I see it, our duty is to do everything possible to stop the ruthless aggressors who have been tearing down the institutions which we love so dearly. Not only are the institutions being destroyed, but the people of France and Britain are in peril as well. What matters our institutions? It is our people who are important. If I can leave but one message this afternoon it will be this: We are more than allies of Britain and France; we are part and parcel of them, bone of their bone, blood of their blood and flesh of their flesh. I shall approach this problem this afternoon from that point of view.

D 64128

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

WEDNESDAY, July 1, 1942.

The house met at three o'clock.

STANDING ORDERS

Third report of the standing committee on standing orders.—Mr. Golding.

THE CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

SEVENTY-FIFTH NATIONAL ANNIVERSARY—CANADA AND THE WAR—ARMY WEEK

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, this being the 1st of July, and the seventy-fifth anniversary of confederation, I should like to give expression to some of the thoughts I believe will be in the minds of hon. members of this house. With the permission of the house I should like to make a brief statement.

This day, the seventy-fifth anniversary of Canadian confederation, falls at a time when Canada is employing the nation's energy and resources against an enemy who would destroy our very existence as a free people. At this time, when the citizens of Canada are engaged upon one all-absorbing task, elaborate ceremonies would be out of place even in celebrating so splendid an achievement as confederation represents. We may, however, rightly pause on this anniversary, gratefully to reflect on the vision and the wisdom which enabled the fathers of confederation to bring our nation into being.

To-day the very existence of the nation which was established in 1867 is threatened. A few days ago, for the first time since confederation, Canadian soil was attacked. We are freely and fully associated with the other free peoples of the world in a death struggle, with an enemy seeking to remove from the earth the heritage of freedom on which our institutions are founded.

The fathers of confederation built this nation on a foundation of human freedom, of self-government, of religious liberty, of racial equality, and of deep and abiding attachment to a common homeland. These are the sources of the harmony and mutual understanding among our people which, in turn, is the essence of our national strength, alike in war and peace.

Our enemies seek, everywhere, to replace freedom by slavery, self-government by tyranny, religious liberty and racial equality by the pagan conception of the master race; they seek to make of the homelands of all free peoples, colonies of slaves in which the sanctity of home and family will be sacrificed to the lust and greed of the conqueror.

To meet this threat to Christian civilization, to national existence, to homes and families, Canada is mobilizing all her resources of skill and strength, of brains and energy, of farm and forest, of mine and factory, of wealth and manpower. Our fighting forces, with those of our allies, are on many shores and many seas, and in the skies over many countries, battling to make sure that victory is won before war comes to Canadian soil. Along the coasts of Canada, our soldiers stand on watchful guard. Our coastal waters are ceaselessly patrolled by vessels of the Canadian navy and planes of the Canadian air force. In all the centres of industry, men and women are labouring to make huge stores of weapons and munitions. From fields and mines and forests workers are extracting the essential supplies of war.

It is particularly fitting that the celebration of our seventy-fifth national anniversary should coincide with army week in Canada. Our national pride has deepened with the knowledge of Canada's army guarding the heart of the empire, protecting the world's greatest citadel of freedom, and prepared for action in any place, at any time. We have all been profoundly stirred by the exploits of Canadian airmen in every theatre of war; Ceylon, Cologne, Essen, Emden, now Bremen, are a witness to their magnificent daring, and to their important role. We know how great and how vital has been the work of our navy. We have been told that Canadian machines and munitions, Canadian food and Canadian money were essential to keep Britain fighting in the dark days of 1940 and 1941. But our Canadian

army, because it has seen little fighting, has not thus far received its fair share of credit. This week, throughout all Canada, the Canadian people are being given a special opportunity to restore the balance by showing their appreciation of the Canadians in battle dress.

May I pause to recall the record. The first contingent of the Canadian army landed in Britain on December 17, 1939. But for the collapse of France, the first division would have come to grips with the enemy in the summer of 1940. All through that dark summer they stood waiting for the expected invasion. They were joined during that time by the second division, and at Christmas of 1940 the Canadian corps was formed. In 1941, a third infantry division, an armoured division, an army tank brigade, and thousands upon thousands of specialized troops and reinforcements were added to their numbers.

This year more units and reinforcements have crossed the sea, and others will follow. The Canadian corps in Britain has become a highly trained, hard-hitting, mobile Canadian army. Mr. Churchill has told us what the Canadian army has meant to him and to the people of Britain. Let me repeat what he said last September:

> There they stand, and there they have stood through the whole of the critical period of the last fifteen months at the very point where they would be the first to be hurled into a counter-stroke against an invader. No greater service can be rendered to this country, no more important military duty can be performed by any troops in all the allies.

There has been no glamour; there have been no great headlines. We in Canada, have not realized, as fully as the people of Britain, how greatly our army has contributed and continues to contribute to the security of the bridge-head which separates the tyrant of Europe from the western hemisphere, and which bridge-head is also our own surest defence.

I doubt, too, if we have given the credit which is their due to the men in battle dress who have stood in ceaseless vigil at the lonely outposts of our own country. When the balance sheet of war is struck, we shall do well never to forget the long dreary months of dull, but vital routine which the army has performed with little notice, and no complaint, on our coasts, and in vulnerable areas in Canada, in Newfoundland and Labrador, and on the islands of the Atlantic.

The Canadian army is not an instrument built only to resist attack. It was planned; it has been organized and is trained as a highly mechanized and armoured striking force. The day is coming—it may be close at hand—when it will have an honoured place in the van of attack. No Canadian doubts that when that day comes, our army will do its full part—and a glorious part—in helping to defeat and to destroy the military might of an enemy whose design and ambition is to conquer the whole free world. Canada's army is strong; it is united by a common purpose. It is the duty of all Canadian citizens to be no less strong, no less united by a common purpose. On this seventy-fifth anniversary of confederation the need is greater than ever before in our history, to let nothing divide us as a people, to compose our differences, and to throw all our energies into the task of saving our country, and helping to save the freedom of the world. If we would be worthy of our past, and the sacrifices of the past; if we would be worthy of the many brave sons of Canada who, in the present war, have given their all, and of the half million young Canadians who have offered, if needs be, to die for their country, it is our supreme duty, while striving for victory, to preserve for them and for future generations a free and a united Canada.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I am sure that we all join in the expressions of noble sentiments which have just fallen from the lips of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). I desire to associate myself and the party I represent in this house, with what he has said. In less critical times, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of this dominion would probably be celebrated with a fitting degree of pomp and ceremony; but in the midst of the gigantic struggle in which we are engaged, we do the greatest honour to our nation if we pause from our labours long enough only to rededicate ourselves to the herculean task of preserving those ideals and principles which the fathers of our nation sought to establish upon enduring foundations on the northern half of this continent.

We do well to pause, on the occasion of the commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of confederation, and recall with pride and gratitude the example and accomplishment of those great men who founded the Canadian nation. The genius and vision of Sir John A. Macdonald, the patience and tolerance of Sir Georges Etienne Cartier, and the helpful cooperation of Brown, Tupper, Tilley, and the other fathers, resulted, as Sir John forecast it would, in the development of "a friendly nation, a powerful people to stand by Britain in North America in peace or in war." At this juncture of our history, the inspiring words spoken by Sir John in 1861

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Mobilization Act, and further the minister knows that the properties outside Canada from which the raw materials are taken are owned by Aluminium Limited one hundred per cent, so that we could have taken them over at the same time.

CANADA AND THE WAR

REVIEW OF EVENTS OF RECENT YEARS—76TH ANNIVERSARY OF CONFEDERATION

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): To-day Canada celebrates the seventy-sixth anniversary of confederation. To-day is also the fourth Dominion day to be celebrated since the outbreak of war. To place our war-time situation in perspective, I should like for a moment to recall the conditions of war in previous years.

On July 1, 1940, the whole free world had been shaken to its foundations by the collapse of France. That was the darkest period in the war. The British nations alone stood—and they stood almost unarmed—against the seemingly invincible nazi war machine. Italy had joined the aggressor, and her armies were poised on the borders of Egypt. Most of the world waited anxiously for some inevitable climax.

The year which followed was the year of survival for the cause of freedom. The seemingly inevitable did not happen. Britain stood, battered but unbroken, against the nazi onslaught.

On July 1, 1941, the character and scope of the war had just been vastly changed by the furious and treacherous nazi assault on Soviet Russia. The minds of free men, deceived for years by lying propaganda, were suddenly called upon to face a wholly unexpected situation. None of the free nations faltered. In that hour, all extended the hand of friendship to the Soviet Union.

In the following year, as the titanic struggle on the steppes of Russia ebbed and flowed, the war in the east was joined with the war in the west. The dastardly attack upon Pearl Harbor made of the war a global struggle.

On July 1, 1942, the war had reached another dark hour. The soviet armies were being driven back; Japanese power had been extended far and wide in southeast Asia, and the islands of the Pacific. The gates of India were threatened by Japan; the Germans and Italians had reached the outskirts of Alexandria. Suez was in deadly peril. On the Atlantic and on the Pacific, enemy sea-power was increasing. The shores of North America were threatened.

The past year, however, witnessed the turn of the tide. In Russia, the Germans were driven back. In the Pacific, Japanese advances were checked. The axis forces were driven completely out of Africa; and on the Atlantic the U-boat menace has, for the time being at least, been greatly reduced.

On this Dominion day, July 1, 1943, the world scene is vastly changed from a year ago. The united nations have everywhere gained the initiative. In the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Europe, in the far east, and in the Pacific—in fact, in every theatre of war, there are substantial reasons for encouragement. The united nations are prepared for even fiercer fighting. They have steeled themselves to endure heavy losses, and to meet reverses and setbacks. All are determined to do their utmost to win. All now believe that their combined efforts will result in ultimate victory.

Each Dominion day in war time has marked steady progress in Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom. In 1940 we had only one division of our army overseas, a mere handful of airmen in action, a few ships on the Atlantic. Air training was only beginning; war production barely beyond the stage of planning and organization.

In 1941, our army overseas had served for a year as a bulwark of Britain's defences in the period of her gravest peril; our trained airmen were already a considerable factor in combat; our navy, greatly expanded, was taking a growing share in guarding the vital north Atlantic sea lanes; our war production and our foodstuffs had proved essential to Britain's continued resistance.

In 1942, our forces on land, at sea, and in the air had still further expanded. Canada's fighting men had continued to keep the world's citadel of freedom secure from invasion. Our fighting men had seen action on every sea and in the air, over almost every battlefront in a world-encircling conflict. Our war production was approaching its peak; our production of foodstuffs reached heights which seemed incredible. Our country was approaching a total effort.

To-day, July 1, 1943, as the united nations everywhere turn to the offensive, Canada is ready to take her full part in the forthcoming combined assault upon the enemy. We have mobilized our production, our forces, and our resources for the great offensive.

The war effort of Canada—on the production lines of the home front, in the skies over many an embattled land, on all the seas around the world, and in preparation for the supreme offensive against the European stronghold of the nazi enemy—is an evidence of our

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

THURSDAY, July 1, 1943.

The house met at three o'clock.

PRIVILEGE—MR. KNOWLES

REFERENCE TO PRESS REPORT OF SPEECH OF MR. CRERAR AT STONEWALL, MAN.

Mr. S. H. KNOWLES (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege. The privilege to which I refer has to do with a newspaper report concerning a speech of mine made in this house, in which report there was an entirely incorrect statement, as I shall prove by reference to *Hansard*.

The report to which I refer appears in the Winnipeg *Free Press* of June 29, 1943. The article is entitled, "Aluminum contract defended by Crerar." The portion which I wish to read is directly within quotation marks and is attributed to the Minister of Mines and Resources (Mr. Crerar). The speech was made, according to this report, at Stonewall, Manitoba, last Monday.

"Suppose the government had taken over the Aluminum Company of Canada, as the C.C.F. wanted us to do, what might have been the result? The international cartel might have denied us the use of bauxite and cryolite, two necessary ingredients, and we would not have been able to produce any aluminum.

"I asked Mr. Stanley Knowles in the House of Commons what he would have done under such circumstances. He gave me no answer."

It is in connection with that last sentence that I rise to a question of privilege—the statement that I gave the minister no answer, which, in the light of the record, to me is misrepresentation. I hold in my hand a copy of *Hansard* of June 14. On page 3708 I find the following:

Mr. Crerar: Assuming that the government had stepped in and expropriated or taken over the whole enterprise of the Aluminum Company of Canada on the Saguenay river, what would it have done for raw material? All the raw material that is converted into aluminum in the plant on the Saguenay comes from another country, and we do not and could not control that by any expropriation proceedings.

Mr. Knowles: The answer I make to that is, first, that the raw material comes from Newfoundland and from British and Dutch Guiana, all of which countries are part of or under the united nations.

Then there were certain interruptions, points of order and so on. A little later in the column the Minister of Mines and Resources repeated his question:

Mr. Crerar: The hon. member for Winnipeg North Centre offers strong criticism of the government because it did not do a certain thing. I think I am quite within my rights in asking him how he proposes we should have done it. I ask him how he would have done it.

Mr. Knowles: I take it that the minister has admitted that the aluminum interests had the government on the spot, so that the company could say to the government: This is the world price and you must pay it. And the government agreed to it.

My point, Mr. Speaker, is that the statement that I did not answer the minister's question is entirely incorrect, as *Hansard* bears out. He asked the question twice, and I gave an immediate answer on both occasions.

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver Centre): No answer at all; absolutely none.

Hon. T. A. CRERAR (Minister of Mines and Resources): I do not know if I am in order, but since my hon. friend has raised the question I may be permitted to make a comment on his remarks. I submit still that any reading of *Hansard* indicates clearly, and what my hon. friend has read indicates clearly, that he did not answer the question I asked him. I will put it to him now, and perhaps when he goes out to—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Selkirk.

Mr. CRERAR: Well, to Selkirk or Montreal or anywhere else, he will answer it then. I asked him what the government would do if it had taken over the plant and raw materials were denied to it, and my hon. friend did not answer the question. He has not answered it yet, and I venture to say he will not answer it when he goes on the hustings in Selkirk to make speeches.

Mr. KNOWLES: Mr. Speaker, if I had taken time to quote further from *Hansard* I could have shown that I said that the entire properties of Aluminium Limited should be taken over under the National Resources

strength and of our purpose. It is an affirmation of our faith in the cause for which all the united nations fight. It is a gauge of Canada's emerging importance among the great nations of the world.

In the course of the last great war, we saw general recognition given to Canada's status as a nation; a status later accorded full recognition at the imperial conference of 1926, and still later confirmed by the parliament of the United Kingdom in the statute of Westminster. In the course of the present war, we have seen Canada emerge from nationhood into a position generally recognized as that of a world power.

In the greetings which have come to the governent from many parts of the British commonwealth, and from foreign countries, this note has been predominant. The consensus is summed up, I believe, in the following paragraphs, which, according to a Canadian Press cable, appeared to-day in a leading London newspaper:

> Britain and the empire join in a salutation on the dominion's 76th birthday.
>
> They hail her not only as a member of our group of peoples, but as a world power in her own right.
>
> Such is the energy of her people that industrially, and by measure of armed power, Canada ranks fourth in all the company of the united nations.

As our contributions to the war effort of the united nations have increased, so also has the stature of our nationhood. We are all proud of the extent to which mutual aid from Canada is helping other allied nations in arms, in the fight against axis aggression. In the years that lie ahead, our country will have responsibilities never hitherto imagined. There will be tasks of helping to feed the liberated peoples whose homes and homelands have been destroyed and despoiled; of joining in the economic rebuilding of shattered national economies, and coordinating them within a world-wide system of interchange of goods and services; of sharing in the ordering of the world community for the future, so that there may be peace and justice, freedom and security for all. These are great tasks for any nation. We are already preparing to take our full share of these tasks.

The realization that we may still be at war when we reach July 1st of next year must certainly colour our thoughts and remembrances on this national anniversary.

The new year of our existence as a dominion, which begins to-day, will witness the supreme effort of Canada. Our people may, in the course of its days, be called upon to pass through an ordeal greater than our country has ever experienced. In that ordeal we know that our fighting men will nobly uphold the honour of our country; that they will display the utmost resourcefulness, fortitude and heroism. The coming months will demand from all of us steadiness, determination and the utmost unity.

After nearly four years of war our country, fortunately, is more united than it has been at any time since the outbreak of war. Canadian workingmen and women, Canadian farmers, Canadian business men, Canadians in all walks of life, have shown their readiness to put the interests of their country and of the world's freedom before their own immediate interests. In a world in which racial strife and racial domination are the instrument and the aim of the enemy, we in Canada have achieved a measure of racial harmony which is surpassed in no other country. It may truly be said that we have built a nation founded on the principles of equality and brotherhood among men. If a new era in which men and women can enjoy peace and prosperity is to be achieved, the application of these principles must be extended to the relations of all nations with one another. By our strength in war, and by our understanding and cooperation in peace, Canada can contribute mightily to the building of a better world.

To-day it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power which has guided and guarded our country throughout the years of its growth may sustain our armed forces in their endurance of bitter conflicts, may give courage to our homes during the period of supreme trial that already is so nearly upon us, and may endow all the forces of freedom with the power and wisdom necessary to secure for mankind a just and enduring peace.

Mr. GORDON GRAYDON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, on this memorable and historic occasion, as we pass another milestone along the pathway that has led us from confederation to this day it is with no small feeling of pride and of responsibility that I rise to add a word to what the Prime Minister has just said.

It is a sobering thought, and I could not help but think how sobering it was as I listened to the Prime Minister this afternoon, that perhaps in this seventy-seventh year of our Canadian federation, upon which we are now entering, we, the Canadian people, may be called upon to endure an ordeal such as this country has never before experienced. Since the year 1915 on eight different occasions, including to-day, we have celebrated Dominion day in the midst of a global war. We have been engaged in two global wars since we celebrated Dominion day in 1915.

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We can all at least hope and pray that whatever may lie ahead, whether or not it may bring the peace for which we are all looking, in the holocaust through which we must go before the rays of the sunshine of peace fall upon us, the Canadian people will carry the burden in the historic and traditional way of Canadians in years gone by.

Canada so far in this war has enjoyed relative security compared with many of our allies among the united nations and the British commonwealth itself. We have been spared some of the sorrows and sufferings which our allies have had to undergo. But as we celebrate the anniversary of confederation—and may I say, sir, that we celebrate it not simply as English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, but as Canadians all, whatever our extraction—I am proud as a Canadian to join with the Prime Minister in marking this important occasion.

I should like to close with this reference. In the midst of our thoughts are the members of our armed forces, our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen. They have written in the past and are writing now and will write in the days to come glorious pages in the history not only of Canada but of the British commonwealth of nations—yes, and of the world too. As we send them our greetings, whether they be overseas or in Canada, we wish them godspeed and good luck. To their loved ones left behind, and to those who have already lost some of their dear ones in this war, we extend as a parliament our condolences.

I think parliament too must pledge to the men of our armed forces, to whatever branch they may belong, unanimous support to the full limit of this country's resources in manpower, materials and finance in the perilous task in which they are engaged for the sake of all of us. We owe them a debt of gratitude which it will be very difficult for us in the years to come to pay. But we must resolve as a people to pay that debt, no matter how much it may be.

We are proud indeed as Canadians, as we look upon the past and assess the present and face the future, to feel, as the Prime Minister has said, a new power within ourselves from the position we occupy in the great British commonwealth of nations and in the world at large.

Mr. J. H. BLACKMORE (Lethbridge): I have always rejoiced in the coming of Dominion day; for I have always been proud of our country, Canada, and have always been glad to contemplate the great future which can be in store for Canada if we manage our country wisely. It is a cause for satisfaction to all Canadians that Canada has attained national status; that she has become a world power; that she is now recognized as the fourth among the world powers. It is cause for deep satisfaction that we have almost boundless responsibilities in the world which is to come—responsibilities for the feeding of the peoples of the world, and for the rehabilitation of the world. But while we are rejoicing in what has been achieved; while our hearts are swelling with gratitude for what has been done in our behalf, I trust that on this fateful day we shall not allow ourselves to be lulled into complacency with respect to the things that are ahead. Not only must we win this war; we must win the peace, and the foundation of that peace must be laid right here in this parliament, this year.

I am sorry to have to say, and I trust it will not mar the spirit of this occasion, that up to the present time there has not been one single, solitary fundamental principle laid down by which the reorganization of a sound and safe world may be undertaken. The all-important problem for the Dominion of Canada, as for the world as a whole, is to learn how to distribute goods both within this country and among the nations. Until the Prime Minister can stand in his place and tell us that this problem has been solved, that the principle upon which the solution depends has been discovered and that he will adopt that principle, most of his beautiful speeches will remain just beautiful speeches.

The men are doing their share. On many occasions I have expressed reverence for the youth of this land; they have conducted themselves magnificently. I am not going into details to show how little right we had to expect the glorious achievements that our boys have brought about, but in spite of the handicaps under which they were placed they have achieved greatly, and an everlasting tribute of gratitude is due from all the people to the youth who have risen to such heights. My only concern, Mr. Speaker, is as to whether or not the men at home are to be worthy of the youth who have gone to fight our battles, or whether they are to betray those youths when they return, as they have already betrayed them into war.

Canada can contribute a glorious share to the future of the world. The important question is whether she will do so, or whether, when this war is over, she will plunge into fierce commercial rivalry. Is Canada preparing to-day to engage in genuine cooperation, or is she preparing for commercial rivalry? That question should be answered; and if the answer is that she is looking forward to commercial rivalry, then on this Dominion

day we are far from having attained the degree of perfection which we should have attained.

There is great hope for the future. When the war broke out I said we must not expect to be destroyed. There is a splendid future in store for us if we are but wise enough to know how to enter into the promised land. If we cooperate with the members of the British commonwealth of nations as we could and should, we can build a greater and stronger commonwealth and empire than has ever been dreamed of during its long history. If we do not cooperate, we shall be on the way downward with respect to the empire. If Canada and the members of the commonwealth and the United States can learn to cooperate as they should, then we can assure the world freedom from war in our own right, as an Anglo-Saxon race associated with the friends who are within our gates. The question for us to ask ourselves is whether we are to discover the principle upon which true cooperation is based.

May I, sir, join with those who have already expressed solemn gratitude to the boys and girls who have gone forth to fight this war, to defend the principles of freedom, to defend us and all that we hold dear. May I join also in the note of reverence with which the Prime Minister concluded his remarks. I feel that we should be filled with the deepest thanksgiving to-day to the God of our fathers who has thus far guided our destinies through this dreadful conflict and given us the hope which we are now able to enjoy. In these two respects I wish to join with those who have already spoken, in expressing profound gratitude and thanksgiving on this Dominion day.

L'hon. LOUIS-S. ST-LAURENT (ministre de la Justice): Monsieur l'Orateur, moi aussi, c'est comme Canadien fier d'un titre qui nous convient à tous, quelle que soit notre origine, que je demande la permission d'ajouter seulement un mot, et un mot seulement.

C'est l'anniversaire de l'origine de la Confédération canadienne et en cet anniversaire, il me paraît convenable—et je suis sûr qu'il paraîtra convenable à tous les membres de cette Chambre—que l'on souligne que le titre de Canadien s'applique aux habitants d'un peuple dont le Parlement est un Parlement bilingue.

Je ne tenterai pas de refaire en français le résumé historique de ce qui a marqué les quatre derniers anniversaires de l'origine de notre Confédération. Et la raison en est tout simplement parce que les deux langues sont officielles, et que ce qui est dit dans une langue n'a pas besoin d'être répété dans l'autre; c'est dit pour tout le monde. Je tiens à m'associer expressément à la noble déclaration du très honorable premier ministre (M. Mackenzie King) que notre jeune nation entend maintenir toujours et fièrement son rôle de membre des Nations Unies reconnue partout comme membre adulte, membre important et membre *sui juris* de la famille des grandes nations conjuguées aujourd'hui pour la défense de la liberté et de la civilisation chrétienne qui constituent le patrimoine le plus précieux de chacune d'elles.

Mr. ANGUS MacINNIS (Vancouver East): In the absence of the leader of this party it is appropriate that I should say a word for our group on this anniversary of confederation. We should be thankful indeed for the improvement in the war position to-day as compared with 1940. I doubt if any member of this house can ever forget the dark days of the summer of 1940. I am sure I can never forget them, because they were the most terrible days I ever experienced.

In considering the improved position to-day I think we should try always to keep in mind how we arrived at this position. We have reached our present position through the cooperation of all the people of the united nations. It was not the work of governments; it was not the work of industrialists; it was not the work of this class or that class. It was the welding together into one whole of the combined efforts of our people for a common purpose. In that, and in that alone, lies the hope of the future. If after this war is over, if after peace comes we are not able to continue this cooperation, then I am afraid all we shall have won through suffering and bloodshed will be lost.

The Prime Minister spoke about the great achievements of this dominion, and mentioned that we have now reached the status of a great power. I believe that we have; and having reached the status of a great power we have immensely increased our responsibilities. We must no longer in the councils of the nations allow other people to make our foreign policy for us. We must exercise the power which we have now obtained.

In the reading of history I have not derived comfort from the achievements of the great powers. I do not think any great power to this day has used its power for the good of humanity. Power has been used for the creation of empires. Empires have not always been used for the welfare of humanity. If we are to be great, if we are to achieve greatness

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in the future, if we are to have peace and harmony, then we shall have to stop thinking of empire and begin thinking in terms of a world community—not Anglo-Saxon, not of only English-speaking races, but of the whole world.

Mr. GRAYDON: The hon. member will not forget the empire, will he?

Mr. T. L. CHURCH (Broadview): Mr. Speaker, I should like to say a few words in support of the splendid addresses of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King), the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon), the leader of the Social Credit party (Mr. Blackmore) and the hon. member who spoke on behalf of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Mr. MacInnis). They have rewritten to-day the axiom laid down by Sir John A. Macdonald at Kingston in 1844, with respect to the destiny of this country. I was pleased, too, to hear the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent) speak on behalf of French Canada.

Four years ago we were honoured by the visit of the king and the queen. The tremendous popularity of the monarchy was clearly demonstrated in all the provinces; in Quebec the school children turned out in such large numbers to welcome them. We are fighting this war for the right to live, but we must not forget the peace terms. The little man who saved England and who fought at Dunkirk will have something to say about those peace terms. And unless we as a dominion remain part of the British empire we shall have very little to say at the peace table. Let us not forget that we are allied with two powerful and imperialistic nations, the United States, and our great ally Russia. They may not be imperialistic in the sense that they want to grab more territory; that remains to be seen. There are many leading men, however, in those countries who do want extra territory. I say, however, that they are imperialistic only in the sense that they want to have a large share in world affairs and in the stipulation of the terms of peace.

Great Britain cannot exist after the war without the dominions. She needs them, as they need her. She has been the good Samaritan during this war to all the nations. Unless we remain closely allied with her she will become only a second class power after the war, and we shall have little or nothing to say about the terms of peace.

In this war we are fighting as an empire on the side of humanity, liberty, freedom and civilization. We will remember that the British Prime Minister said that he had not become prime minister to preside at the liquidation of the empire, or to let the empire go by default. If that were to happen, the mother country would become a second class power, at the edge of Europe.

I rejoice that this message of hope is to be sent to our troops at the front, and it pleases me that those of us who are working in the House of Commons have taken this opportunity to pay tribute to the glorious record of the mother country down through the ages, and to the part the dominions have played.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Speaker, I suggest this would be the appropriate time and occasion for hon. members to join in the singing of *O Canada*.

Whereupon the members of the house rose and sang *O Canada*.

PRIVATE BILLS

FIRST READINGS

Bill No. 111, for the relief of Gertrude Mantha Hore.—Mr. Fulford.

Bill No. 112, for the relief of Claire MacLaren Hunter Barlow.—Mr. Ross (St. Paul's).

Bill No. 113, for the relief of Mary Constance Helena Keys Bates.—Mr. Claxton.

QUESTIONS

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

SUGAR FOR CANNING PURPOSES

Mr. CRUICKSHANK:

1. What amount of sugar for canning purposes has been allotted per individual in each rural and urban ration centre in Canada?
2. What was the average amount of sugar used per housewife for canning purposes in each of the years 1939, 1940, 1941 and 1942?
3. Upon whose advice was the amount set in rationing of sugar for canning purposes in rural and urban districts this year?
4. What experience has such person or persons in practical canning?
5. Were women's organizations consulted? If so, which of them?

Mr. ABBOTT:

1. Sugar for canning purposes was allotted to the various local ration boards on the basis of 11·34 pounds per applicant.

2. The average amount of sugar used per housewife for canning purposes in 1939, 1940 and 1941 is not available. According to statistics prepared by the ration administration, 106,179,000 pounds were used for home canning purposes during 1942.

3. The home canning programme was decided upon after discussions between the sugar administration, the foods administration, the

DOMINION DAY

MESSAGES OF GREETING AND GOOD WISHES FROM REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES

On the orders of the day:

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I feel that hon. members of the house will be pleased to know that yesterday, Dominion day, I received on behalf of their governments, either by letter or by personal call, greetings to Canada, good wishes and many expressions of thanks from members of the foreign diplomatic service resident in Ottawa at this time. There were also a number of telegrams received from different countries, some of which I have felt would be of special interest to the house, and which the house might wish to have as a matter of record on *Hansard*. It will not take more than a minute or two for me to refer to them; they illustrate the appreciation felt by other countries of Canada's present position and of the assistance received from Canada during the period of the war.

One message directed to His Excellency the Governor General was from King Peter of Yugoslavia, who it will be remembered visited Ottawa not so very long ago. The message was as follows:

On the occasion of the national day of Canada I offer Your Excellency my warmest greetings and best wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the dominion and of the gallant Canadian people.

From the Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs in London, a message was addressed to myself in the following words:

I avail myself of the Canadian Dominion Day to convey to you my warmest greetings and heartfelt good wishes for the happiness and prosperity of your great nation.

A message addressed to myself as Prime Minister came from General Sikorski, Prime Minister of Poland, who is at the present time in Cairo. General Sikorski, it will be recalled, has visited Canada on two or three occasions in the course of the war:

On the occasion of your national holiday I send you and the gallant Canadian nation my heartiest congratulations, best wishes, all success. May I assure you the Polish nation and myself greatly admire Canada's magnificent contribution to the allies' cause on the battlefields of this war. By the same opportunity please accept my personal best greetings.

A communication came also from the Polish government in London, through the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, which reads:

On the occasion of Canada's day please accept, Mr. Prime Minister, the cordial greetings and heartfelt wishes of the government and people of Poland. We shall always remember with gratitude the support which your great country is so generously giving us in the hour of need. I am sure that the bonds of friendship forged during the years of our common struggle will continue after victory is achieved and contribute to the building up of a new international community.

His Excellency the President of China, Lin Sen, sent the following message to His Excellency the Governor General:

On the occasion of Dominion day, I have great pleasure in extending to you on behalf of the national government and people of China my hearty felicitations and best wishes for your personal welfare and the prosperity of Canada.

The following message was also received from Chungking, addressed to myself as Prime Minister, from Premier and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek:

On the occasion of your Dominion day I have great pleasure to extend to you my hearty felicitations. I believe that our traditional friendship which has been enhanced by comradeship in arms not only strengthens our united war effort to crush our common enemy but will stand us in good stead in our post-war cooperation to establish an enduring peace. May I also take this opportunity to express to you my personal thanks for the kind hospitality which your government and the Canadian people extended to my wife during her recent stay in your country and my best wishes for your health and the happiness of the Canadian people.

There were three or four important messages from South American countries. From the Argentine republic a communication from the Hon. Segundo R. Storni, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as follows:

It is with special pleasure that I address myself to you, the Prime Minister, to reaffirm, on the occasion of the commemoration of Dominion day the deep friendship of the government and people of my country for the government and people of Canada. The Argentine republic, linked to Canada by reason of our dwelling in the same hemisphere and by common ideals of progress, wishes to expand and consolidate the friendly relations which unite both countries.

The following message was received from the President of the Republic of Brazil, His Excellency Doctor Getrilo Vargas. It was communicated through the Minister, Doctor de Millo Franco:

The President of the republic of the United States of Brazil has instructed me by telegram to convey to you and to the Canadian people his heartiest congratulations and those of the Brazilian people on the occasion of the celebration of Dominion day. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, Doctor Oswaldo Aranha, also instructed me to congratulte you on his behalf, which I also do in my own name.

It is with great pleasure that I give course to said instructions. The commemoration of Dominion day cannot be considered by the nations of the Americas only as the celebration of a great Canadian date, but as that of a great American date, as it represents the birth of one more sister nation.

In only seventy-six years Canada has raised herself to the outstanding position she occupies to-day in the concert of nations; it is a miracle accomplished by her great people and by her leaders, and I can assure you that we Brazilians look to her with the proud admiration that a member of a same family has for the successes of another member.

The President of Brazil also sent the following message to His Excellency the Governor General:

On the seventy-sixth anniversary of the dominion I beg Your Excellency to accept my warmest wishes for the ever-increasing prosperity of Canada and for the personal welfare of Your Excellency.

A message also came from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile, Mr. Joaquin Fernandez, as follows:

In the name of the government of Chile it affords me pleasure to greet you and the Canadian people on the occasion of the anniversary of confederation and to express our best wishes for the happiness of your government and yourself.

A message as follows was received also from the Vice-President of the Republic of Uruguay, His Excellency Alberto Guani, who recently visited Canada:

I congratulate you very cordially seeing in your people and in yourself staunch and distinguished supporters of right and liberty in this hour of spiritual trial for all humanity. I renew my gratitude for the amicable welcome extended recently in your admirable country.

As I have already said, other countries having legations in Ottawa sent messages of friendliest greetings either conveyed by letter or expressed in person by their ministers.

CANADIAN NAVY

PROPORTION OF HIGH RANKING OFFICERS AS COMPARED WITH OTHER NAVIES

On the orders of the day:

Hon. ANGUS L. MACDONALD (Minister of National Defence for Naval Services): Last week the hon. member for York-Sunbury (Mr. Hanson) asked a question regarding the number of high-ranking officers in the Canadian navy, and if I am in order I should like to reply now. I am sorry that last week I gave the figure of seven as the number of those in the Canadian navy holding the rank of commodore or higher. The correct number is eight, but I was speaking from memory at the time and I had forgotten that quite recently another commodore was appointed. The total number, then, in the Canadian navy holding the rank of commodore and higher is eight, and a comparison with other navies, for which the hon. member asked as well, would run approximately as follows. The figures are not perhaps entirely exact, because it is difficult to ascertain the precise strength of other navies, but I think they are substantially correct.

In the United Kingdom there is one officer of the rank of commodore and above for every 3,000 men. In Australia there is one officer of that rank for every 5,200 men. In the United States there is one officer of that rank for every 5,500 men, and in Canada one officer of that rank for every 7,500 men. It will be seen, therefore, that the reports which the hon. gentleman received to the effect that we had a great many high-ranking officers in the Canadian navy, as compared to other navies, are not correct, but that, on the contrary, we have many less of such high-ranking officers, proportionately, than any of the other navies to which I have referred.

MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

CANCELLATION OF CONTRACT FOR BUILDING OF TUGS AT PICTOU, N.S.—REQUEST FOR RECONSIDERATION

On the orders of the day:

Mr. P. C. BLACK (Cumberland): I should like to ask the Minister of Munitions and Supply if he has been able to reconsider the cancellation of the contract for building two tugs, which was given some time ago to Ferguson Brothers in Pictou. It has been represented to me that the minister does not understand the situation in that yard. This company took on the contract in good faith; about thirty per cent of the preliminary work has been done; it has been financed entirely by the company; this concern has about a thousand men in its different undertakings, and has not encroached in the slightest degree on the operations of the other shipbuilding yards in Pictou. They feel that if they were allowed to complete their contract, as they are prepared to do, it would form the basis of a post-war industry, of which we have very few in Nova Scotia. I should like to ask the minister if he has been able to reconsider, and reconsider favourably, representations made to him by the company and by the people of Pictou and, I believe, by the government of Nova Scotia.

Hon. C. D. HOWE (Minister of Munitions and Supply): The Ferguson yard at Pictou has been enlarged to provide facilities for the repair of naval and merchant vessels. A number of other yards have also been expanded for that purpose. The question arises as to whether the facilities can be utilized for other purposes, when there is an urgent need for repair facilities. At the

D 64133

122

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

Re: July 1st

A verbal request was received from the International Service of the C.B.C. for a brief message from the Prime Minister, which could be broadcast to the world on July 1st. I suggested that a draft of the kind of thing they had in mind be submitted, and the draft is attached, together with a slight revision I have made.

I have also had the record of the past few years looked up to see what had been done about marking the day in other years. The memorandum is attached.

In view of the controversy over the designation of the day and the fact that Parliament will not be sitting, I felt some doubt as to the advisability of anything being said in addition to the statement I understand you propose to make in connection with the proclamation of the Citizenship Act. If, however, any message is to be issued, it might be desirable to phrase it in such a way that its primary purpose was to be broadcast outside Canada.

The C.B.C., of course, would like you actually to record your message. I explained that this would be difficult in view of other commitments over the next few days. There is no great advantage, in any event, in making a record because most of the international broadcasting is in foreign languages. The C.B.C. would, as a second best, be glad to have a message which they, themselves, could broadcast as coming from you.

Not authorized

J.W.P.

29.vi.46

JWP/MG
June 27, 1946.

JWP/MG
27.6.46

Revised by J.W.P.

D 64139

Message by
Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada
for broadcast on International Service, C.B.C.
July 1, 1946

Seventy-nine years ago the provinces of British North America were joined together in a federal union and a new nation came into being in the New World. In its growth and development, the Canadian nation has been nourished by the traditions and political experience of the European homelands from which our people originally came. From Britain, from France, from Europe at large, we have received much.

In the terrible years of war through which we have passed, the people of Canada have sought to do their part to preserve the free civilization which is our common heritage. We know that we cannot live alone. We know that nations

large and small, strong or weak, can only survive in a neighbourly world which knows the laws of hospitality and reciprocity. Our task, as that of any people young or old, is to assist in building a world where true national feeling can develop into world community. Today the tools of science, culture and industry are all at hand for the building of such a world society.

On this anniversary of Canadian nationhood, then, I speak not only as a Canadian citizen, but also as a world citizen. We, in Canada, look back on the seventy-nine years of our country's growth with pride. That is natural and proper. But we know that an exclusive concern for self in a nation, as in an individual, is the way of destruction; that only in mutual aid and co-operation can the life of men and nations mature and preserve and enrich itself on this earth. Only by the development of the larger sense of responsibility to a world community can any nation anywhere survive and prosper in the atomic age.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister. D 64141

re Empire Parliamentary Association

Attached are a few notes which might be helpful in introducing Mr. Eden on Tuesday. I spoke to Mr. Gordon Isnor, as head of the Canadian delegation, about one or two points of fact. He suggested that special mention be made of the following points:

1. Regret that head of United Kingdom delegation (Rt. Hon. John Wilmot) called back by governmental duties; (this to avoid impression of honouring opposition more than government M.P's.)

2. Reference to adjournment of Senate sitting in Washington in order to receive United Kingdom and Canadian delegations.

3. Value of meetings in promoting trade.

I have included the first two points, but the third seemed a little far afield.

Attached for reference is a list of Canadian delegation to Bermuda.

J.W.P.

22nd June, 1946.

D 64142

Empire Parliamentary Association

Bermuda, June 1946

Canadian delegation.

Gordon B. Isnor, M.P., (Chairman)

Senator C. B. Howard

Elie O. Bertrand, M.P.,

John Diefenbaker, M.P.,

Mark Senn, M.P.,

G. H. Castleden, M.P.,

D 64143

Empire Parliamentary Association
Canadian Branch

Introduction of
Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P.,

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Railway Committee Room, House of Commons
Tuesday, June 25 at 11.00 a.m.

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1. Pleasure to welcome six of Members of United Kingdom delegation to recent meeting of Empire Parliamentary Association in Bermuda: (regret that head of delegation, Rt. Hon. John Wilmot, obliged to return to his duties in government without coming to Canada.

D 64144

In Mr. Eden he had sent a very acceptable substitute - an old friend of Canada - already well-known in our Parliament.

2. Also pleased to welcome Mr. Holyoke of the New Zealand Parliamentary Association and our old friend, Sir Howard d'Egville.

3. Reports from Canadian delegation that meeting in Bermuda both pleasant and useful:
warmly commend Association in that meeting of 4 Senators and 4 Representatives from the Congress of the United States;

recall first joint meeting of Empire Parliamentary Association and a group of U.S. Congressmen held in Ottawa - a splendid practice to continue.

D 64145

4. The freedom of mankind has been preserved in our day from the greatest menace it ever faced; during long, hard fight we reflected as never before on inner meaning of freedom itself;

Parliament is the heart of a free nation; the central source of political liberty.

5. By widening association of Members of Parliament not only of Commonwealth, but of other free nations, freedom itself is being strengthened.

D 64146

6. Recent meeting in Bermuda and subsequent visit of British and Canadian delegations to Washington productive of good will:

have been asked by Mr. Gordon Isnor who headed Canadian delegation to express appreciation of unusual courtesy of United States Senate in suspending its sitting to receive United Kingdom and Canadian visitors and introduce them formally to the Senate.

D 64147

7. Not my function to make speech - merely to welcome our fellow-Parliamentarians to the capital city and Parliament of Canada and to invite our friend Mr. Anthony Eden to speak to the Members of both Houses.

8. Mr. Eden needs no introduction - honoured in Canada as a sympathetic former Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs; as a frequent visitor to Canada; as a distinguished former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; as an outstanding Parliamentarian; but above all, as a <u>citizen of the world</u> who has given of his best to the promotion of peace and international understanding among nations.

JAG/ D64148

EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION
Meeting, Railway Committee Room
Tuesday, June 25, 1946

Remarks by Prime Minister introducing

Rt. Hon. ANTHONY EDEN, M.P.

6 Very pleased to welcome an old and always-welcome friend to Ottawa:

recall visits in wartime on urgent business connected with the war:

(Quebec Conference, 1943
" " 1944)

visit to Ottawa, April, 1943, when he spoke to Members of Parliament in House of Commons chamber.

6 very pleased also to welcome Mr. Eden as a distinguished PARLIAMENTARIAN:

through his own Ministerial career -

best known as Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs (in recent years of first importance in U.K. House of Commons);

(other Ministerial Posts as Lord Privy Seal (League of Nations Affairs);
shorter periods at War Office
Dominions Office

latterly (and until G.E. 1945) had title of LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

over the past year frequently Leader of the Opposition

6 in every way a leading and respected Parliamentary figure.

D64149 2

6 Mr. Eden and his fellow-members of U.K. H of C are visiting Canada on morrow of meetings in London of Commonwealth Ministers,

where we had much in mind the questions of

CONSULTATION and CO-OPERATION within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

6 recall that in a striking address in 1943 (before General Assmebly of Maryland)

1) Mr Eden described the SYMBOL of the Br. Commonwealth

"grown up in the thought of co-operatio

as a model for co-operation among all the United Nations

(pattern for effort in wartime; now to be continued in establishment of peace)

2) 6 Recall also Mr. Eden's assurance at that time that the British Commonwealth

"is not static society"

shrinking from change or fearful of the future; but is instead

capable of continuing development.

6 Neither are these principles of consultation and co-operation of limited application; they extend to whole world

6 Visits such a present one organized by E.P.A. a very gratifying assurance of realization that these principles do extend beyond a limited application;

also the more gratifying because of meetings in Bermuda held in conjunction with members of the Congress of the United States.

Co-operation on this joint basis never more important than at the present time;

hope that new friendships made as a result of this visit, and of the discussions on many matters of common interest and concern will be of lasting benefit to all members.

D 64151

fm 122

U.K. GOVERNMENT LUNCHEON
Lancaster House, May 23rd, 1946.

Notes for reply by Prime Minister of Canada.

Acknowledgment of greetings by Lord Addison.

First meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers since Lord Addison became Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

Change of Government makes no change in Commonwealth Relations - continuance of same cordial personal relations and same constant and continuous co-operation.

Between Canada and United Kingdom, as between other Commonwealth nations, Offices of High Commissioners provide one of the principal links.

Not an inappropriate time to refer to services rendered both countries in years of war by Rt.Hon.Malcolm MacDonald and Rt.Hon.Vincent Massey- both of whose terms of office have so recently ended.

/While

While emphasis needed from time to time of the comprehensive and continuous machinery for consultation within the Commonwealth, all are agreed as to the great value of personal and informal talks between Prime Ministers and other leading Ministers of State.

Especially useful at a time of world crisis when the future of mankind is being shaped for generations and perhaps for centuries, that utmost of wisdom and experience be brought effectively to bear upon world problems.

Each Government in Commonwealth makes its own decisions, but all can contribute to and share in a commonwealth of knowledge.

Real purpose of meetings such as the present is to enlarge the commonwealth of knowledge on which wise decisions and sane action can be based.

Recall mission of British Commonwealth to serve the wider interests of all humanity.

Express appreciation of wide measure of identity of view and of interest

/of

of the nations of the Commonwealth - firm agreement among all that survival itself depends upon understanding, good-will and co-operation among leading nations of the world.

The "One World" we all seek can be built solidly only if it is founded upon the principles of freedom and justice - it is only in this large sense that we can truly speak of Commonwealth interests and Commonwealth policies.

mentary session [illegible] JAC

Parliamentary Dinner to
Welcome the Prime Minister

June 18, 1946

D 64154

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1) Much appreciate co-operation of all parties in making possible visit to Britain (5 weeks in all);

had intended to make visit to

Germany
France
Belgium
Netherlands

also to battlefields where Canadians fell

feel now that absence for an additional 2 weeks might seriously have delayed the business of Parliament

general anxiety to conclude necessary business

budget
redistribution
supply &c

without undue extension of Parliamentary session into late summer.

D 64155

2) Journeys in Retrospect

a) my own journey to Britain, 1946

4th during past five years
(1941, 1944, 1945, 1946)

a high point in Commonwealth
co-operation

realizing now the fruits of
discussion and conviction
expressed at time of conferences
of 1923, 1926

realizing also the strength of
the Commonwealth in terms of
free association

(see final communique of May 24)

and the developments arising out
of Responsible Government.

b) Journeys in Political Ideas

In 1932 Responsible Government had
not yet appeared as the solution
to political evils and political
deadlock in the Canadas,

Yet within 5 years Responsible
Government became the corner-
stone of the future organization
of the British Commonwealth

c) Mackenzie's Journey to Downing St. 1832

report on grievances

concern for commercial legislation (Bank Act disallowed as result of Mackenzie's representations)

a new voice in Empire Councils of that day.

the battle for Responsible Government had still to be fought out in Canada

the rounding out of this journey of 114 years ago during present visit to London

dinner at 10, Downing St. June 7

reflections on constitutional progress and personal example in public life

d) Journeys in time

In 1832 when Mackenzie went to London it took as long to go from Quebec to York as it nowadays takes to come by sea and rail from London to Ottawa.

Today, London is closer to Ottawa by air than London was to Paris by ordinary transport 50 years ago.

the shrinking of space and time

sets a new value & a new urgency) on political (co-operation and) international under- (standing

a reminder also of the place of Canada in the community of nations, and of this never prouder than on present journey to Britain and return.

Renewed thanks to members of all parties f
for welcome and good wishes.

Notes for Remarks D 64158

Parliamentary Dinner to
Welcome the Prime Minister.

Parliamentary Restaurant

Tuesday, June 18, 1946.

Appreciation of:

Whips of own party who organized dinner;

Leaders and Members of other parties for joining in welcome;

Spirit of Parliament which enables all groups to forget party differences in personal and social relationships.

Evidence of strength of our free institutions that we can differ sharply about policies and yet maintain a strong and united country

Great Advantage of going abroad is:

deepened appreciation of Canada gained with each visit and great pleasure of coming home.

Pleasure of home-coming is greatly enhanced by this most generous manifestation of good-will.

Years of Service

Thank leaders of other parties for reference to many years of service as Prime Minister.

Understand a number of references now being made to Sir Robert Walpole - do not take these too seriously either as a threat or as a promise.

D 64160

Mr. Bracken can speak with the experience behind him of 20 years as Premier of a Province: one thing I can promise - unlike Mr. Bracken, I shall not set out at this stage of my career looking for new worlds to conquer;

Most grateful to Mr. Bracken, Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Low for their efforts in my absence to keep the government in office -

efforts seem to have succeeded very well.

Perhaps I should also thank them and their followers for all they have done to speed up the business of Parliament.

D 64181

World Situation and Unity of Canada.

Even on this festive occasion feel one serious note should be struck.

Have returned from Britain more impressed than ever with gravity of world situation and with need of all parties and all men of good will in every country working together to prevent the disaster of another war.

All of us, in this room, in our different ways are seeking to serve the people of Canada.

Meeting together tonight is evidence of our underlying unity on essentials -
we are a sort of mirror in Parliament of the unity of Canada.

My hope is NOT that our differences will all be resolved - if they were there would be no place for party politics and most of us would be unemployed

My hope is rather than we may continue to settle our differences by debate, discussion and the ballot - in our time honoured constitutional way - within the framework of a basic unity which will ever serve to increase the strength and influence of Canada in the councils of the nations.

D 64163

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

On Wednesday I telephoned to the Honourable W. J. Stewart to inform him that you regretted that you would not be able to be present for the opening of the Sunnybrook Hospital on the 26th of September. I also wrote Mr. Stewart, confirming the information given in my telephone call.

Mr. Stewart said that he was very sorry you could not come, but expressed complete understanding of your position and of the pressure of matters requiring your attention at present. He was most friendly and said that if at any time it proved possible for you to get down to Toronto he would see that some sort of occasion was made on which it would be appropriate for you to visit the new hospital, possibly on a tour of inspection.

A set of notes for a possible brief address, if you attended the opening ceremony, had been prepared here and they have now been revised in such a way that they might be useful on the occasion of any visit of inspection that might prove possible at a later date. A copy of the revised notes is attached hereto.

--

R.G.R.

September 20th, 1946.

RGR:RB

D 64184

Visit of

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

to Sunnybrook Hospital

NOTES

1. Greeting to Patients

-Pleasure and happiness at being present to meet patients and to see magnificent hospital.

-No doubt that many comments referring to Sunnybrook as one of finest hospitals in existence are true.

2. Care of Veterans

-Best care and comfort possible small token of gratitude to those who served country so valiantly in time of need.

-Sincere hope that excellent service afforded in beautiful surroundings will assist in rapid recovery of patients.

3. Building of Hospital

-First sod turned Armistice Day, 1943, by Hon. Ian Mackenzie.

-Difficulties encountered in construction, shortages of labour, materials.

-Congratulations and thanks to:

-Greater Toronto Veterans Hospital Committee.

-Women's Emergency Committee for War Hospitals.

-All those citizens of this great city of Toronto and others throughout Canada who by their generous contributions of money and comforts helped to make this hospital what it is to-day.

4. People of Canada

-Wish to make it clear that hospital built by people of Canada.

-Government but an agent and trustee.

5. Future of Hospital

-For veterans as long as required.

-Then perhaps serve needs of community.

6. Peace

-Hope that ravages of war will never again return.

-More than any others, the men who have gone through war know its horrors.

-Aim must be to see that never again do men, women, children have to endure the even greater horrors of another war.

-All energies devoted to making a lasting peace.

-Task not simple.

-Peace only achieved through patience, understanding, adherence to "principles of justice and equity" and by hard work.

Draft Outline of Topics

File

D 64186

International Ploughing Match

October 18, 1946.

The "Plough" as a Symbol

Three forms of gathering FOOD:

1. hunting
2. fishing
3. farming

symbolized by:

1. gun
2. boat
3. plough

Hunting and Fishing both largely dependent on the bounty of nature gathered often with hardship and always with adventure

Farming dependent also on NATURE, but on Nature cultivated - mixed with - the labour of men.

The very word LABOUR derived from the French word LABOURER which means "to plough".

Ploughing is the foundation of cultivation of the soil (might say just a word in a semi-humourous way about new theories of ploughing - a memo is being prepared.)

D 64167

(Also perhaps an allusion to new 8¢ stamp with left-handed plow often used in Maritimes but not in Ontario).

Plough is the most characteristic of all agricultural implements - in a broader sense it is the symbol of all useful peaceful pursuits. "Beat your swords into plough-shares".

Ploughing is the first stage of cultivation.

Two uses of the word cultivation - one applied to the soil, the other to the human mind.

We speak of educated men and women as "cultivated".

Cultivation, the symbol of human advancement and civilization.

The Plough and the Sword

One the symbol of PEACE; the other of WAR --
the plough brings growth and life
the sword: destruction and death

For six years the world has lived under
the sway of the sword -- the peace-
loving peoples turned, reluctantly and
late, to defend mankind from a permanent
reign of the sword.

Even in war the plough was as potent a
weapon as the sword;
food was an essential munition,
Canada one of the great granaries and
store-houses of freedom.
No better occasion to express the nation's
and the free world's appreciation to
the farmers for their service in war.

Food is also the vital munition of PEACE.

In a real sense, the future of the world today in the hands of the man at the plough.

Years of war have filled all nations and classes with unease and unrest -- a great upheaval, which even farmers -- one of the most stable and dependable groups in community -- have not escaped.

Nations count heavily on farmers not only for food, but for the sense of security and stability required in a peaceful community.

But farmers, too, want security and stability; none more ready to do their part, but they seek in return, stable and dependable incomes and a fair share of the good things of life.

Not the occasion to speak of advances
in farm security
- floors under farm prices,
farm improvement loans,
rural housing,
greater opportunities for children
through family allowances --
But never before was there a greater
realization of the community's debt to
the farmer and a greater determination
on the part of all to ensure to the
farmer his proper place in the community.

The great struggle between the sword and
the plough has brought us closer to
the fundamentals of life.

The ploughman is the real peace-maker;
both he who ploughs the earth, and he
who seeks to stir up men's minds and
to cultivate their understanding --

Peace-making

Understand the traditional aim of the ploughman is to "plough a straight furrow"

Here, again, the aim of the ploughman is the aim of the peacemaker -- the straight furrow of the peacemaker is the pursuit of JUSTICE.

The same qualities required; patience, perseverance, singleness of purpose, hard qualities to maintain amid the vexations and irritations of international relations in a period of transition and turmoil.

To strike a personal note:

Much of my time since the end of the war in Europe given to the problems of peacemaking in the broad sense.

At San Francisco -- on V-E Day

In Ottawa, seeking with the provinces a domestic peace of co-operation, when the first atomic bomb fell on Japan --

At Washington, in November, with President Truman and Mr. Attlee, to consider the problems of the atomic bomb --

At London, in May, to consider with sister nations of the Commonwealth co-operation in the restoration of peace --

At Paris, in July and August, to share in drafting the treaties with Italy and the European satellites of Germany --

(Here, I think, some general conclusions should be drawn as to the situation of the world today -- on this section I would appreciate more guidance.)

D 64173

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

In accordance with your instructions I have checked into the train connections available for a trip to the plowing match at Port Albert. Port Albert itself is not on a railway and the best arrangement would be to go to Goderich and drive the remaining 15 miles, which would be over highway No. 21. To include a stop at Kitchener on the way to the match, railway connections available are as follows:

Ottawa - Toronto

Pool	-	9.20 a.m.	-	5.25 p.m.
		3.15 p.m.	-	9.45 p.m.
		11.00 p.m.	-	7.10 a.m.

Toronto - Kitchener

C.N.R.	-	7.30 a.m.	-	9.58 a.m.
		5.00 p.m.	-	6.43 p.m.
		6.05 p.m.	-	8.19 p.m.
		11.55 p.m.	-	2.04 a.m.

Kitchener - Goderich

C.N.R.	-	10.05 a.m.	-	12.35 p.m.
		8.31 p.m.	-	11.00 p.m.

Goderich - Toronto

C.N.R.	-	5.40 a.m.	-	10.00 a.m.
		2.35 p.m.	-	8.20 p.m.

Toronto - Ottawa

Pool	-	9.15 a.m.	-	5.30 p.m.
		4.00 p.m.	-	10.20 p.m.
		11.25 p.m.	-	7.20 a.m.

There are no satisfactory C.P.R. connections between Kitchener and Goderich.

It would appear from the above that the principal difficulty might be on the return connections. The 5.40 a.m. train from Goderich on Saturday, October 19th, would get into Toronto at 10.00 a.m., and would involve a stay there until 4.00 p.m. or 11.25 p.m. The best schedule for the trip, if Kitchener is to be visited en route to Port Albert, would seem to be as follows:

Tues.	Oct. 15	- Lv. Ottawa	-	11.00 p.m.
Wed.	Oct. 16	- Arr. Toronto	-	7.10 a.m.
Thurs.	Oct. 17	- Lv. Toronto	-	7.30 a.m.
		- Arr. Kitchener	-	9.58 a.m.
Fri.	Oct. 18	- Lv. Kitchener	-	10.05 a.m.
		- Arr. Goderich	-	12.35 p.m.
		Drive to Port Albert		
Sat.	Oct. 19	- Lv. Goderich	-	5.40 a.m.
		- Arr. Toronto	-	10.00 a.m.
		- Lv. Toronto	-	4.00 p.m.
		- Arr. Ottawa	-	10.20 p.m.

(An alternative would be to stay in Toronto until 11.25 p.m. on Saturday and get back to Ottawa at 7.20 a.m. on Sunday.)

An alternative schedule might be to leave Ottawa a day later (Wednesday night instead of Tuesday) and visit Kitchener on the return portion of the journey rather than on the outward trip. Connections between Toronto - Goderich-Kitchener - Toronto on this basis would be as follows:

Arrive Toronto - 7.10 a.m. - Thursday, Oct. 17
Stay in Toronto Thursday.

<u>Toronto - Goderich</u>

<u>C.N.R.</u>	-	7.30 a.m.	- 12.35 p.m.
		6.05 p.m.	- 11.00 p.m.

<u>Goderich - Kitchener</u>

<u>C.N.R.</u>	-	5.40 a.m.	- 8.03 a.m.
		2.35 p.m.	- 5.31 p.m.

Kitchener - Toronto

C.N.R.	-	6.03 a.m.	-	8.10 a.m.
		8.12 a.m.	-	10.00 a.m.
		5.45 p.m.	-	8.00 p.m.
		9.20 p.m.	-	11.00 p.m.

Leave Toronto 11.25 p.m. - Arrive Ottawa 7.20 a.m.

A possible schedule on the above basis would be as follows:

Wed. Oct. 16	-	Lv. Ottawa	-	11.00 p.m.
Thurs. Oct. 17	-	Arr. Toronto	-	7.10 a.m.
Fri. Oct. 18	-	Lv. Toronto	-	7.30 a.m.
	-	Arr. Goderich	-	12.35 p.m.
		Drive to Port Albert		
Sat. Oct. 19	-	Lv. Goderich	-	5.40 a.m.
		Arr. Kitchener	-	8.03 a.m.
		Lv. Kitchener	-	5.45 p.m.
		Arr. Toronto	-	8.00 p.m.
		Lv. Toronto	-	11.25 p.m.
Sun. Oct. 20	-	Arr. Ottawa	-	7.20 a.m.

The principal difference in the two schedules is that on the above basis Wednesday could be spent in Ottawa, whereas on the former it could not.

R. G. R.

8th October, 1946.

D 64176

Government Dinner
in honour of
Mr. and Mrs. R.M.Barrington-Ward
Country Club
Friday, November 1, 1946

Great pleasure to welcome to national capital a staunch friend of Canada

Mr. Barrington-Ward
Editor of The Times of London
since 1941

During the years of war the Government of Canada welcomed editors and publishers from many lands

and they in turn contributed materially to making known

war effort of Canada
organization of government
system of wartime controls over prices, etc.

Throughout these same years The Times was generous in the space it gave to Canadian questions

for much of this period served in Ottawa by a gentleman of high achievements and discernment
(Mr. Alexander Inglis)

 D 64177

Two pre-eminent characteristics of utmost importance:

1) full and fair reporting of news from all over the world

- a vital necessity in a free society,

2) journalistic enterprise amid conditions of unusualy difficulty

London under repeated enemy air attacks from 1940 until well into 1945

incendiary bombs
high-explosive
flying bombs
rockets

yet The Times never missed a single issue - even tho its building in Printing-House Square suffered a direct hit.

Shortages of newsprint (restrictions somewhat relaxed five weeks ago)

yet The Times was able to begin publication of an Air Mail edition on India paper which marks a new high level in newspaper production.

D 64173

R. M. Barrington-Ward

first association with The Times
dates back to 1913

there after European war in which
3 times mentioned in despatches
and awarded Distinguished Service
Order, Military Cross

1919-1927 Assistant Editor of
The Observer

1927 to present with The Times.

Balliol College, Oxford

Barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn.

D 64179

THE TIMES of London

1785 founded by John Walter as
The Daily Universal Register

1788 The Times

1812 first association with the paper
of John Walter II (to 1847)

organized system of foreign
correspondents and other
agencies for rapid transmission
of news
(e.g. first news of Battle
of Waterloo)

1869 John Walter III revolutionized
the mechanical processes of
printing by introduction of
the Walter steam press (d.1894)

then a succession of proprietors
among whom Lord Northcliffe
acquired a controlling interest.

After his death

1922 controlling interest passd to
present publisher, Col. the Hon.
J.J.Astor

1932 The Times printed from type
specially designed for print
reading

D 64180

A succession of distinguished men filled the editor's chair, among whom the best known were:

Thomas Barnes (1817-1841)

John T. Delane (1841-1877)
(appointed by John Walter II - The Times nicknamed "The Thunderer")

Thomas Chenery

George Earl Buckle

Geoffrey Dawson

H. Wickham Steed	1919-1922
Geoffrey Dawson	1923-1941
R.M.Barrington-Ward	1941-

Dawson: Fellow of All Souls association with Lord Milner in South Africa; a Rhodes Trustee

Wichham Steed: long aquaintance with Central Europe and author of many books on European politics.

D 64181

On November 25, 1944, THE TIMES published No. 50,000.

In a comment on the long history leading up to this landmark, the paper said:

" . . The efforts of The Times on behalf of the sick and wounded in the Crimea, chiefly though the despatches of William Howard Russell, the first of a long and honourabe line of war correspondents, led to the organization by Florence Nightingale of a party of nurses to go out to the Crimea. The end of the was saw The Times, as well as Britain, crowned with a brillinat series of victories. It had pressed the struggle to a successful conclusion, saved the remnant of an army, established new standards of treatment for casualties in the field, and destroyed a Ministry. The Press had become a power in Britain and in the world. . ."

Memorandum for the Prime Minister D 64182

In connection with the dinner this evening for Mr. and Mrs. Barrington-Ward, you might think it would be of interest in your remarks to make some reference to the unusually distinguished record of Mr. Barrington-Ward's immediate family.

Mr. Barrington-Ward's father was the Rev. Canon M. J. Barrington-Ward, D.D., Rector of Duloe in Cornwall, and up until 1938 there were five of his sons listed in Who's Who. The eldest son, Frederic Temple Barrington-Ward, died on February 22, 1938, but in the 1946 edition of Who's Who the other four brothers remain listed. In addition to the notable fact of having five brothers listed in this publication, it is also worth remarking that each has achieved distinction in a different line of activity. The salient points concerning the brothers are as follows:

1. Frederic Temple B.-W.(1880-1938): Barrister at Law of Lincoln's Inn and Middle Temple; K.C., 1919; Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, 1923; Metropolitan Police Magistrate and Justice of the Peace for Sussex; won the Vinerian Law Scholarship at Oxford and was subsequently Fellow of All Souls College.

2. Sir Lancelot Edward B.-W.(1884-): Surgeon to His Majesty the King since 1936; Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons; awarded K.C.V.O., 1935; in addition to being a distinguished surgeon was formerly a noted Rugby player, Captain for Edinburgh University, 1908; played for England (International) on four occasions.

...

3. Lt. Col. Victor Michael B.-W. (1887-): Graduated in Civil Engineering; entered railway work and now Divisional General Manager, L.N.E.R.; in First World War mentioned in despatches four times, awarded D.S.O., 1916; awarded Croix de Guerre with Palm by France; created C.B.E., 1945.

4. Robert M'Gowan B.-W.: Editor of The Times since 1941; previously Assistant Editor of The Times, 1927-41, and Assistant Editor of The Observer, 1919-27. Served in the First World War; awarded M.C. and D.S.O., 1918; mentioned three times in despatches.

5. John Grosvenor B.-W. (1894-): Student (i.e. Fellow) and Classical Tutor, Christ Church, Oxford. Served in the First World War as Captain in the Royal Marine Artillery; appointed student of Christ Church, 1919, librarian of Christ Churdh, 1928-38; published contributions to "The Mind of Rome", 1926; Governor of Westminster School since 1920.

JWP/DM
Nov. 1, 1946.

211

"The Times" and Anglo-American Relations

D 64184

Generally think of the Times as a characteristically English institution, but in truth The Times is one of the great links between England and this continent.

The link supplied through ownership of the great newspaper by Major John Jacob Astor distinguished member of a great Anglo-American family.

Under ownership of Lord Northcliffe (the first great commercial newspaper owner) the Times lost influence and prestige: it was restored to its original position of influence when purchased by Major Astor in 1922 - that position secured for the future by the creation of a trust to ensure the maintenance of its distinctive character.

The Times is the most celebrated newspaper published in the English language: it is fitting that it should be owned by a family which did so much to ensure the spread of the English language across this continent and, in trade, around the world.

The first John Jacob Astor established Astoria in the future Oregon territory. His great fur trading enterprise did much to ensure that English, rather than Spanish or Russian,

became the language of the Pacific slope of North America.

The Astor family were great pioneers in the China trade and had thereby a large share in opening the Far East to English speaking influences and civilization.

American origin of the English branch of Astor family reflected in strong sympathy of the Times for the New World.

D 64186

122

Suggested Outline

The First Year of Peace

Employment

1. Broad outlines of Liberal post-war policy laid down by Prime Minister in A.F.L. speech, Toronto, Oct. 9, 1942.
Prime objectives can be summed up in 5 words - Abroad - Peace; At Home - Employment.

2. This broadcast is concerned with Employment in the First Year of Peace.
   (a) Quote Liberal creed on employment from Toronto speech (p.5 - as marked)
   (b) Recognition of what is needed to maintain employment (P.M's Winnipeg speech, Red book p.63) (see marked passage)

3. The four sources of employment
   (a) exports
   (b) consumption
   (c) private capital investment
   (d) governmental spending on works and development
   (Outline very briefly what done to encourage (a) (b) (c))

D 64187

4. Balancing the Manpower Budget just as essential as balancing the Financial Budget.

How do we intend to balance the manpower budget? Here give in brief non-technical language white paper plan for cyclical budgetting and planned works and developments - in other words, public investment - the balance wheel in planned "full employment".

5. Co-operation with provinces essential to full success, since provinces have large place in public works and natural resources - one of long-term aims of Dominion proposals to D-P Conference.

6. Give present picture - noting that full employment exists and giving careful definition of full employment i.e. not a job for every man every day - only possible with regimentation - but an abundance of jobs making changes in employment with industrial and social progress relatively easy.

D 64183

7. Conclude with point that <u>full employment</u> has become essential to <u>preservation of a free society</u> - men will never stand again for mass unemployment - All who really believe in free enterprise must therefore work for full employment. Liberal party the only one with a policy fully worked out in detail to maintain full employment.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 64189

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister.

122

Re: Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

Attached are:

1. Memorandum re agenda for meeting;

2. List of officers;

3. Suggested points for a few brief remarks.

These last are, I am afraid, very sketchy.

J. W. P.

10th September, 1946.

JWP:McK.

Copy for Press

Officers of Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

President	-Donald A. MacDonald, Alexandria.
Immediate Past Pres.	-J. T. Richard, M.P., Ottawa.
1st Vice Pres.	-Mrs. R. K. Patterson, (wife of Dr. Patterson, Ottawa)
2nd " "	-Hugh C. Willson, (Barrister of Perth)
3rd " "	-Henri Proulx, (Barrister of L'Orignal)
Secty.-Treasurer	-J. C. Allen, Ottawa.
Recording-Treasurer	-Mrs. W. T. O'Regan, Ottawa.
	One Director from each of the 12 Constituencies makes up the rest of Executive.

D 64191

Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

Suggested Points for the Prime Minister.

Present in two capacities:

(a) the Member for Glengarry

(b) the Leader of the Liberal Party

Brief word as to importance of

ORGANIZATION

Organization - not end in itself

means to end of promoting:

Liberal policies and principles

Keynote of Liberals today should be:

Freedom, but freedom in the

community

Survival of freedom depends on survival of organized life in the community -

A truth to emphasize both in <u>industrial</u> and <u>international</u> relations.

Individual or group which disregards or defies the community is, in fact, working to destroy his own ultimate freedom and welfare -

Similarly with nations over all nations is the community of mankind itself -

One simple thought to leave
with you today as we strive
for peace and security at
home and throughout the world.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 64194

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister

file

12-2

Re: Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

Attached are:

1. Memorandum re agenda for meeting;

2. List of officers;

3. Suggested points for a few brief remarks.

These last are, I am afraid, very sketchy.

J. W. P.

10th September, 1946.

D 64195

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Re: Annual Meeting Eastern Ontario
Liberal Association.
Chateau Laurier, Wednesday,
September 11th.

I am informed by the Secretary, Mr. J.C. Allen, that there is no prepared agenda for the Meeting to-morrow. However, he gave me a rough draft of the proceedings, which are as follows:

10 A.M. -Opening address by President;
Reports of Officers and Committees;
General discussion on Meeting of Liberal Association to be held in London, Ontario, September 28th, as regards the choosing of a new Leader;
Report of Nominating Committee, possibly followed by election of Officers.

1 P.M. -Luncheon - Quebec Suite.

Mr. Allen stated that it was quite possible all business of the Meeting would be completed about one o'clock.

G.J.M.

September 10th, 1946.

D 64196/22

Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

Suggested Points for
the Prime Minister.

Present in two capacities:

(a) the Member for Glengarry

(b) the Leader of the Liberal Party

Brief word as to importance of

ORGANIZATION

Organization - not end in itself

means to end of promoting:

Liberal policies and principles

Keynote of Liberals today should be:

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Individual or group which disregards or defies the community is, in fact, working to destroy his own ultimate freedom and welfare -

Similarly with nations over all nations is the community of mankind itself -

One simple thought to leave with you today as we strive for peace and security at home and throughout the world.

D 64199

Officers of Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

President	-Donald A. MacDonald, Alexandria.
Immediate Past Pres.	-J. T. Richard, M.P., Ottawa.
1st Vice Pres.	-Mrs. R. K. Patterson, (wife of Dr. Patterson, Ottawa)
2nd " "	-Hugh C. Willson, (Barrister of Perth)
3rd " "	-Henri Proulx, (Barrister of L'Orignal)
Secty.-Treasurer	-J. C. Allen, Ottawa.
Recording-Treasurer	-Mrs. W. T. O'Regan, Ottawa.
	One Director from each of the 12 Constituencies makes up the rest of Executive.

D 64200

Officers of Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

President	-Donald A. MacDonald, Alexandria.
Immediate Past Pres.	-J. T. Richard, M.P., Ottawa.
1st Vice Pres.	-Mrs. R. K. Patterson, (wife of Dr. Patterson, Ottawa)
2nd " "	-Hugh C. Willson, (Barrister of Perth)
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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
100		Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D63943 - D63986	
100		Hoover, Hon. Herbert. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 63987 - D 64004	
100		Record of Mackenzie King Administration. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 64005 - D 64076	
100		Peace Conference, Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 64077 - D 64089	
100		Speech at Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 64090 - D 64113	
100		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1946	D 64114 - D 64200	
100		Fundamental Principles of Liberalism, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 64201 - D 64268	
101		St. Laurent, Hon. Louis S. Complimentary Banquet, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 64269 - D 64615	

(For release at 8.30 p.m. E.S.T., December 11, 1946)

D 64201

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF LIBERALISM

Unity, Security and Freedom

National Broadcast by The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister of Canada.

Ottawa, December 11, 1946.

The present broadcast is one in a series designed by the C.B.C. to give the Canadian public a better understanding of the principles and policies of the several political parties. On earlier occasions, some of my colleagues have spoken on particular policies of the present Administration. Tonight, I intend to speak to you in more general terms. I wish to re-state, in the light of conditions as they exist today, and more particularly as they are related to the future, certain fundamental principles of the Liberal Party of Canada.

The purpose of political parties.

But, first, a word about political parties themselves. Principles and policies are of little avail unless means can be found whereby like-minded men and women are able to make their principles and policies prevail. A political party is a means to this end.

A political party is not an end in itself. It is the means whereby men and women gain the public support required to enable them to carry out their policies.

D 64202

There may be many shades and varieties of opinion on specific points within the ranks of a political party. If, however, those who, broadly speaking, feel and think alike on the great questions of the day, do not combine under some banner which enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold other views will be only too ready to profit by their divisions.

The value of tradition and experience to a political party.

One hears, from time to time, a great deal about the old political parties, as though tradition and experience should count for nothing in politics. In other spheres of activity, tradition and experience are regarded as the most valuable of assets. The members of churches, of regiments, of institutions of learning, of business concerns, all point with pride to what years of continuous service have meant to these organizations. There is no reason why a political party should not be equally proud of its many years of existence and of office. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, does not arise from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past. The danger arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

The danger of a multiplicity of parties.

A multiplicity of parties has proven a misfortune in all countries where they have existed. Under democratic government, party organization is the one sure method by which the majority can give effect to its will. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating a like folly in our own land. What is needed in Canada is not a confusion of political parties which tend to set class against class and province against province. What Canada needs are parties which serve to unite its people and its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a party we have in the Liberal Party of Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

Unity - a basic principle of Liberalism.

The basic principles of the Liberal party may be summed up in the words: Unity, Security, Freedom. To maintain national unity and to strive for world unity; to extend social security and to co-operate for international security; to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom; these are the fundamental aims of the Liberal party.

It is a basic principle of Liberalism that all its policies should make for national unity. That unity, Liberals believe, cannot be achieved unless the party itself is nation-wide in its organization and membership. Its strength may vary from province to province. Its fortunes may fluctuate from time to time. What is important, however, is that the same principles and policies should be advocated by the party in each and every province, and that the party's outlook should at all times be national, not provincial nor local.

The general interest - another basic principle.

Another fundamental principle of Liberalism is that the party's policies should serve the general interest rather than particular interests. In all Liberal policies, class interests must be subordinated to the interests of the community. Liberalism recognizes that we are all members one of another, and that, for this reason, the liberty of each is circumscribed by the liberty of all. It recognizes equally that, in the long run, the good of all is the good of each.

Giving to this principle its immediate and practical application, let me say that the Liberal Party in Canada exists to serve the interests of the people as a whole, not the interest of any particular class or group in the country, or of any particular section of the country. This, too, is an essential of national unity.

The first question which should be asked about any political party which aims at government in the federal field is: Are its policies framed in the interests of all? And next: Has the party a broad national outlook? Indeed, in the world of today, in times like the present, it is imperative, in the national interest, to go even further, and ask: Has the party a world outlook? Of the Liberal Party of Canada, all these questions can be answered in the affirmative.

Security and Freedom - also Basic Principles.

Of Security and Freedom it may be said that they are opposite sides of the same shield. One cannot be free without a sense of security. One cannot feel secure so long as freedom itself is threatened. The essence of both security and freedom, it seems to me, lies in the elimination of fear. Fear, in some measure, will always be present. In one respect, it is Nature's method of breeding caution. Excessive fear, however, is paralysing in its effect. As fears increase, men lose their sense of security. With the loss of security, freedom also disappears.

There is, however, more to freedom than merely freedom from fear. Freedom also has its positive side. On the positive side, Freedom may perhaps best be defined as opportunity for the individual, free from undue fear, to develop his whole personality.

D 64206

Freedom gained and to be won

In Canada, we are happily free from many of the fears which in other lands circumscribe security and freedom. We have freedom of speech and of the press; we have religious freedom; we have freedom of assembly; we have freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; we are free to choose and change our governments. We did not always have these freedoms. To defend personal freedom, religious freedom, political freedom will always remain a first duty of Liberals. A no less important duty which Liberalism demands of its followers is that they strive without ceasing to extend the frontiers of freedom.

Social and economic objectives

While some of the old fears have disappeared or lessened, other fears have made their presence more strongly felt. Next to the fear of war, the great fears in men's minds today are social and economic fears. The fear of unemployment; the fear of sickness, accident and disability; the fears that come with the death of the breadwinner; the fear of poverty in old age; the fear for the home and the family; these are the great fears born of modern industrialism subject as it has been to the recurrent dangers of inflation and depression. Until these fears are removed, complete freedom will not have been achieved.

This is a large task. It will not be completed in a year. Perhaps not in generations. Nevertheless, to press on towards the goal of social and economic freedom is the great task of Liberalism. Of recent years, much has been accomplished. Old age pensions, pensions for the blind, unemployment insurance, floors under farm prices, family allowances: all these are examples of measures introduced by Liberal Administrations. But something more is needed than remedies for social disabilities and economic misfortunes. Prevention, where possible, is always better than cure. What are most needed are policies to encourage production, and enterprise and trade, a high level of employment and a rising national income. In this period of transition from war to peace, these have been foremost among the objectives of the Liberal Party in Canada. In furthering these objectives we seek to afford ample scope to individual energy, individual enterprise, and individual initiative.

Freedom and World Security.

But, if we are to enjoy freedom, it is not in our country alone that freedom must be maintained and extended by the elimination of fear. Everyone knows that the greatest of all fears today continues to be the fear of aggression and of war. The fear of a possible future war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of security and freedom.

Nations today are dependent upon one another. Ours is an interdependent world. Nations, like men, must learn to co-operate, to bear one another's burdens. Mutual aid is the key to peace and security.

D 64208

Enduring peace is much more than a mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals. To work for the elimination of the fear of war, to strive for world security and peace, is one of the highest aims of the Liberal Party.

The need for a strong Liberal Party

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious, the Liberal Party stands for security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which the Liberal Party stands; Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the banners under which, throughout the whole of Canada, the Liberal Party will continue to serve.

D 64209

Broadcast by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,

December 11, 1946.

(Insert at end of first paragraph of page 8)

In re-stating tonight some fundamental principles of Liberalism, I should like to quote what I said to Liberal supporters at the time I was chosen leader of the party in 1919. The words gain added emphasis in the light of the party's record as disclosed in the twenty-seven years which have since intervened. I then said:

"The Liberal party will continue to stand as its illustrious leaders stood in the past, for unity, good-will and the open mind. It has no prejudice of race, creed or class. It is for equal rights and justice to all. It believes that problems of industry and of nationality, like all questions of race and religion, can best be solved by the application of these principles. In Imperial relations we are opposed to centralization. We are advocates of unity based upon self-government and equality in the British Community of Nations. We are for friendly relations with the United States. We are in sympathy with the movement to substitute friendly co-operation for conflict in all international relations."

That is the end of the quotation. Let me now conclude what I have to say tonight.

D 64210

UNITY
SECURITY
FREEDOM

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES
OF LIBERALISM

By
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THE
NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION
OF CANADA

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FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF LIBERALISM

UNITY, SECURITY AND FREEDOM

National Broadcast by The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister of Canada.

Ottawa, December 11, 1946.

The present broadcast is one in a series designed by the C.B.C. to give the Canadian public a better understanding of the principles and policies of the several political parties. On earlier occasions, some of my colleagues have spoken on particular policies of the present Administration. Tonight, I intend to speak to you in more general terms. I wish to re-state, in the light of conditions as they exist today, and more particularly as they are related to the future, certain fundamental principles of the Liberal Party of Canada.

The purpose of political parties

But, first, a word about political parties themselves. Principles and policies are of little avail unless means can be found whereby like-minded men and women are able to make their principles and policies prevail. A political party is a means to this end.

A political party is not an end in itself. It is the means whereby men and women gain the public support required to enable them to carry out their policies. There may be many shades and varieties of opinion on specific points within the ranks of a political party. If, however, those who, broadly speaking, feel and think alike on the great questions of the day, do not combine under some banner which enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold other views will be only too ready to profit by their divisions.

The value of tradition and experience to a political party

One hears, from time to time, a great deal about the old political parties, as though tradition and experience should count for nothing in politics. In other spheres of activity, tradition and experience are regarded as the most valuable of assets. The members of churches, of regiments, of institutions of learning, of business concerns, all point with pride to what years of continuous service have meant to these organizations. There is no reason why a political party should not be equally proud of its many years of existence and of

office. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, does not arise from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past. The danger arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

The danger of a multiplicity of parties

A multiplicity of parties has proven a misfortune in all countries where they have existed. Under democratic government, party organization is the one sure method by which the majority can give effect to its will. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating a like folly in our own land. What is needed in Canada is not a confusion of political parties which tend to set class against class and province against province. What Canada needs are parties which serve to unite its people and its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a party we have in the Liberal Party of Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

Unity—a basic principle of Liberalism

The basic principles of the Liberal Party may be summed up in the words: Unity, Security, Freedom. To maintain national unity and to strive for world unity; to extend social security and to co-operate for international security; to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom; these are the fundamental aims of the Liberal Party.

It is a basic principle of Liberalism that all its policies should make for national unity. That unity, Liberals believe, cannot be achieved unless the party itself is nation-wide in its organization and membership. Its strength may vary from province to province. Its fortunes may fluctuate from time to time. What is important, however, is that the same principles and policies should be advocated by the party in each and every province, and that the party's outlook should at all times be national, not provincial nor local.

The general interest—another basic principle

Another fundamental principle of Liberalism is that the party's policies should serve the general interest rather than particular interests. In all Liberal policies, class interests must be subordinated to the interests of the community. Liberalism recognizes that we are

all members one of another, and that, for this reason, the liberty of each is circumscribed by the liberty of all. It recognizes equally that, in the long run, the good of all is the good of each.

Giving to this principle its immediate and practical application, let me say that the Liberal Party in Canada exists to serve the interests of the people as a whole, not the interest of any particular class or group in the country, or of any particular section of the country. This, too, is an essential of national unity.

The first question which should be asked about any political party which aims at government in the federal field is: Are its policies framed in the interests of all? And next: Has the Party a broad national outlook? Indeed, in the world of today, in times like the present, it is imperative, in the national interest, to go even further, and ask: Has the Party a world outlook? Of the Liberal Party of Canada, all these questions can be answered in the affirmative.

Security and Freedom—also Basic Principles

Of Security and Freedom it may be said that they are opposite sides of the same shield. One cannot be free without a sense of security. One cannot feel secure so long as freedom itself is threatened. The essence of both security and freedom, it seems to me, lies in the elimination of fear. Fear, in some measure, will always be present. In one respect, it is Nature's method of breeding caution. Excessive fear, however, is paralysing in its effect. As fears increase, men lose their sense of security. With the loss of security, freedom also disappears.

There is, however, more to freedom than merely freedom from fear. Freedom also has its positive side. On the positive side, Freedom may perhaps best be defined as opportunity for the individual, free from undue fear, to develop his whole personality.

Freedom gained and to be won

In Canada, we are happily free from many of the fears which in other lands circumscribe security and freedom. We have freedom of speech and of the press; we have religious freedom; we have freedom of assembly; we have freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; we are free to choose and change our governments. We did not always have these freedoms. To defend personal freedom, religious freedom, political freedom will always remain a first duty of Liberals.

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A no less important duty which Liberalism demands of its followers is that they strive without ceasing to extend the frontiers of freedom.

Social and economic objectives

While some of the old fears have disappeared or lessened, other fears have made their presence more strongly felt. Next to the fear of war, the great fears in men's minds today are social and economic fears. The fear of unemployment; the fear of sickness, accident and disability; the fears that come with the death of the breadwinner; the fear of poverty in old age; the fear for the home and the family; these are the great fears born of modern industrialism subject as it has been to the recurrent dangers of inflation and depression. Until these fears are removed, complete freedom will not have been achieved.

This is a large task. It will not be completed in a year. Perhaps not in generations. Nevertheless, to press on towards the goal of social and economic freedom is the great task of Liberalism. Of recent years, much has been accomplished. Old age pensions, pensions for the blind, unemployment insurance, floors under farm prices, family allowances: all these are examples of measures introduced by Liberal Administrations. But something more is needed than remedies for social disabilities and economic misfortunes. Prevention, where possible, is always better than cure. What are most needed are policies to encourage production, and enterprise and trade, a high level of employment and a rising national income. In this period of transition from war to peace, these have been foremost among the objectives of the Liberal Party in Canada. In furthering these objectives we seek to afford ample scope to individual energy, individual enterprise and individual initiative.

Freedom and World Security

But, if we are to enjoy freedom, it is not in our country alone that freedom must be maintained and extended by the elimination of fear. Everyone knows that the greatest of all fears today continues to be the fear of aggression and of war. The fear of a possible future war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of security and freedom.

Nations today are dependent upon one another. Ours is an interdependent world. Nations, like men, must learn to co-operate, to bear one another's burdens. Mutual aid is the key to peace and security.

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Enduring peace is much more than a mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals. To work for the elimination of the fear of war, to strive for world security and peace, is one of the highest aims of the Liberal Party.

In re-stating tonight some fundamental principles of Liberalism, I should like to quote what I said to Liberal supporters at the time I was chosen leader of the party in 1919. The words gain added emphasis in the light of the party's record as disclosed in the twenty-seven years which have since intervened. I then said:

> "The Liberal Party will continue to stand as its illustrious leaders stood in the past, for unity, goodwill and the open mind. It has no prejudice of race, creed or class. It is for equal rights and justice to all. It believes that problems of industry and of nationality, like all questions of race and religion, can best be solved by the application of these principles. In Imperial relations we are opposed to centralization. We are advocates of unity based upon self-government and equality in the British Community of Nations. We are for friendly relations with the United States. We are in sympathy with the movement to substitute friendly co-operation for conflict in all international relations."

That is the end of the quotation. Let me now conclude what I have to say tonight.

The need for a strong Liberal Party

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious, the Liberal Party stands for security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which the Liberal Party stands; Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the banners under which, throughout the whole of Canada, the Liberal Party will continue to serve.

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OFFICE OF THE ~~PRIME MINISTER~~

MEMORANDUM

D 64228

Prime Minister

Attached are
proofs of
Unity Security Freedom
to be printed as
a companion to
The Liberal Way

I suggest a Sub-head
on the last page
before the 1919
quotation.

20.XI.46

20-11-46

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The Liberal Way

The
National Liberal Federation of Canada

Honorary President.
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King M.P.
Leader of the Liberal Party.

President.
J. Gordon Fogo K.C.

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CANADA'S PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS

What's the program of the Liberal Party?

Is it a free-enterprise Party, or a government-control Party?

What are It's Labour and farm policies?

Does it want a national flag?

Where does it stand on collective bargaining, social services, tariffs, relations with other nations?

What is the future of Canada under Liberalism?

Herewith the answer to 28 vital questions by the National Liberal Federation of Canada.

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1. QUESTION: Just what are the "principles of Liberalism" and in what way do they effect the policies of the Liberal government of Canada?

ANSWER: "A belief in the value of human personality and a conviction that the source of all progress lies in the free exercise of individual energy" * has been the motivating force of Liberalism from the first. The policies of the Liberal government are designed to solve Canada's problems while gaining and retaining more and more freedom for each person.

*A quotation from the Encyclopedia Britannica definition of Liberalism.

2. QUESTION: What is the Liberal Government doing to provide jobs for every Canadian?

ANSWER: Every able bodied Canadian wants a job and the opportunity to lead a useful life. The policies of the Government are aimed at achieving the highest possible employment, production and standard of living.

The Government's main attack on the problem of employment is a series of measures and policies designed to keep up the total national income, and to ensure its fair distribution among all classes and regions, so that markets will be available for the production of our farms, fisheries, mines and factories. The highest level of national income can be maintained only by the promotion of the freest possible exchange of goods and services, both in Canada and with other countries. Production will be kept up if we have markets and Canadians will have jobs if production is kept up.

To the extent that farming, fishing, mining, lumbering, manufacturing, transport and other services do not provide full employment, the Liberal Government has plans for useful public works and development projects on a large enough scale so that less urgent works can be carried out when they are needed to provide jobs.

To create conditions in which jobs will be available the Liberal Government has:

(1) Made provision for the education, training and re-establishment of war veterans on a broader scale than any other country.

(2) Undertaken rapid change of war industries to meet peace time needs.

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(3) Developed the employment service and provided large scale systems for vocational training and technical education.

(4) Undertaken negotiations with other countries for more and more freedom and expansion of international trade.

(5) Provided for export credits and for the insurance of exports and for a larger trade commissioner service to assist in holding and increasing our foreign markets.

(6) Established new and better credit facilities for industrial development, farm improvement and large scale housing.

(7) Maintained the purchasing power of the Canadian dollar by preventing inflation and helping to ensure a more equal distribution of Canada's income.

(8) Made possible a very large volume of Canadian buying from wartime savings, war service gratuities for veterans, family allowances and other social security payments.

(9) Established a floor under farm and fish prices in order to prevent a depression of those great primary industries, with all the suffering it would involve for farmers and fishermen, and the loss of jobs in other industries through the loss of markets.

(10) Set up a department of reconstruction and supply to encourage and co-ordinate planning for the conversion of war industries, research into new development, assistance in industrial expansion, projects for public works and national improvement and other measures designed to keep up production and employment.

There is a pent-up demand for all the goods and services which could not be obtained in wartime. There is the huge task of providing food for the starving peoples of the old world. The repair of the physical destruction caused by war is an immense task. For several years these demands will provide work for millions of men and women in the United Nations. Canada is helping to meet these demands.

But the work of repairing and restoring the damages of war will not be enough to maintain full employment indefinitely. Fortunately we are learn-

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ing that the real limit to our production capacity is the limit of our resources, and our will and skill to use them to satisfy human need instead of human greed.

Many of the obstacles to full employment before the war were psychological obstacles. If we keep a united determination to achieve full employment, a partnership of management, of workers and of the community — can make useful work in time of peace no less than in time of war for all who need or want work.

3. QUESTION: Does the Liberal Party believe that private enterprise can provide full employment?

ANSWER: Full employment can be achieved only if by far the greater part of the employment is provided by private enterprise. But no government can leave the responsibility for employment exclusively to private enterprise. Apart from employment provided by government services and by public works and development projects, government has a vital interest in creating conditions in which private enterprise can expand to provide full employment. What is needed is the greatest possible amount of enterprise, both private and public. To maintain full employment we need more private enterprise and more public activities than we had before the war. The Liberal Government stands for close co-operation and not conflict between industry and government.

4. QUESTION: Does the Liberal Government plan to continue government control of industry. If so, to what extent?

ANSWER: In wartime the Government controlled industry in order to divert production to making war, to deal with problems of scarcities caused by the almost unlimited demand for war supplies, and to distribute fairly an essential minimum of civilian goods. Now the job of industry is to provide for human needs and human wants, and the only controls we should have are those which help to expand rather than to restrict industrial activity.

Restrictive controls have been removed as rapidly as scarcities disappear. Controls which are designed to prevent the exploitation of consumers, and restrictive and monopolistic practices should be strengthened in the interest of maximum production and full employment.

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5. QUESTION: The Liberal Party says it opposes "restrictive agreements which destroy competition and create artificial monopolies". How would you deal with cartels and monopolies?

ANSWER: The "restrictive agreements" referred to are agreements between producers in Canada and also international cartels. Domestic monopolies are dealt with by the anticombine legislation now in force. Experts are at present considering how legislation and its administration should be modified or extended to make it more effective. The problem of international cartels is being considered in consultation with other countries of the United Nations.

6. QUESTION: Should price and wage control be continued Permanently?

ANSWER: The policy of price, salary and wage control was designed to avoid wartime inflation and to spread the burden of war fairly. It has been successful — more successful than in any other country. The dangers of inflation now are even greater than they were. The Canadian people cannot afford to sacrifice the benefits of wartime stabilization by relaxing controls too soon. But there is no merit in controls as such. Every control is being removed just as soon as the supply of goods makes the control unnecessary.

7. QUESTION: Your Party favors "guaranteeing minimum prices for farm products." How would you do this? Would you also set ceiling prices to protect the consumer?

ANSWER: This question is answered by the Liberal legislation establishing floor prices under farm and fish products.

Ceiling prices to protect the consumer may continue to be required for a time, but permanent legislation should not be needed to protect the consumer against unduly high food prices.

8. QUESTION: If the Government is to buy surplus farm products at a fixed minimum price, as the idea of a price floor implies, how would you deal with the problem of accumulation of surpluses?

ANSWER: The policies of the Liberal Government are designed to maintain the higher standard of living and increased exports we have had during the war. One effect of such policies is to provide markets for our farm products. There was, unfortunately a great deal of malnutrition before the war. Improved nutrition will pay national divi-

dends in the increased health and welfare of our people. The Liberal Government will continue to take whatever steps are necessary to see that all Canadians are given the opportunity for adequate nourishment. Family allowances are contributing greatly to this end.

If unusual conditions such as a decline of export markets, should lead to a surplus, the existing legislation provides for the purchase of the surplus which will be disposed of as soon as a market can be found or created.

9. QUESTION: The Liberal Party also proposes to help the farmer by "keeping down the cost of the tools of production," presumably farm implements, etc. How would you do this?

ANSWER: The Liberal Government helped the farmer by removing the tariff on farm implements. Action has also been taken to provide improved farm credits. Action to prevent restrictive and monopolistic practices and research directed to the production of more efficient and cheaper machines will help to bring down and keep down the cost of the tools of production for farmers.

10. QUESTION: The Liberal Party aims at building foreign trade by removal of trade barriers. What methods would you use? General lowering of tariffs? Bilateral agreements? Others?

ANSWER: The Liberals would prefer multilateral action to remove trade barriers and every effort is being directed to promote international agreements to that end. But reciprocal arrangements or any other methods which will increase the volume of international trade are not ruled out. The Government has taken action to provide export credits and insurance for exports and to strengthen the trade commissioner service. The government of Canada is prepared to co-operate in international monetary stabilization and other measures to revive and increase peacetime international trade.

11. QUESTION: Should the Imperial Tarriff Preference be continued, increased or abandoned?

ANSWER: Imperial preferences which erect barriers against other nations are objectionable because they tend to keep down the total volume of world trade, but preferences resulting from the removal of existing barriers and which do not place obstacles in the way of increased trade with nations outside the British Commonwealth may provide one means of increasing total trade.

12. QUESTION: Do you favor protection of Canadian industries by tariff, subsidy or other state aid?

ANSWER: The Liberal Party stands for the removal of barriers to trade and is opposed to the principle of protection which is really a levy on consumers in Canada as well as on all export industries for the benefit of the protected industries.

At the same time the Liberal Government recognizes that all protection cannot be removed suddenly without violent dislocation of many communities and many jobs.

What the Government favors is the progressive removal, in association with other nations, of tariffs and other restrictions for protecting particular industries.

13. QUESTION: The Liberal Government supports the United Nations Organization to keep peace. What scope and what power should it have?

14. QUESTION: Do you think any world organization can preserve peace without its members being bound to support its decision, by force, if necessary? If so, what would you substitute for military force as a restraint on aggressors?

ANSWERS: TWO wars and a depression have shown the need of the nations to work together to prevent war, if necessary by force. In the last peace settlement and in the League of Nations too little attention was paid to the necessity of the nations working together to achieve prosperity. "It is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible, their prosperity also is indivisible." Nations, like individuals, must work together to make the utmost use of their resources, and through greater production and wider distribution achieve greater prosperity for all.

It was not until after the San Francisco Conference had brought into existence the United Nations Charter that the world learned of the release of atomic energy and the awful possibilities of its use in war. This has presented to all nations wholly new problems of security for which the solution must be sought in active world politics. The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see a solution in anything short of some surrender of national sovereignty. With a limited sur-

render of national rights, there must be instituted some form of world government to prevent war, and to maintain security for all nations.

The United Nations Organization is not a complete answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is a first step, and an all-important step, in the direction of that co-operation between peoples of all nations which is necessary for the survival of civilization. It is not, however, the only, much less the final step. The United Nations Organization is an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new methods of cooperation which their peace and security now require. We must have a measure of world soverignty sufficiently strong to end all possibility of war.

15. QUESTION: In a pre-war statement on foreign policy The Liberal Prime Minister said "The Canadian Government did not recognize any commitment binding Canada to apply military sanctions, and no such commitment could be made without prior approval of the Canadian Parliament." Is this the Liberal view still? Do you mean the prior approval of Parliament should be obtained in each individual case, or would you seek a general approval for a permanent commitment?

ANSWER: That has been the Liberal view; but in a genuine international organization to maintain security under which the majority of nations commit themselves to apply military sanctions in advance, Canada should play its proper part. The extent of this commitment should of course, be determined in advance by the Canadian Parliament. We have as great an interest in seeing that peace is maintained as any nation.

16. QUESTION: What should Canada's relationship be to Great Britain and the British Commonwealth?

ANSWER: The Prime Minister, in a speech delivered to the Houses of the British Parliament, May 11, 1944, said that the war efforts of the nations of the British Commonwealth owed their inspiration to a common source, and that that source was 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.

So long as all the nations of the Commonwealth share that spirit the strength or unity of the Commonwealth will be maintained. 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 British Commonwealth, like the nations of which it is composed, 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. It is of the utmost importance to the British Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. It is of equal importance to the future of mankind that, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

17. QUESTION: Should Canada be committed to fight in defense of the interests of any or all parts of the British Commonwealth?

ANSWER: The only commitment should be a commitment to uphold international law and order, by force if necessary. In practice we may confidently expect the nations of the British Commonwealth to support and uphold international law and order as their greatest interest. So long as its present spirit is maintained, no war for the defense of the British Commonwealth could be other than a war for the defense of freedom and the maintenance of international law.

18. QUESTION: The Liberal Party and the Prime Minister opposed the suggestion of an Imperial Council with a permanent secretariat, but at the same time said that co-operation among Commonwealth nations "cannot be too close". How can such co-operation be made closer and more effective?

ANSWER: The Liberal Party believes very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation and effective co-ordination of policies. No more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which have worked with such complete success under our Liberal Government. For practical reasons an Imperial Cabinet or Council sitting continuously in London is not favoured.

In the British Commonwealth there is something which is much more important, and that is a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the British Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals from day to day and, often, 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 careful consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments and peoples.

After the experience of the war and since it is difficult to see how co-operation of the nations of the British Commonwealth could be closer and more effective than it has been. Many methods were used to achieve co-operation and they have worked well. It must however, always be remembered that real co-operation is not a question of machinery but of a co-operative spirit and a deep and abiding understanding.

19. QUESTION: In Parliament, Jan. 31 1944, the Prime Minister said the idea of "one voice" in Commonwealth foreign policy "runs counter to the establishment of effective world security." Explain why.

ANSWER: The Liberal Party believes this to be so. Obviously, if the nations of the British Commonwealth are to speak with one voice at international conferences, that voice would ordinarily be the voice of the United Kingdom. That is, the British representative would be speaking for Canada, for Australia, for South Africa and for New Zealand. Nothing would be less satisfactory to the people of the British Isles as well as to the other nations of the Commonwealth than to take this step back to the time when Britain would speak for what were then her Colonies.

Apart from this and other objections, however, there is the objection made in Parliament and emphasized again at London, that behind such con-

ception there is the idea of inevitable rivalry between the Great Powers. Canada, while a member of the British Commonwealth, is situated geographically between the United States and the Soviet Union, and it is difficult to see how our country could give support to any proposal which might even suggest ultimate rivalry between the Great Powers. The theory that the world should be dominated by the Great Powers and that, in order to match strength with the others, the United Kingdom should be empowered by the nations of the Commonwealth to speak for them, is an idea which is full of dangers for the future security of the Commonwealth and of the world. The idea that there can be only "one voice" for the British Commonwealth is unacceptable to the Liberal Party, and to the Canadian people. The idea is equally unacceptable to the other nations of the Commonwealth.

20. QUESTION: Does the Liberal Party believe in collective bargaining? Should the privilege of bargaining through agents of their own choice be established as a permanent legal right of Canadian workers?

ANSWER: The Liberal Party believes most emphatically in collective bargaining. In peacetime Federal jurisdiction extends over only a part of the field of labor relations. In that field the Liberal Government favors the establishment of collective bargaining as a permanent legal right of Canadian workers. After consultation with representatives of organized labour, the Government, provided for collective bargaining as a right of all employees in war industries.

21. QUESTION: At the 1919 Liberal Convention there was passed a resolution inscribing in the Party's platform the Labour Convention of the Versailles Treaty. The Government of Canada lacked then, and still lacks, constitutional power to implement this Convention, or any treaty like it which may be made now. Should the necessary power to implement such treaties be given the Dominion Government?

ANSWER: It is hoped that in the changes in our constitution which must be made sooner or later the authority of the Parliament of Canada to implement Canada's treaties and external obligations will be clearly established.

22. QUESTION : Does the Liberal Party think the Constitution should be amended to give the Federal Government more power in labour and social security matters ?

ANSWER : The Party has long held the view that the Parliament of Canada should have jurisdiction to provide a national minimum of social security for all Canadians.

23. QUESTION : Should Canada have power to amend her own Constitution? What method of amendment is suggested?

ANSWER : Canada should have complete theoretical autonomy as well as the practical autonomy we have had for many years. That necessarily includes the right to amend our own constitution in Canada. But in the light of the experience of other nations with Federal constitutions, we should be careful about the method we adopt. The question is highly technical and every procedure so far advocated has disadvantages as well as advantages. No decision should be reached without the widest public discussion, particularly as any desired amendment can always be made, and will always be made at the request of the Canadian Parliament. Whatever method of amending the constitution within Canada may ultimately be agreed upon should of course, provide thorough safeguards for historic minority rights.

24. QUESTION : Does the Liberal Party believe that appeals to the Privy Council should be abolished ?

ANSWER : Yes, at an appropriate time.

25. QUESTION : Should the Federal Government play a larger role in education ?

ANSWER : Under Canada's constitution education comes within the jurisdiction of the provinces. The Federal Government, therefore, should not in any way try to interfere with the exclusive rights of the provinces. But the Federal government should help the provinces to provide adequate educational facilities: (1) by coming to financial arrangements with the provinces under which the provinces will be able to make more adequate provision for education (2) by assisting financially in vocational training, scientific research, education for veterans, providing national scholarships for special work on the subjects of national interest, etc.

26. QUESTION : Should Canada have her own national flag? National anthem ?

ANSWER : Yes.

27. QUESTION : Should Canada permit and encourage large-scale immigration now ?

ANSWER : Canada should certainly not permit and encourage any large-scale immigration until all the men home from overseas and others in need of work are re-established in civilian life with useful employment. Employment is required for about a million more men and women than the number employed in 1939. Whether immigration may then be desirable will depend upon the degree of expansion it is possible to maintain in Canadian development. This in turn will depend in part upon the success achieved in establishing prosperity and trade throughout the world.

28. QUESTION: What is the future of Canada under Liberalism?

ANSWER : The people of Canada are conscious of the new strength and vigor of their country. Under leadership of Liberal outlook Canada has developed at an amazing pace. Our social gains must be consolidated. We must apply our experience in distributing our vastly increased national income to the largest number of people.

Men and women, thinking of the future, ask themselves this question : "Will I have a chance to live the kind of life I look forward to and to give my children an equal opportunity in the battle of life."

The Liberal Party has answered this question by placing on the statutes of our country a bold and comprehensive programme designed to build a new social order in Canada.

Canadians of every race and creed will work together, each doing that which he or she can do best for the common purpose: for a Canada where social justice shall be founded on security with peace and happiness for the widow and orphan, for the laboring class and the farmer equally with the city worker, the miner, the fisherman, the lumberman and the professional worker. The Liberal policies guarantee every one a chance to make his own way IN his own way.

D 64244

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THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA
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D 64245

UNITY

SECURITY

FREEDOM

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

OF LIBERALISM

By

Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party

THE
NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION
OF CANADA

J. GORDON FOGO, K.C.
President

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF LIBERALISM

UNITY, SECURITY AND FREEDOM

National Broadcast by The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister of Canada.

Ottawa, December 11, 1946.

The present broadcast is one in a series designed by the C.B.C. to give the Canadian public a better understanding of the principles and policies of the several political parties. On earlier occasions, some of my colleagues have spoken on particular policies of the present Administration. Tonight, I intend to speak to you in more general terms. I wish to re-state, in the light of conditions as they exist today, and more particularly as they are related to the future, certain fundamental principles of the Liberal Party of Canada.

The purpose of political parties.

But, first, a word about political parties themselves. Principles and policies are of little avail unless means can be found whereby like-minded men and women are able to make their principles and policies prevail. A political party is a means to this end.

A political party is not an end in itself. It is the means whereby men and women gain the public support required to enable them to carry out their policies. There may be many shades and varieties of opinion on specific points within the ranks of a political party. If, however, those who, broadly speaking, feel and think alike on the great questions of the day, do not combine under some banner which enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold other views will be only too ready to profit by their divisions.

The value of tradition and experience to a political party.

One hears, from time to time, a great deal about the old political parties, as though tradition and experience should count for nothing in politics. In other spheres of activity, tradition and experience are regarded as the most valuable of assets. The members of churches, of regiments, of institutions of learning, of business concerns, all point with pride to what years of continuous service have meant to these organizations. There is no reason why a political party should not be equally proud of its many years of existence and of

office. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, does not arise from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past. The danger arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

The danger of a multiplicity of parties.

A multiplicity of parties has proven a misfortune in all countries where they have existed. Under democratic government, party organization is the one sure method by which the majority can give effect to its will. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating a like folly in our own land. What is needed in Canada is not a confusion of political parties which tend to set class against class and province against province. What Canada needs are parties which serve to unite its people and its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a party we have in the Liberal Party of Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

Unity—a basic principle of Liberalism.

The basic principles of the Liberal Party may be summed up in the words: Unity, Security, Freedom. To maintain national unity and to strive for world unity; to extend social security and to co-operate for international security; to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom; these are the fundamental aims of the Liberal Party.

It is a basic principle of Liberalism that all its policies should make for national unity. That unity, Liberals believe, cannot be achieved unless the party itself is nation-wide in its organization and membership. Its strength may vary from province to province. Its fortunes may fluctuate from time to time. What is important, however, is that the same principles and policies should be advocated by the party in each and every province, and that the party's outlook should at all times be national, not provincial nor local.

The general interest—another basic principle

Another fundamental principle of Liberalism is that the party's policies should serve the general interest rather than particular interests. In all Liberal policies, class interests must be subordinated to the interests of the community. Liberalism recognizes that we are

all members one of another, and that, for this reason, the liberty of each is circumscribed by the liberty of all. It recognizes equally that, in the long run, the good of all is the good of each.

Giving to this principle its immediate and practical application, let me say that the Liberal Party in Canada exists to serve the interests of the people as a whole, not the interest of any particular class or group in the country, or of any particular section of the country. This, too, is an essential of national unity.

The first question which should be asked about any political party which aims at government in the federal field is: Are its policies framed in the interests of all? And ~~ask~~: Has the Party a broad national outlook? Indeed, in the world of today, in times like the present, it is imperative, in the national interest, to go even further, and ask: Has the Party a world outlook? Of the Liberal Party of Canada, all these questions can be answered in the affirmative.

Security and Freedom—also Basic Principles.

Of Security and Freedom it may be said that they are opposite sides of the same shield. One cannot be free without a sense of security. One cannot feel secure so long as freedom itself is threatened. The essence of both security and freedom, it seems to me, lies in the elimination of fear. Fear, in some measure, will always be present. In one respect, it is Nature's method of breeding caution. Excessive fear, however, is paralysing in its effect. As fears increase, men lose their sense of security. With the loss of security, freedom also disappears.

There is, however, more to freedom than merely freedom from fear. Freedom also has its positive side. On the positive side, Freedom may perhaps best be defined as opportunity for the individual, free from undue fear, to develop his whole personality.

Freedom gained and to be won

In Canada, we are happily free from many of the fears which in other lands circumscribe security and freedom. We have freedom of speech and of the press; we have religious freedom; we have freedom of assembly; we have freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; we are free to choose and change our governments. We did not always have these freedoms. To defend personal freedom, religious freedom, political freedom will always remain a first duty of Liberals.

A no less important duty which Liberalism demands of its followers is that they strive without ceasing to extend the frontiers of freedom.

Social and economic objectives

While some of the old fears have disappeared or lessened, other fears have made their presence more strongly felt. Next to the fear of war, the great fears in men's minds today are social and economic fears. The fear of unemployment; the fear of sickness, accident and disability; the fears that come with the death of the breadwinner; the fear of poverty in old age; the fear for the home and the family; these are the great fears born of modern industrialism subject as it has been to the recurrent dangers of inflation and depression. Until these fears are removed, complete freedom will not have been achieved.

This is a large task. It will not be completed in a year. Perhaps not in generations. Nevertheless, to press on towards the goal of social and economic freedom is the great task of Liberalism. Of recent years, much has been accomplished. Old age pensions, pensions for the blind, unemployment insurance, floors under farm prices, family allowances: all these are examples of measures introduced by Liberal Administrations. But something more is needed than remedies for social disabilities and economic misfortunes. Prevention, where possible, is always better than cure. What are most needed are policies to encourage production, and enterprise and trade, a high level of employment and a rising national income. In this period of transition from war to peace, these have been foremost among the objectives of the Liberal Party in Canada. In furthering these objectives we seek to afford ample scope to individual energy, individual enterprise and individual initiative.

Freedom and World Security.

But, if we are to enjoy freedom, it is not in our country alone that freedom must be maintained and extended by the elimination of fear. Everyone knows that the greatest of all fears today continues to be the fear of aggression and of war. The fear of a possible future war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of security and freedom.

Nations today are dependent upon one another. Ours is an interdependent world. Nations, like men, must learn to co-operate, to bear one another's burdens. Mutual aid is the key to peace and security.

Enduring peace is much more than a mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals. To work for the elimination of the fear of war, to strive for world security and peace, is one of the highest aims of the Liberal Party.

Enduring validity of Liberal principles

In re-stating tonight some fundamental principles of Liberalism, I should like to quote what I said to Liberal supporters at the time I was chosen leader of the party in 1919. The words gain added emphasis in the light of the party's record as disclosed in the twenty-seven years which have since intervened. I then said:

> "The Liberal Party will continue to stand as its illustrious leaders stood in the past, for unity, goodwill and the open mind. It has no prejudice of race, creed or class. It is for equal rights and justice to all. It believes that problems of industry and of nationality, like all questions of race and religion, can best be solved by the application of these principles. In Imperial relations we are opposed to centralization. We are advocates of unity based upon self-government and equality in the British Community of Nations. We are for friendly relations with the United States. We are in sympathy with the movement to substitute friendly co-operation for conflict in all international relations."

That is the end of the quotation. Let me now conclude what I have to say tonight.

The need for a strong Liberal Party

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious, the Liberal Party stands for security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which the Liberal Party stands; Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the banners under which, throughout the whole of Canada, the Liberal Party will continue to serve.

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(For release at 8.30 p.m. E.S.T., December 11, 1946)

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF LIBERALISM D 64251

Unity, Security and Freedom

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Freedom gained and to be won

In Canada, we are happily free from many of the fears which in other lands circumscribe security and freedom. We have freedom of speech and of the press; we have religious freedom; we have freedom of assembly; we have freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; we are free to choose and change our governments. We did not always have these freedoms. To defend personal freedom, religious freedom, political freedom will always remain a first duty of Liberals. A no less important duty which Liberalism demands of its followers is that they strive without ceasing to extend the frontiers of freedom.

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This is a large task. It will not be completed in a year. Perhaps not in generations. Nevertheless, to press on towards the goal of social and economic freedom is the great task of Liberalism. Of recent years, much has been accomplished. Old age pensions, pensions for the blind, unemployment insurance, floors under farm prices, family allowances: all these are examples of measures introduced by Liberal Administrations. But something more is needed than remedies for social disabilities and economic misfortunes. Prevention, where possible, is always better than cure. What are most needed are policies to encourage production, and enterprise and trade, a high level of employment and a rising national income. In this period of transition from war to peace, these have been foremost among the objectives of the Liberal Party in Canada. In furthering these objectives we seek to afford ample scope to individual energy, individual enterprise, and individual initiative.

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Enduring peace is much more than a mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals. To work for the elimination of the fear of war, to strive for world security and peace, is one of the highest aims of the Liberal Party.

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D 64250

2 11

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Liberal Broadcasts

You may recall that when this matter was up for consideration several weeks ago, the question was raised as to whether it might be possible for you to give the last broadcast before Christmas, which comes a week from tonight, - December the 11th. In view of your commitment to speak in Quebec, and the possibility of the speech in Toronto, the Committee decided that they should have an alternative, in case you would not feel like undertaking this additional burden.

As most of the Ministers have spoken in the series, or are scheduled to speak in January, Mr. Fogo is going to be prepared himself to broadcast next Wednesday. He and the Committee would, however, much prefer it if it were possible for you to undertake it.

Feeling you would not want to have the question raised unless a manuscript was available, I have sought to piece together, from sections not used at Quebec, a draft of a fifteen-minute broadcast entitled, "A re-statement of Liberal Principles". The concluding paragraph is the same as the concluding paragraph at Quebec, and the whole thing works out to that as a climax.

No definite decision needs to be made before Friday, or possibly Saturday, after which time it would be desirable to announce the name of the next speaker.

J.W.P.

Dec. 4, 1946

JWP/FM

D 64260

D R A F T

A Re-statement of Liberal Principles

This broadcast is one in a series designed to give the public a better understanding of the principles and policies of the different political parties. On earlier occasions some of my colleagues have spoken to you about Liberal policies in relation to particular departments of Government. To-night I am going to speak to you in more general terms. I wish to restate certain fundamental principles of the Liberal Party in the light of conditions as they exist to-day and, more particularly, with an eye to the future.

True Purpose of a Political Party

What is the true purpose of a political party? It is my conviction that a political party should exist to serve the whole community - whether that community be the province or the nation.

Political parties have, at times, sought to serve particular interests, rather then the general interest. Political parties are sometimes regarded as ends in themselves. There are, indeed, some party leaders who seem to feel that political parties are mere machines for gaining

and holding office. A party which seeks to serve private ends or which becomes a mere machine for winning power is sure, in a free country, to perish sooner or later.

To live and to flourish, a political party must have principles to which it will remain true regardless of consequences. To serve its end, a political party must be able to unite like-minded men in support of policies designed to serve their province or their country.

In the past few years, new political parties and movements have sprung up like mushrooms. Never was there greater need to look over all political parties with a critical eye. About any party, the people, sooner or later, will want answers to one or two fundamental questions. The first question they will ask is this: Are the principles of the party sound and are its policies framed in the interest of all? Next they will want to know:- Has the party a broad national outlook, representative of the whole country? Indeed, in these times, it is wise to go even further and ask the question: Has the political party we are asked to support a world-wide outlook? Unless these questions can be answered in the affirmative, a political party cannot be expected to serve the national interest.

Indeed, there is great danger to the public interest in political parties or groups which are simply the instruments of the personal ambition, or the lust for notoriety and power, of an individual or a small group of men. For, unhappily, as you know, such parties do exist.

The time has come, I believe, in this period of transition, to look anew at the principles and policies of all political parties. That is why I am speaking this evening about the basic principles of the Liberal party of Canada.

Basic Liberal Principles: Unity, Security and Freedom

The basic principles of the Liberal party can be summed up in the words: Unity Security and Freedom. To maintain national unity and to strive for world unity; to extend social security and to co-operate for international security; to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom; these are the fundamental aims of the Liberal party.

It is of the third of these, FREEDOM, that I desire especially to speak in this broadcast. Freedom is liberty. Both words have the same meaning. Liberty and Liberalism

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are words which grow from a common root. The very essence of Liberalism is the pursuit of FREEDOM.

Definition of Freedom

But what do we mean by freedom? There are many definitions, because freedom has many aspects. One definition I like and have used many times before. That is the definition of freedom as the absence of fear. As men's fears increase, so their freedom is lost. Man is free only to the extent that he has eliminated fear.

No one understood this better than Hitler. He and his gang used fear systematically - and, for years, successfully - to destroy men's freedom and to bring them under Nazi domination. The war against Hitler was a war for freedom - a war to destroy the fear of world domination.

But the definition of freedom as the absence of fear is only the negative side of freedom. Freedom also has its positive side. On the positive side, freedom may perhaps best be defined as opportunity for the individual, freed from fear, to develop his whole personality within an ordered society.

Freedom accordingly must be defended by the removal of fear; it must be extended by the enlargement of opportunity. The defence and the extension of freedom- the true mission of Liberals - is a task which will never end. There will always be a place - and a large place - for a Liberal party which is true to Liberal principles.

Freedom already gained

In Canada we are happily free from many of the fears which hang over the heads of men and women in other lands. We have religious freedom, we are free from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, we have freedom of speech and of the press, we have freedom to speak and write our mothertongue whatever it may be, we are free to choose and change our governments.

We did not always have these freedoms. All of them Liberals, in the past, have fought to gain and to keep. We perhaps take them too much for granted in a country like Canada where, for generations, none of them has been seriously questioned.

The defence of personal freedom, of religious freedom, of political freedom is the first duty of Liberals. But it is not enough to stop with the defence of freedoms

we now enjoy. To survive, a Liberal party must always look forward. Liberals must be pioneers, pushing out the frontiers of freedom and ever extending its sway.

Fears to be eliminated at Home

The essence of freedom, let me remind you again, is the absence of fear. What fears are there which still have to be eliminated from the minds and souls of men and women in Canada. What new freedoms must Liberals seek to win. Apart from the fear of war, the great fears in men's minds today are social and economic fears. The fear of unemployment; the fear of sickness and disability; the fear of poverty in old age; the fear of destitution resulting from the death of the breadwinner; the fear of privation resulting from large families; the fear of inflation; the fear of sudden economic depression; these are the great fears bred of modern industrial society in which none can stand alone and each has become dependent for his livelihood on all. Complete freedom will not be possible until all these fears are removed.

That is a large task. It will not be completed in a year or even in a generation. The removal of these fears; the vast extension of freedom which we call social

security is the great task of the Liberal party within our own country.

Freedom and Social Security

And do not forget that social security means much more than family allowances, old age pensions, unemployment insurance and the like. It also means policies to encourage production, and enterprise, and trade, and a high level of employment, and a rising national income.

The day has passed when we can rely on laissez-faire to extend economic and social freedom. That does not mean that the state must or should try to organize or even to regulate the whole of our economic life. Far from it. There would be no surer way to destroy freedom. What it does mean is that the power of the state should be used, in co-operation with all sections of the nation, to promote favourable economic conditions, to create, if you like, an economic and social climate, in which enterprise may flourish while security also prevails.

Freedom and World Security

But it is not only in Canada that freedom must

D 64267

be extended by the elimination of fear. As I have already said, the greatest of all fears today is the fear of ~~xgx~~ aggression and of war. The fear of war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of freedom for mankind. To put the same thought in another way, it can be said that complete freedom is not possible without enduring peace. World security is, therefore, one of the highest aims of the Liberal party.

Until the present century, many thought that peace and security could be found, especially for small nations, by keeping out of other nations' wars. Many small nations in the past did, in fact, manage to keep out of wars and to preserve neutrality and some measure of security. But, in our day, all that has changed. Two world wars have surely convinced all but the blindest that neutrality is a delusion and isolation a myth. The nations of the world are slowly learning the great truth that we are members one of another; that war anywhere means war everywhere.

Peace will not be attained until we have achieved a real brotherhood of man. Nations today are dependent upon

one another. In an interdependent world, the key to peace and security is mutual aid. Nations, like men, must learn to co-operate, to bear one another's burdens.

Enduring peace is much more than the mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals. To strive for peace, to work for the elimination of the fear of war is a cardinal aim of the Liberal party.

Conclusion

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal party stands for unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal party stands for security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal party continues to stand for freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom; these are the great principles for which ~~we~~ the Liberal party stand; these are the banners under which, as a party, ~~we~~ the Liberal party will continue to serve.

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LE PARTI LIBÉRAL

PERSONNALITÉS ET PRINCIPES

DISCOURS DU

Très Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King,

Premier ministre et chef du
Parti libéral du Canada

ET DU

Très Honorable Louis-S. Saint-Laurent,

Ministre de la Justice et
Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures

PRONONCÉS AU CHATEAU FRONTENAC, QUEBEC,

LE 29 NOVEMBRE 1946.

A l'occasion du

Banquet offert en l'honneur de

M. Saint-Laurent

D 64270

Le Parti Libéral – Personnalités et Principes

Discours du Très Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King

Québec, le 29 novembre 1946

Monsieur le Président, Mesdames, Messieurs,

Je suis heureux d'être de nouveau à une réunion politique dans la province de Québec, et tout spécialement à une réunion de famille.

C'est un plaisir aussi pour moi de voir comme président de cette fête, mon vieil ami, le sénateur Fafard. Ses nombreux succès à la présidence du caucus libéral au parlement lui ont valu, sur l'assentiment complet de tous les membres, d'être nommé sénateur à vie. Je tiens à le remercier chaleureusement pour ses mots généreux de bienvenue que je n'oublierai pas de sitôt. Je suis encore heureux de voir à cette table et à cette réunion un aussi grand nombre de mes confrères du parlement, des membres libéraux du parlement provincial de Québec, et des libéraux en vue de cette ville et de cette province. Je suis tout heureux d'avoir à mes côtés l'honorable Adélard Godbout, le chef du parti libéral de cette province. Nous avons souvent été, par le passé, émus par son éloquence. Comme chef des forces libérales de l'arène provinciale, M. Godbout, pendant plusieurs années, au pouvoir ou dans l'opposition, fut toujours sur les premiers rangs de la bataille. Notre parti doit beaucoup à M. Godbout.

Il y en a aussi plusieurs autres dont je voudrais mentionner les noms. Nous nous sommes réunis ici ce soir, non pas tant pour nous faire honneur, mais pour honorer un des nôtres dont le parti est très fier et qui, malgré la courte durée de sa vie politique, a toujours tenu haut et d'une façon triomuhale la bannière libérale. Vous savez qu'il s'agit de notre ami très estimé, le ministre de la Justice et secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Hommage à un véritable grand homme

Pour gagner du prestige, pour se maintenir, un parti politique a besoin de personnalités tout autant que de principes. Ce dont je veux surtout parler ce soir, c'est de la personnalité de M. Saint-Laurent et de ce qu'elle a signifié dans notre vie politique. Je voudrais pouvoir le faire à la fois en français et en anglais. Je puis déjà me rendre compte, d'après ce que j'ai essayé de dire en français, qu'un retour à ma langue maternelle ne sera pas malvenu. Permettez-moi d'offrir premièrement au nom des membres du gouvernement et de ma part nos plus sincères remerciements à ceux qui ont organisé cette magnifique fête en l'honneur de notre collègue, M. Saint-Laurent. Je tiens aussi à vous remercier tous de la chaleureuse réception que vous avez été assez gentils de m'offrir. Veuillez m'excuser si je continue mon discours en anglais. (Jusqu'à ce point, les paroles du premier ministre furent prononcées en français.)

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Je tiens à vous dire, dès maintenant, que je suis venu à Québec pour être présent à ce banquet en l'honneur de M. Saint-Laurent. Je ne suis pas venu pour faire de cette occasion une discussion de tribune électorale et de politique ou de débat sur les questions publiques. J'aurai des occasions plus appropriées à ces fins. Sans doute que M. Saint-Laurent désirera parler de certaines questions qui, dans cette province, sont le sujet de différends politiques. Je suis venu comme chef du parti libéral du Canada pour offrir, au nom du parti, et au nom du gouvernement, nos hommages à celui qui est vraiment un grand homme et à celui qui, malgré son peu d'années comparativement dans la vie politique, a rendu des services exceptionnels au parti libéral et à notre pays.

Le parti libéral, le parti de la liberté

Le parti libéral, au Canada, a une longue histoire. Il a suivi aussi de nobles traditions. Pendant plus d'un siècle, des hommes d'origines ethniques et de croyances différentes, des travailleurs intellectuels et manuels, jeunes et vieux, ont, de génération en génération, marché ensemble dans un vaste cortège, sous la bannière de la Liberté.

Tantôt, c'était la liberté politique et constitutionnelle; tantôt, la liberté personnelle et économique; tantôt encore la liberté sociale et industrielle; tantôt enfin, la liberté nationale et mondiale; mais toujours, sous quelque forme que ce fût, c'était une liberté de plus en plus grande.

En tête de ce long cortège, on voyait les réformateurs des premières heures, champions du gouvernement responsable, collègues dans l'établissement de la Confédération, les vaillants "Grits" pendant les nombreuses années où le parti fut du côté de l'opposition, puis les chefs d'un libéralisme triomphant. Sauf les années de la première Grande Guerre et celles qui l'ont précédée et suivie immédiatement, ainsi que la période de crise de la première moitié des années 30, notre parti a été au pouvoir près de trente-cinq ans pendant le demi-siècle dernier.

Réalisation qui est un sujet de fierté

De 1921 à 1946, dernière moitié de ce demi-siècle, il y a eu sept élections générales. Six fois sur sept, le parti libéral a été porté au pouvoir. Cela s'est produit nonobstant le fait que sept des années en question furent des années de guerre. Pendant cette période de guerre, l'on compte deux victoires aux élections générales. En outre, aux deux élections de cette période, le parti libéral a fait élire le plus grand nombre de députés qu'aucun parti ait jamais élus à la Chambre des Communes. Comme chef libéral, j'ai eu le plus grand support jamais donné à un premier ministre dans l'histoire du Canada. M. Ilsley, habile à utiliser les chiffres pour en faire ressortir une vérité importante, a calculé que depuis 1896, le parti libéral, sous deux chefs, a connu deux défaites aux élections; tandis

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que le parti conservateur, sous dix chefs, a perdu dix élections. M. Ilsley a omis, il va sans dire, les élections de 1917, alors que le gouvernement était une coalition de membres des deux partis. Présentant les résultats de la calculation de M. Ilsley, en termes de gains plutôt que de pertes, le parti libéral, sur une période de cinquante ans, avec deux chefs, a gagné dix élections; tandis que le parti conservateur, avec dix chefs, en a gagné deux. Vraiment, voilà une réalisation dont nous pouvons tous être fiers.

Ce soir, nous sommes réunis afin de rendre hommage à l'un des nôtres, auquel, à un titre très spécial, nous sommes redevables de l'état actuel de notre parti.

Laurier, Lapointe et Saint-Laurent

Si je me demande pourquoi notre parti est resté si longtemps au pouvoir dans l'arène fédérale, au cours des cinquante dernières années, j'en trouve le secret dans l'importance qu'il a attachée à l'unité et aux moyens de maintenir cette unité. Ici, dans cette ville de Québec, je suis particulièrement heureux de pouvoir dire qu'à mon sens, nous devons aux chefs que la circonscription de Québec-Est a élus au Parlement du Canada, plus qu'à tout autre facteur pris à part, l'unité de notre parti et, permettez-moi d'ajouter, notre unité nationale.

Parmi ces chefs que Québec-Est a envoyés au Parlement, le premier qui vous viendra à l'esprit est sir Wilfrid Laurier. Quelle vénération nous aurons toujours pour le nom de Sir Wilfrid et quel soin nous mettrons à chérir sa mémoire ! Vous songerez ensuite, avec une vénération presque égale, au Très honorable Ernest Lapointe. Quel caractère loyal et généreux ! Ce soir, celui qui occupe le meilleur de nos pensées, c'est le digne successeur de ces deux hommes, le ministre de la Justice du Canada et secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Nous sommes réunis ce soir pour rendre hommage à M. Saint-Laurent. Eh bien, présentons-lui tout honneur. Nous savons tous, et nul mieux que moi ne le sait, que sans le rôle que M. St-Laurent a joué durant les années où il a fait partie du ministère, la situation du parti libéral serait tout autre que ce qu'elle est ce soir. Que dis-je ? non seulement la situation du parti, mais la situation de notre pays dans le monde.

Unité du parti et unité nationale

En ma qualité de chef du parti, permettez-moi de vous dire, messieurs, ce qu'a été pour moi la présence de M. Saint-Laurent dans le cabinet. Pour cela, je reviens sur l'importance à attacher à l'unité: unité du parti et unité nationale.

Vous vous rappelez comment, en 1896, sir Wilfrid Laurier, lors de la formation de son premier ministère, sut grouper autour de la table du conseil des ministres à Ottawa des hommes compétents et

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expérimentés de toutes les provinces. Or, en 1921, quand je fus chargé de former un nouveau gouvernement libéral, je me suis efforcé, en tout et partout, de suivre l'exemple de sir Wilfrid et je pense y avoir réussi. A la direction des affaires publiques, je ne tardai pas à me convaincre davantage de ce qui m'était apparu il y a longtemps, je veux dire le fait que l'unité ministérielle, tout comme l'unité de parti et l'unité nationale, dépend par-dessus tout d'une étroite collaborations des ministres de la province de Québec avec ceux des autres provinces.

Pour favoriser les relations harmonieuses entre Québec et les autres provinces, aucun chef n'a eu autant que moi à se féliciter d'avoir eu successivement à ses côtés deux collègues aussi éminents que le Très honorable Ernest Lapointe et le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent. Ernest Lapointe a été pour moi un collègue qui, grâce à sa sagesse politique, son dévouement désintéressé et sa loyauté personnelle, s'est montré, dans le véritable sens du mot, un guide, un philosophe et un ami dans tout ce qui concernait les problèmes épineux de notre vie politique.

La représentation du Québec dans le cabinet

Quand M. Lapointe mourut, je fus profondément affligé. Comme vous le savez, cette mort est survenue il y a eu cinq ans cette semaine. La deuxième guerre mondiale sévissait alors. Peu de temps auparavant, le cabinet avait perdu, au cours d'un accident tragique, Norman Rogers qui avait été étroitement associé à l'administration publique pendant nombre d'années, et un collègue qui était un des mieux doués parmi les jeunes ministres. A une date encore plus récente, disparaissait le docteur Skelton, un de mes conseillers les plus intimes dans les services administratifs, qui avait été longtemps sous-secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures et qui était l'un des hommes le plus au courant des questions internationales. Je me suis alors souvent demandé si je pourrais rester à la tâche.

Je doute qu'il m'eût été possible de rester à mon parti, si M. Saint-Laurent n'avait pas répondu à l'appel du devoir et n'avait pas accepté de faire partie du cabinet. Vous allez voir comme cela était vrai. En effet, trois mois après l'arrivée de M. Saint-Laurent à Ottawa, le sénateur Dandurand mourait et, deux mois plus tard, M. Cardin démissionnait comme ministre. Le sénateur Dandurand était non seulement le leader du Gouvernement au sénat, mais il en était aussi le membre le plus ancien et le plus expérimenté. Par les années de services, M. Cardin était le plus vieux membre de la Chambre des Communes.

Le sénateur Dandurand et M. Cardin représentaient tous deux votre province dans le cabinet. Tous deux étaient des conseillers sages et habiles. Si M. Saint-Laurent n'était pas alors devenu membre du cabinet, après la perte de M. Lapointe, du sénateur Dandurand et de M. Cardin, je n'aurais pas eu un seul collègue de langue française de la province de Québec. Par la suite, d'autres ministres de langue française du Québec sont entrés dans le ministère. Mais,

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sans M. Saint-Laurent, songez un peu dans quelle fâcheuse posture je me serais trouvé, moi et mon cabinet, au cours de ces mois très critiques !

Je désire le reconnaître pour la première fois ce soir. Je suis heureux de le faire en présence de M. Saint-Laurent et de ses nombreux amis.

Hommage à l'hon. P.-J.-A. Cardin

Je crois qu'il convient de m'arrêter ici un moment et de rendre hommage à la mémoire de mon ancien collègue, l'honorable Arthur Cardin, que la mort nous a enlevé il y a quelques semaines.

Les treize années durant lesquelles M. Cardin et moi-même avons siégé ensemble dans le cabinet ont été des années importantes dans l'histoire du Canada. Elles ont été des années de prospérité ainsi que d'adversité; elles ont été marquées par l'entrée du Canada dans la deuxième guerre mondiale et par le magnifique effort de guerre du pays. Le peuple canadien et, certes toutes les nations alliées, ne comprendront jamais tout ce qu'ils doivent aux efforts accomplis par M. Cardin et M. Lapointe pour sauvegarder l'unité canadienne à l'époque la plus critique de l'histoire du monde. S'ils n'avaient pas fait montre d'une attitude aussi courageuse, si leurs directives avaient été moins clairvoyantes, s'ils n'avaient pas été aussi sincèrement patriotes, l'histoire de la participation du Canada dans cette grande guerre aurait suivi un cours bien différent.

En face des grands services qu'il avait déjà rendus, il n'est pas surprenant qu'il ait été si pénible pour M. Cardin d'être obligé de faire face à certaines situations survenues par la suite. La nature émotive de M. Cardin avait un côté chevaleresque qui le rendait très sensible à tout ce qui lui semblait être un manque de chevalerie de la part de certaines personnes. J'ai compris, et il savait que je comprenais exactement les sentiments qu'il éprouvait. Mais je savais, comme lui, que nous devions tous faire face aux dures exigences de la guerre et que, pour sauvegarder l'unité, il fallait envisager chaque situation nouvelle à la lumière des faits. J'ai toujours regretté que M. Cardin ait cru nécessaire de quitter le cabinet, mais je n'ai jamais douté des motifs de sa conduite. De même, sa démission n'a jamais rien changé dans nos rapports personnels, ni dans l'amitié que j'avais pour lui.

Permettez-moi maintenant de résumer ce que je veux dire au sujet de M. Saint-Laurent.

Dette envers les collègues du Cabinet

J'ai souvent affirmé que je dois mon succès dans la vie publique à l'inspiration, à l'exemple et aux sacrifices de personnes disparues depuis longtemps. J'ai aussi affirmé, — et c'est également vrai, je crois — que je dois mon succès à titre de chef du parti à l'habileté et à la loyauté des hommes qui m'ont toujours appuyé de leurs con-

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seils et honoré de leur confiance aux réunions du Cabinet. Il suffit de jeter un regard sur les membres du gouvernement ici présents pour comprendre combien le Canada doit à leur habileté et à leur intégrité, et tout ce que je dois moi-même à leur loyauté. Parmi ceux qui sont ici présents, MM. Mackenzie, Ilsley, Howe et Gardiner ont été mes compagnons fidèles pendant les onze années qui se sont écoulées depuis la victoire de notre parti en 1935. Ils ont assumé une large part du fardeau et des obligations en ce qui regardait la direction de l'effort de guerre de notre pays.

Il y a d'autres collaborateurs, qui ne font plus partie du Cabinet, mais qui m'ont accordé leur appui durant la plus grande partie de la guerre, d'autres encore qui ont accepté des postes dans le Cabinet durant la guerre et sur la fin des hostilités, et la plupart sont ici présents ce soir.* Je songe en ce moment aux services qu'ils ont tous rendus à notre pays pendant la guerre et à la reconnaissance que je leur dois pour leur collaboration dans l'administration des affaires de l'Etat. Parmi les membres du Cabinet actuel, — et je sais que j'exprime leurs sentiments unanimes, — aucun ne jouit de plus d'admiration, de confiance et d'amitié que notre invité de ce soir, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent. Personne n'occupe une place plus chère dans nos cœurs.

M. Saint-Laurent, ministre de la Justice

La mort nous a ravi M. Lapointe à l'un des moments les plus critiques de la guerre. Les armées allemandes s'étaient emparées de presque toute l'Europe, y compris la partie occidentale de l'Union soviétique. Trois jours avant la nomination de M. Saint-Laurent à titre de ministre de la Couronne, les Japonais avaient attaqué Pearl Harbour. La guerre s'étendait à toutes les parties du monde. M. Saint-Laurent est donc devenu membre du Cabinet à l'heure la plus grave de l'histoire de l'univers. Il s'est rendu à un appel en faveur de la cause de la liberté.

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* En plus des quatre ministres mentionnés, les suivants furent membres du Cabinet pendant toutes ou presque toutes les années de la guerre: MM. Crerar, Power, Michaud, McLarty, MacKinnon, Ralston, Mulock, Gibson, Angus Macdonald, Thorson, Saint-Laurent et Mitchell. M. Casgrain fut assermenté, en mai 1940, comme membre du ministère, mais se retira pour devenir juge. En mai 1942, le docteur King devint membre du ministère, et messieurs Fournier, Bertrand et LaFlèche le devinrent en octobre 1942; M. Claxton et le général McNaughton, en octobre et en novembre 1944; messieurs Glen, Jean, Chevrier, Martin, Abbott, McCann, MacLaren en avril 1945; M. Bridges en août et le sénateur Wishart Robertson en septembre 1945.

A titre de ministre de la Justice, M. Saint-Laurent occupait l'un des postes les plus importants du Cabinet, et d'une importance exceptionnelle en temps de guerre, alors qu'il faut rapidement créer un grand nombre de précédents et interpréter sans cesse des questions de droit lourdes de conséquences. Nous savions qu'entre ses mains la balance de la justice ne se détraquerait pas et que les plus nobles traditions de la profession étaient en sécurité. Possédant une con-

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naissance approfondie du droit et de la constitution, une grande puissance d'analyse et une expérience inégalée dans l'exercice de sa profession d'avocat, il avait la compétence voulue pour assumer ces fonctions. Un grand nombre d'hommes éminents de l'histoire du Canada ont détenu le portefeuille de ministre de la Justice et Louis Saint-Laurent occupe la place qui lui revient parmi ces hommes distingués.

Une de nos plus nobles figures de la scène politique canadienne

M. Saint-Laurent possédait aussi d'autres qualités: une grande connaissance des affaires nationales, un esprit essentiellement juste et sans préjugés, un cœur très sympathique et la plus grande intégrité. Par sa courtoisie et son esprit chevaleresque, il incarne l'un des plus beaux traits de la race française.

Ceux qui le connaissent s'imaginent à peine que M. Saint-Laurent achevait sa soixantième année, lorsqu'il a été assermenté comme ministre, le 10 décembre 1941. Les sexagénaires songent rarement à entrer dans une nouvelle carrière, surtout lorsqu'ils ont très bien réussi dans la profession de leur choix.

M. Saint-Laurent n'a pas choisi la vie politique et il n'y a sûrement pas été attiré par ambition. Par sa grande compétence, il s'était assuré un rang éminent au barreau et cette distinction lui assurait certes le droit d'espérer jouir de plus de loisirs pendant le reste de sa vie. Sans l'appel impérieux du devoir, il ne se serait pas laissé convaincre de poser sa candidature, et, par conséquent, le Canada aurait été privé de l'un de ses hommes publics les plus éminents.

M. Saint-Laurent, homme d'Etat et chef politique

Lorsque M. Saint-Laurent a abandonné l'exercice d'une profession lucrative pour accepter le poste de ministre de la Justice, on comptait bien qu'il dirigerait les affaires du ministère de façon tout à fait satisfaisante pour lui-même et pour l'Administration. Il n'avait pas encore fait ses preuves comme homme d'Etat ou comme chef politique. On ne savait pas avec quelle compétence il remplirait l'un et l'autre de ces rôles. Vous savez maintenant que M. Saint-Laurent s'est acquis l'estime de ses collègues au Parlement dès le début. Vous savez que l'admiration et la confiance du public en lui n'ont cessé de s'accroître. Vous savez comment, durant mon absence récente en Europe, les membres de tous les partis l'ont bien accueilli comme premier ministre suppléant, et comment il s'est montré à la hauteur de la tâche et s'est acquitté de ces fonctions à la satisfaction de tous. Et nous savons également qu'en sa qualité de chef de la délégation canadienne à l'Assemblée des nations unies tenue à Londres en décembre dernier, et présentement à New-York, aucune voix n'est plus écoutée que la sienne. Ce fut la même chose à San-Francisco, lorsqu'il s'est agi de rédiger la Charte des Nations Unies.

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Le temps ne me permet pas de dire à quel point les sages avis de M. Saint-Laurent ont influé sur la préparation des mesures législatives au Cabinet, sur l'étude de mesures difficiles à la Chambre des Communes, et sur la présentation de questions importantes au public. Nous sommes tous au courant des succès qu'il a remportés dans les débats à la Chambre. Au cours des élections générales de 1945 nous nous sommes rendus compte de sa valeur comme orateur politique, aussi bien dans sa circonscription que dans les autres parties de la province, bien que très peu de gens connaissent les difficultés qu'il a dû surmonter alors.

Que ne devons-nous pas à l'attitude franche et sans équivoque prise par M. Saint-Laurent, et à la défense qu'il a faite de la conduite et du programme du Gouvernement, lors de la campagne électorale de 1945 ? A un moment où d'aucuns nous combattaient, où d'autres hésitaient et où certains n'osaient se déclarer ouvertement, il n'a pas hésité un seul instant à dire qu'il appuyait entièrement le chef du parti et qu'il était convaincu que la ligne de conduite suivie par le Gouvernement, au cours d'une période des plus critiques, était la seule capable de préserver l'unité au pays.

Le rôle de M. Saint-Laurent pendant la crise de 1944

J'ai fait allusion à ce qu'a signifié le fait d'avoir M. Saint-Laurent comme membre du Gouvernement pendant les mois difficiles et émouvants en 1942, au temps du plébiscite. A ce moment-là eut lieu la première résignation d'un ministre. Je ne sais pas si on s'est jamais rendu compte du fait qu'en novembre 1944 nous avons été bien près de ne pas avoir de gouvernement au Canada, ni de parti en état de former un ministère avec le moindre espoir de se maintenir au Parlement, alors que nos forces armées étaient engagées dans un terrible combat au front. Je croirai toujours que c'est à l'attitude ferme prise par l'homme d'Etat que le ministre de la Justice s'est révélé en cette heure de crise, à sa claire vision, à la sagesse de son jugement, à la rapidité de ses décisions, et à ses facultés de persuasion plus qu'à tout autre facteur qu'il faut attribuer le maintien du Gouvernement et l'éloignement d'un désastre épouvantable.

Loin de moi la pensée de laisser entendre que tous les membres du Gouvernement ne saisissaient pas également la gravité de la situation et n'étaient pas aussi désireux de prendre la bonne décision, mais d'après ce que je sais de la situation et de la position excesssivement difficile dans laquelle se trouvaient plusieurs députés de cette province ainsi que bon nombre d'autres, d'ailleurs, au Canada, je suis convaincu que si M. Saint-Laurent m'avait retiré son appui ou, même, s'était montré hésitant, j'aurais été obligé de démissionner, ce qui eût entraîné aussi la démission du Cabinet.

Les résultats du scrutin de 1945 démontrent de façon satisfaisante que la ligne de conduite adoptée par le Gouvernement a paru la bonne dans les circonstances. Mais pour en apprécier toute la valeur, il faudrait savoir ce qu'il serait advenu, si le Gouvernement

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n'avait pu se maintenir. De plus, il faudrait considérer cette situation en regard du succès que nous a valu un effort de guerre ininterrompu de la part du Canada.

Services rendus au Parti et à l'Etat

J'en ai peut-être dit assez pour vous permettre de juger ce que le parti et le pays doivent à notre invité de ce soir, ce que les services de M. Saint-Laurent ont valu aux deux. N'est-il pas vrai que M. Saint-Laurent occupe une place presque unique dans notre vie publique ? Et n'est-ce pas un grand honneur pour nous tous d'avoir l'occasion de reconnaître hautement les grands services qu'il a rendus au parti libéral et au Canada, au cours des cinq dernières années ?

Je n'ai encore rien dit de la contribution accordée par les autres membres de la famille de M. Saint-Laurent en regard des services qu'ils ont rendus au pays en temps de guerre. Vous en savez déjà quelque chose. J'ai omis aussi de parler de la confusion créée par l'obligation de résider à Ottawa et de ce que les voyages fréquents entre Ottawa et Québec ont pu causer de dérangements dans la vie ordonnée et paisible de la famille Saint-Laurent. De ces questions de famille, je ne suis malheureusement pas compétent. Je suis cependant convaincu que pour plusieurs privations et pour l'indulgence démontrée en maintes circonstances afin de permettre au ministre de la Justice de poursuivre son genre de vie normale, nous devons beaucoup à madame Saint-Laurent. Je voudrais profiter de l'occasion, en votre nom et en le mien, pour exprimer à madame Saint-Laurent notre profonde admiration pour, dans l'ombre, nous avoir rendu service à tous.

Un mot seulement, au sujet de M. Saint-Laurent, avant de conclure ce que j'ai à dire.

La réponse de M. Saint-Laurent à maints appels

Lorsqu'en décembre 1941, M. Saint-Laurent céda à ma demande pressée d'entrer dans le ministère, il m'a promis de le faire, en raison de la guerre, et seulement pour la durée du conflit. Les hostilités, à ce moment-là, avaient déjà duré plus de vingt-sept mois. Ce n'était pas alors la conviction générale que la guerre durerait plus de quatre ans. De fait, elle dura six ans. En moins d'une quinzaine de jours, il y aura cinq ans que M. Saint-Laurent est devenu membre du gouvernement.

Lorsque la guerre en Europe arriva à sa fin, M. Saint-Laurent me rappela ce qu'il m'avait dit au moment où il entra dans le gouvernement. Mais le parti, à ce moment-là, faisait face à une élection générale. M. Saint-Laurent aurait été le dernier à chercher à se retirer à un tel moment. Il me dit qu'il désirait être avec le parti pendant la campagne, mais il espérait que, peu après, il lui serait possible de prendre sa retraite. Depuis les élections, il m'a parlé à différents moments de sujets qu'il croyait devoir prendre en consi-

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dération. Avec une chevalerie qui lui est caractéristique, il a, à chaque occasion, accédé à ma demande de rester à la tâche. Non seulement ça, mais en plus des lourdes responsabilités du portefeuille de la Justice, qu'il continue de détenir, il a pris sur lui et il porte, pour le moment au moins, les responsabilités toujours plus grandes et plus lourdes qui sont celles de secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures.

J'ai déjà fait savoir que dans une réorganisation du ministère, que je pourrais juger propice de faire, et qui sera faite avant l'ouverture de la session, le ministère des Affaires extérieures aura un ministre qui sera en mesure de consacrer son temps, plus ou moins exclusivement, aux questions inter-commonwealth et internationales. Avec cette réorganisation, j'espère que M. Saint-Laurent trouvera possible, pour quelque temps encore, de continuer à donner à notre pays, au Parlement et au monde, dans l'arène internationale, le bénéfice de ses talents exceptionnels, de sa très grande sagesse et de sa vaste expérience.

Servir pour la "durée"

De crainte que M. Saint-Laurent sente que, n'étant pas disposé à m'en séparer comme collègue en aucun temps, j'oublierais ce qui a été entendu entre nous, à savoir qu'il entrait dans le Cabinet seulement pour la durée de la guerre, laissez-moi lui raconter un petit incident que j'ai lu, il y a à peine un jour ou deux, et qui est très pertinent. Je ne me souviens pas des mots exacts pour raconter cette histoire, mais la logique de ses arguments m'a profondément ému. Un soldat, appartenant à un régiment de Noirs, demandait instamment à son sergent qu'on lui permette de prendre sa retraite de l'armée en raison du fait qu'il s'était enrôlé seulement pour la durée de la guerre: "La guerre est finie, protesta-t-il, je r'tourn' chez moi. Je m'suis enrôlé que pour "la durée"."

S'il vous plaît, monsieur le ministre, rappelez-vous que la "durée" vient seulement de commencer.

La nécessité de l'organisation

Aujourd'hui, on parle trop, à mon sens, des retraites possibles; on fait trop de commentaires sur la question de savoir qui dirigera le parti à la prochaine élection générale. Qu'il suffise, pour le moment, de remporter la victoire aux élections partielles. Soyons absolument francs: nous serions beaucoup plus heureux ce soir si le parti n'avait pas perdu Pontiac, dans cette province, et Portage-la-Prairie, au Manitoba. Nous aurions dû être vainqueurs dans ces deux circonscriptions; nous l'aurions été si l'organisation du parti avait été ce qu'elle aurait dû être. Toronto-Parkdale ne nous a jamais appartenu. Néanmoins, nous sommes venus tout près d'y remporter la palme. Les chiffres établissent clairement que c'est ce qui serait arrivé si l'organisation avait été aussi efficace partout dans la circonscription qu'elle ne l'a été dans la majeure partie.

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Ce soir, moins que jamais, je ne chercherai pas à établir à qui attribuer le blâme. Toutefois, je vais sonner l'appel pour inviter tous et chacun des membres du parti, qu'ils détiennent une situation éminente à titre de députés au Parlement, ou qu'ils soient d'humbles ouvriers dans le rang, à se rendre compte que le sort du parti, dans une mesure plus ou moins grande, est entre leurs mains. Je voudrais pouvoir convaincre tous les membres du parti libéral que l'avenir du parti dépend de chacun d'eux. Je voudrais pouvoir faire comprendre à chaque membre ce qui, en une période comme celle que traverse le monde aujourd'hui, est infiniment plus important, savoir: jusqu'à quel point les chances de succès, le sort, le bonheur, que dis-je la vie même, peut-être, d'innombrables hommes, femmes et enfants sont liés au sort d'un parti dont le but et l'objet sont la protection et l'accroissement des droits humains et de la liberté humaine.

A moins que, à titre de membres d'un parti, tous ne soient prêts à agir comme des hommes et suivant les règles du jeu, non pour des fins égoïstes mais pour le bien général, il est sûr que le parti en souffrira. En politique, comme en mécanique, la force d'une chaîne est celle de sa plus faible maille.

Relation entre le Parti et l'Etat

Vous aurez noté sans doute que dans toutes mes observations, ce soir, j'ai parlé à la fois du service envers le parti et du service envers l'Etat, comme si tous deux signifiaient à peu près la même chose. C'est peut-être que ma vie a été consacrée au service des deux et que, dans ma carrière, les deux ont été, en quelque sorte, inséparables. Je sais que l'on pourrait à bon droit s'objecter si je disais simplement que le service envers l'Etat est inséparable du service envers un parti politique. Mais lorsque, comme en politique, l'un constitue la fin et l'autre, le moyen d'atteindre cette fin, ils sont, en vérité, inséparables.

Tout dépend de la fin que nous voulons servir. Le service envers l'Etat, lorsque la fin est de partager les dépouilles, d'une manière ou d'une autre, n'est nullement moins sordide que le service envers un parti politique, pour la même fin. D'autre part, si la fin est de servir l'Etat pour améliorer le sort de son semblable, le service envers un parti politique qui favorise cette fin devient aussi une des plus hautes formes de service envers l'Etat.

Si les hommes et les femmes qui ont les mêmes idées sur les questions d'actualité ne s'unissent pas sous quelque bannière qui leur permette de marcher en une seule colonne, ils peuvent être assurés que ceux qui diffèrent d'opinion seront tout prêts à profiter de leur négligence. Sans un parti où ils peuvent faire triompher leurs vues, il deviendrait bientôt impossible de servir l'Etat conformément aux principes et au programme en lesquels un grand nombre d'hommes et de femmes ont foi, et dont la mise à exécution est une condition du bien-être d'une multitude d'humains.

Anciens et nouveaux partis politiques

De temps à autre, on entend dire beaucoup de choses au sujet des vieux partis politiques, comme si les nobles traditions et la longue expérience ne comptaient pour rien en politique, alors qu'on s'attend à ce qu'elles comptent dans toute autre sphère d'activité. Un parti politique a autant de raisons d'être fier de ses nombreuses années d'existence et de possession du pouvoir qu'en ont les membres d'une église, d'un régiment, d'une maison d'éducation, d'une maison d'affaires, d'être fiers des services que ces organisations ont rendus par le passé. Le danger pour un gouvernement représentatif, dans plusieurs pays aujourd'hui, vient non autant de la perpétuation des partis qui ont un long et honorable passé, mais d'un égarement des partis politiques qui n'ont pas de passé et peu de chance pour l'avenir.

Récemment, dans cette province, sont apparus l'Union Nationale, le Bloc Populaire, le C.C.F., le Crédit Social, l'Union des électeurs, le Parti progressiste-ouvrier, et des supposés Indépendants de toutes les couleurs de l'arc-en-ciel. Que représentent-ils de tradition et de conception vraiment canadiennes ? La soi-disant Union Nationale n'est pas nationale, mais d'un esprit d'étroit provincialisme; le Bloc Populaire n'est certainement pas populaire; plusieurs ignorent la signification des lettres C.C.F.; un jour, le Crédit Social est identique à l'Union des Electeurs, le lendemain, ce ne l'est plus; et le troisième jour, c'est redevenu le Crédit Social, mais, ce qui est pis, c'est que personne n'a jamais su, dans cette province, ce que signifie le Crédit Social; le nouveau parti Progressiste-ouvrier ne sert plus à exprimer la véritable conception du parti qui a assumé ce nom; et, ce qui est le plus amusant de tout, il y avait un membre du Parlement qui, tout fin seul, prétendait être le Parti Canadien.

Un grand nombre de partis est un danger pour la nation

Le grand nombre de cette sorte de partis et groupes malheureusement jette le discrédit dans l'esprit du public sur tous les partis politiques. Si c'était là le pire effet, les conséquences ne seraient probablement pas aussi sérieuses. Malheureusement, des partis aux différents noms et de toutes sortes, unions, blocs, mouvements aux curieuses dénominations, bien qu'à la fin ils n'arrivent à rien, réussissent entre-temps de saboter et d'amoindrir l'efficacité des partis qui ont une influence nationale. Une multiplicité de partis a pour résultat de détruire la conception entière des organisations politiques responsables et d'affaiblir la nation elle-même. Ceci, comme nous l'avons tous constaté, fut la malchance de la France au début de la guerre. Gardons-nous de ne pas répéter la même erreur. Ce dont nous avons besoin au Canada, ce sont des partis qui serviront à unir en une seule nation, ses provinces d'un océan à l'autre. Nous avons aujourd'hui, au Canada, un tel parti dans le parti libéral. Protégeons cet héritage.

Unité, Sécurité et Liberté

J'ai débuté ce soir en parlant de l'histoire et des traditions du parti libéral. J'ai parlé de la longue procession dans laquelle, pour plus d'un centenaire, les membres du Parti, de génération en génération, ont avancé d'un pas ferme sous la bannière de la Liberté.

J'ai, je l'espère, démontré où le secret des nombreuses victoires du Parti doit être trouvé, et c'est dans son attachement à l'unité: un parti uni; un pays uni; les nations du monde unies par les liens de la fraternité et de la paix.

En aucun temps de l'histoire du Canada avons-nous senti un besoin plus grand qu'aujourd'hui de voir se perpétuer un parti libéral puissant, alors que l'humanité est devant l'alternative de la destruction universelle ou de la liberté parfaite. Dans notre pays, comme dans plusieurs autres, où le facteur géographique et les différences sociales portent à la division, le parti libéral se fait le défenseur de l'unité. Dans un monde où la sécurité de l'homme et de la femme est une chose précieuse, le parti libéral se fait le défenseur de la sécurité. A un moment où la liberté continue d'être menacée par les tendances à la dictature et au totalitarisme, le parti libéral est toujours le défenseur de la liberté. Unité, Sécurité, Liberté: voilà les grands principes pour lesquels nous combattons, voilà les étendards sous lesquels, comme membres du parti libéral du Canada, nous continuerons de servir.

D 64283

Le parti libéral – Personnalités et principes

Discours du Très honorable Louis S. St-Laurent

Monsieur le président, Mesdames, Messieurs.

Je ne chercherai pas de formule nouvelle pour vous exprimer ma gratitude, celle de ma femme et celle de toute ma famille pour ce splendide témoignage d'estime et d'amitié que vous me donnez ce soir. Il faudrait être entièrement dépourvu de toute sensibilité pour n'en être pas profondément ému. Aussi est-ce du plus profond de mon être, beaucoup plus que du bout des lèvres, que je vous dis à tous, et à chacun de vous en particulier, je vous remercie.

Il faudrait aussi être dépourvu de tout sentiment d'orgueil, être modeste à un degré que peu d'hommes peuvent atteindre, surtout en politique, pour n'être pas aussi fier intérieurement qu'on est embarrassé extérieurement d'entendre dire de soi autant de louanges que viennent d'en prononcer à mon endroit le Très Honorable Mackenzie King et l'Honorable Adélard Godbout.

Oh ! je sais bien quelle large part il convient d'en attribuer à l'amitié dont ils m'honorent. Je sais aussi quelle large part des applaudissements si cordiaux dont vous les avez accueillis il convient d'attribuer à un même sentiment de généreuse amitié. Mais c'est déjà très flatteur pour moi et tous les miens d'avoir cette éclatante démonstration que j'ai pu gagner et conserver leur amitié et la vôtre.

C'est la deuxième fois dans ma vie qu'on me fête dans un banquet. Le premier n'avait pas l'éclat de celui-ci. Il me fut donné dans mon village de Compton il y a 41 ans lors de mon admission au barreau de la Province de Québec. J'étais le premier de ma paroisse à devenir avocat et les amis au milieu desquels j'avais grandi s'étaient réunis pour se réjouir des quelques succès que j'avais eus au collège et à l'Université et pour m'en souhaiter d'autres dans la carrière où je me lançais.

Ce premier banquet — si modeste fut-il en comparaison de celui-ci — en avait cependant la même caractéristique essentielle; c'était un témoignage de félicitations, d'estime et d'amitié que je n'ai jamais oublié. Et le souvenir ému que j'en ai gardé vous est un gage que je n'oublierai jamais non plus la fête de ce soir et la généreuse participation de chacun de vous qui en fait un succès si éclatant.

Entrée dans le cabinet

Il y a cinq ans, en effet, que monsieur King m'a appelé à participer à l'administration du gouvernement du Canada et, près de cinq ans, que les électeurs de Québec-Est m'ont élu pour succéder à Sir Wilfrid Laurier et au Très Honorable Ernest Lapointe comme leur député à la Chambre des Communes.

Voir son nom accolé à ceux de Wilfrid Laurier et Ernest Lapointe, c'est déjà un titre glorieux dans l'histoire politique des Canadiens de notre province. Nul autant qu'eux ne s'est imposé à l'admiration de leurs concitoyens des deux dernières générations d'un bout à l'autre de notre immense pays. Leur succéder, se voir chargé de continuer leur œuvre était glorieux, si vous voulez, mais combien périlleux.

Il fallait que nous fussions en guerre pour que j'aie osé affronter le péril de rapprocher Compton de St-Lin et de St-Éloi. Je comptais que l'état de guerre et votre générosité traditionnelle interdiraient les comparaisons et qu'en faisant mon possible, je pourrais continuer à me tenir debout en public et peut-être même un jour me permettre sans fanfaronnade de répéter avec le héros de Rostand: "Mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre".

Semaines d'anxiété

J'ai rappelé que nous étions alors en guerre; je ne sais si tous se souviennent comme moi de la phase de la guerre où nous étions lorsque j'ai été invité par monsieur King à faire partie de son Cabinet. Le jour où j'ai été assermenté, les journaux nous apprenaient l'attaque sur Pearl Harbour et le coulage du Repulse et du Prince of Wales. Le Japon affirmait ainsi, en s'attaquant simultanément aux Etats-Unis et au Commonwealth Britannique, sa croyance ferme qu'il allait avec les puissances de l'Axe vaincre les nations alliées et leur imposer les conditions de servage rêvées par leurs géopolitiques.

Les semaines et même les mois qui ont suivi ont été des semaines et des mois de reculs constants et d'anxiété croissante pour les chefs militaires des forces alliées. Ils ont été aussi des semaines et des mois d'anxiété pour notre public et surtout pour tous ceux qui faisaient partie du gouvernement. Le public a connu l'agitation des deux cents, à Toronto; il a connu les débats orageux à la Chambre sur la loi du plébiscite, il a connu la campagne non moins orageuse qui a abouti au vote du plébiscite, il a connu les débats subséquents à la Chambre sur l'amendement de la loi de mobilisation. Ce qu'il a peut-être moins connu, c'est le danger qu'il a couru pendant toutes ces semaines et ces mois de dissolution des Chambres, d'élections générales, où la question de conscription générale et immédiate aurait causé une division profonde et durable dans notre population, d'autant plus profonde et plus durable qu'elle aurait été basée sur des convictions honnêtes et sincères de part et d'autre. C'eut été un grand, un très grand malheur. Un malheur qui aurait nui à notre effort de guerre, qui aurait amoindri la contribution que nous avons pu fournir aux nations alliées, qui s'il n'avait pas compromis la victoire finale, aurait pu la retarder et se traduire en hécatombes additionnelles pendant la période qui eut été ajoutée au terrible conflit. C'eut été aussi un malheur qui aurait empoisonné la vie nationale canadienne pour de longues années, avec des conséquences sociales et économiques dont il n'est pas facile d'apprécier exactement l'importance mais dont il n'est pas facile non plus de s'exagérer les dangers.

Motifs de satisfaction

Messieurs, malgré mes 64 ans et plus, je suis encore assez jeune, surtout en politique, pour qu'il me reste des illusions. J'ai l'illusion d'avoir pris une part assez considérable à conjurer ce danger et s'il ne me restait aucune autre satisfaction que cette illusion pour compenser les années que j'ai passées à Ottawa au lieu de continuer l'exercice tranquille mais assez satisfaisant de ma profession à Québec, je n'en aurais aucun regret. Et ce n'est pas seulement la satisfaction d'avoir contribué à rendre à son pays un service que j'estime de conséquence majeure; j'ai eu pendant ces semaines et ces mois la satisfaction de me convaincre que le patriotisme éclairé des hommes publics canadiens était réel et qu'il était fécond. J'ai été à même de constater que tous ceux avec qui je collaborais étaient d'un dévouement à la cause publique et d'un désintéressement patriotique qui rappelaient les dévouements et le désintéressement des grandes figures de toutes les histoires et de tous les siècles.

Il y avait des divergences d'opinion, profondes, sincères et presque passionnément convaincues quant aux meilleurs moyens de sauvegarder efficacement les intérêts de la nation canadienne, l'existence même de la nation canadienne. Pour tous, sans aucune exception, ces opinions étaient inspirées du plus pur patriotisme mais elles n'en étaient pas moins divergentes, très divergentes, et ce fut pendant des semaines et des mois, des problèmes de conscience sérieux et angoissants pour chacun. Devait-il, pouvait-il sacrifier ses convictions personnelles pour collaborer à une politique d'action qui donnait des résultats mais qu'il ne pouvait pas croire être la meilleure ?

Etait-il bien inévitable que son refus de le faire provoquerait une crise et paralyserait des efforts importants, peut-être indispensables, sans chance sérieuse de les faire reprendre assez tôt et avec une vigueur augmentée ? Pendant qu'on pèse et qu'on soupèse le pour et le contre il y a la hantise constante du spectre de la guerre qui marche toujours, du spectre de la guerre où des hommes souffrent et meurent chaque jour et où des hommes souffriront et mourront chaque jour tant qu'elle durera.

J'étais le dernier venu dans cette compagnie d'une vingtaine de ministres qui portaient, et qui savaient qu'ils portaient cette lourde responsabilité. Plusieurs avaient été de mes amis avant que je devienne leur collègue et quant aux autres, l'amitié, et même l'intimité, se produisent vite en face d'une lourde responsabilité qu'il faut porter en commun.

Nous nous sommes fourni mutuellement éclaircissements, aide morale, exemple et encouragements, et le danger a été conjuré. Notre effort de guerre a continué à une allure constamment croissante et avec l'appui, en fait, très général, presque unanime, de toute notre population. Oh, il y a bien eu des notes discordantes de temps à autre et en certains quartiers, mais ces notes discordantes se traduisaient surtout en paroles et en écrits, et n'ont pas empêché l'ensemble de la population de répondre avec un élan très satisfaisant aux directives que nous cherchions à lui donner.

Crise à l'automne de 1944

Puis, à l'automne de 1944, survint une autre crise des consciences et des convictions. Dire qu'elle fut plus angoissante pour moi que la première ne serait pas l'exacte vérité car je n'ai jamais eu un moment d'hésitation quant à la ligne de conduite que le devoir m'imposait. Mais cette ligne de conduite m'était tracée par la connaissance de faits que je savais et que je ne pouvais communiquer à mes amis. Je me suis donc trouvé dans la pénible nécessité d'adopter une ligne de conduite que beaucoup d'entre vous, mes amis, considériez sincèrement et honnêtement devoir réprouver. C'était d'autant plus pénible que je connaissais votre bonne foi et que j'étais convaincu que si j'avais eu le droit de vous révéler les motifs qui me faisaient agir, vous les auriez unanimement approuvés, comme on l'a fait du reste à l'élection de juin 1945. A ce moment, les motifs de sécurité qui m'empêchaient de parler en novembre 1944 n'existaient plus et les faits qui s'étaient passés dans l'intervalle fournissaient la démonstration complète que nous avions eu raison.

C'est dur, tout de même, d'avoir à désappointer ses amis, d'être obligé de paraître, même momentanément, trahir leur confiance, accomplir ce qui leur semble être de mauvaises actions et se sentir obligé de garder le secret inviolable de faits qui, s'il était permis de les révéler, dissiperaient toutes ces apparences et feraient tout accepter.

C'était dur mais c'était inévitable et c'est un peu parce qu'il m'a fallu le faire que vous me fêtez ce soir. C'était dur mais c'était tout de même moins dur que ce qu'ont accepté des centaines de mille jeunes Canadiens qui se sont enrôlés sous les drapeaux, qui ont subi de longues périodes d'entraînement dans des conditions absolument différentes de celles de la vie normale des citoyens de notre pays, qui ont abdiqué presque complètement leur volonté individuelle pour accepter les commandements de leurs officiers supérieurs, qui ont accepté d'aller se battre, de recevoir des blessures, de perdre des membres, peut-être de mourir pour que nous vivions et pour que la nation canadienne continue de vivre.

Hommage aux autres

Ce que nous avons fait, nous, en nous occupant d'œuvres de guerre sur l'arrière-ligne, est peu de chose comparé à ce qu'ont eu à faire ceux qui sont allés au front, et ce banquet que vous m'offrez et dont je suis fier, je l'ai accepté et je l'accepte comme hommage à tous ceux qui ont cherché à servir le pays pendant les années que nous venons de traverser. Vous me fêtez, mais vous fêtez aussi le Premier Ministre du Canada, dont toute la carrière avait été celle d'un homme de paix mais qui s'est révélé un Premier Ministre de guerre dont l'apport à tout ce qui a assuré la victoire finale des nations alliées, ne s'avérera inférieure à celle d'aucun autre de nos grands chefs lorsque le recul des années aura permis aux historiens d'en apprécier toute l'ampleur.

Vous fêtez également tous ses collègues, les Mackenzie, les Ralston, les Chubby Power, les Ilsley, les Howe, les Angus MacDonald, les McNaughton, les Gardiner, les MacKinnon, les Gibson, les Mitchell, les Fournier, les Bertrand, les LaFlèche, et tous les autres, pour ne nommer que quelques-uns de ceux qui vivent encore et dont les noms sont avec ceux des grands disparus, Lapointe, Rogers et Cardin, comme des en-têtes de chapitres différents dans l'histoire qui s'écrira de la mobilisation universelle de toutes les ressources humaines et matérielles que notre pays a contribuées à la défense de la civilisation chrétienne contre les forces du mal. Mais vous fêtez aussi et vous fêtez surtout tous les gars du 22ième, des Royal Rifles, du Régiment de la Chaudière, du Régiment de Maisonneuve, et de tous nos autres régiments, ceux de la marine canadienne, tous nos aviateurs, tous ceux qui sont allés porter notre participation sur les champs de bataille, sur les océans ou dans les airs, vous fêtez aussi et en même temps les millions de Canadiens et de Canadiennes qui, dans les forêts, sur les fermes, dans les mines, dans les chantiers et dans les usines, dans les maisons de banque et de finance, partout, se sont associés avec tant d'ardeur à l'effort national que cette crise mondiale nous a imposé.

Réalisations de paix — Allocations familiales

Permettez-moi maintenant de vous rappeler quelques-unes des réalisations de paix auxquelles il m'a été donné de participer depuis que je suis à Ottawa. La première que je veux signaler, c'est la loi des allocations familiales. Je n'irai pas jusqu'à prétendre que cette loi est parfaite dans tous ses détails, mais c'est une bonne loi. C'est la meilleure loi sociale que le Parlement canadien ait jamais adoptée. Elle remédie, en une mesure importante, à l'anomalie qui faisait que 80% des enfants canadiens, 80% des citoyens canadiens de la prochaine génération, étaient à la charge de moins que 15% de la génération actuelle.

Et il n'y avait pas d'autre moyen de remédier d'une manière efficace à cette anomalie. On a beau parler de salaire familial, lorsqu'on habite un pays comme le nôtre, dont l'économie dépend en une si large mesure de son commerce international, de notre capacité de produire et de vendre en concurrence avec tous les autres pays, il faut admettre que les gages et les salaires doivent rester en fonction directe de la valeur économique des produits résultant du travail dont les gages et les salaires sont le prix. Les fixer pour tout le monde au niveau des besoins du père de famille ayant à sa charge le plus grand nombre d'enfants grèverait nos industries de fardeaux que la concurrence des autres ne leur permet pas de porter. D'autre part, tenter de proportionner les gages et les salaires aux charges de famille de ceux qui les reçoivent, empêcherait fatalement l'embauchage de ceux-là mêmes que le système serait destiné à favoriser.

L'égalité des gages et des salaires pour égalité de rendement est une conséquence inéluctable du système sous lequel nous vivons. Mais le système sous lequel nous vivons en est un dont tous nous

profitons et il est juste de répartir sur l'ensemble de la communauté une partie de la charge qui pesait trop lourdement sur les chefs des familles nombreuses.

La loi dont la mise en opération remonte au 1er juillet 1945 pourvoit à la distribution d'environ 250 millions de dollars par année à cette fin. Non seulement elle vient en aide aux chefs de familles riches surtout en futurs citoyens canadiens, mais elle place à leur disposition un pouvoir d'achat de 250 millions de dollars par année qui est utilisé couramment et qui crée un marché stable et constant pour un volume correspondant de denrées de consommation.

On a critiqué certains détails de cette loi. On a dit, par exemple, qu'on ne devrait commencer à verser les allocations qu'au troisième enfant. On oubliait de tenir compte du fait que ces allocations sont versées périodiquement pour tous les enfants ayant moins de seize ans au moment où elles sont versées et que la statistique démontre qu'au moment de chaque versement il y a près de la moitié des familles où il n'y a pas plus que deux enfants de cet âge. Pour celles qui commencent, cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles ne deviendront pas plus nombreuses et pour celles dont les derniers ont déjà 14 ou 15 ans, cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles n'ont pas été plus nombreuses. Mais cela veut dire que pour tous les ménages, jeunes comme moins jeunes, les allocations sont payées chaque mois suivant le nombre d'enfants dans la famille ayant l'âge voulu pour les recevoir au cours de ce mois.

On a critiqué ausi le fait que la loi comportait un taux décroissant lorsqu'il y avait lieu de verser des allocations pour plus que quatre enfants en même temps dans la même famille. Il est possible que l'expérience démontre que le taux de cette décroissance a été mal établi mais je ne crois pas qu'on puisse sérieusement prétendre qu'il est injuste de tenir un certain compte du fait que les dépenses mensuelles à la charge du père de 7 ou 8 enfants de moins de 16 ans ne sont pas exactement le double des mêmes dépenses à la charge de celui qui n'en a que 3 ou 4.

Et du reste, Messieurs, quelles sont les œuvres humaines qui soient absolument parfaites lorsqu'elles sont d'abord ébauchées ? Il est possible que celle-ci le soit, mais même si elle ne l'est pas, c'est une bonne loi, une très bonne loi et le parti auquel j'appartiens est fier de l'avoir inscrite dans nos statuts.

Redistribution — Raisons de l'amendement à la Constitution

Une autre réforme dont notre parti est fier et à laquelle je suis fier d'avoir collaboré, c'est le rajustement de la représentation des populations des provinces dans notre parlement national. On a commencé en 1867 avec une représentation basée sur la population de chacune des provinces; on a attribué 65 députés à la province de Québec et on a fixé l'unité de représentation pour les autres provinces à 1/65 de la population de chez nous.

Il devait y avoir rajustement de la représentation après chaque recensement décennal mais il y avait une clause dans l'Acte constitutionnel comportant qu'on ne diminuerait la représentation d'une province que si la proportion de sa population comparée à celle de toute la nation avait diminué d'un vingtième depuis le dernier rajustement.

Apparemment, les rédacteurs de cette clause consentaient à un certain écart du principe de la représentation proportionnelle mais entendaient qu'il fut corrigé de décade en décade ou au moins aussitôt qu'il aurait atteint l'importance d'un vingtième. Mais le Conseil Privé ayant eu à interpréter cette disposition en 1904, il en vint à la conclusion qu'il y avait rajustement de la représentation chaque fois que cette représentation était mise en regard du plus récent recensement avec la conséquence qu'il fallait une diminution d'un vingtième entre deux recensements consécutifs pour permettre une réduction

Ceci rendait possibles des écarts de beaucoup plus qu'un vingtième entre la représentation de Québec et celle des autres provinces pourvu que la diminution dans la proportion de la population de celles-ci bien que progressive et cumulative, n'égalât pas un vingtième dans une seule décade. Déjà, après le recensement de 1941, la population d'Ontario avait huit députés de plus que sa représentation proportionnelle et cet écart aurait pu augmenter indéfiniment s'il avait suivi la même progression que pendant les trois dernières décades. Lorsque les compilations du recensement de 1941 furent publiées en 1943, il y aurait eu lieu de procéder à une redistribution. Il aurait fallu faire cette redistribution en tenant compte du jugement du Conseil Privé. Cette redistribution aurait fait perdre plusieurs députés aux citoyens du Manitoba et de Saskatchewan, mais Ontario aurait gardé ses huit députés de plus que sa représentation proportionnelle. Le Gouvernement en est venu à la conclusion qu'une telle redistribution n'eut pas été juste et il a fait adopter un amendement à la Constitution pour la remettre jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, car la tension des esprits pendant la guerre était telle qu'il n'aurait probablement pas été possible de faire accepter un amendement qui eut augmenté la proportion des gens de chez nous dans le parlement national. J'ai consenti dans le temps à assumer ma part de responsabilité pour cet ajournement de la redistribution et j'ai déclaré à la Chambre que je le faisais parce qu'une redistribution sous les conditions d'alors eut été injuste pour les populations du Manitoba et de Saskatchewan mais j'ajoutais qu'elle eut été injuste aussi pour la population de Québec et que j'avais confiance qu'une remise permettrait de faire accepter un système qui nous rendrait justice à tous.

On s'est bien moqué dans le temps de ma naïveté si confiante. On a même pensé, en certains milieux, qu'on pourrait faire croire au public qu'il y avait là une lâche concession de ma part pour faire l'affaire des autres aux dépens des gens de chez nous. S'exposer si naïvement à la critique des adversaires est peut-être une des raisons pour l'opinion qu'on exprime si souvent à mon endroit: "St-Lau-

rent ? Il a pu être un assez bon avocat, mais il ne connaît rien en politique." J'avoue ne rien connaître à certaines façons de faire de la politique. Non seulement je l'avoue, mais je m'en glorifie. Le peu d'expérience que j'ai des hommes et de leurs façons de réagir, je l'ai acquise à plaider devant des juges dont je respectais l'intelligence et la bonne foi. En leur demandant de rendre des jugements, j'estimais qu'il fallait soumettre à leur appréciation tous les faits pertinents, mais rien autre chose que les faits pertinents; en d'autres termes, la vérité, toute la vérité, rien que la vérité.

C'est un système qui m'a réussi pendant au delà de 36 ans au Barreau et quand j'ai été obligé de changer de juge et de plaider mes causes devant le grand public, dont nous dépendons en politique, j'étais trop vieux pour changer de système. J'ai continué à respecter l'intelligence et la bonne foi de mes nouveaux juges et, franchement, j'ai l'impression que ce n'est pas un système qui leur déplaît.

Mais revenons à la redistribution. La confiance que j'exprimais en 1943 ne paraît plus aussi naïve. Vous savez qu'à la dernière session nous avons de nouveau fait amender la Constitution pour rétablir le principe de la représentation proportionnée à la population quant à toutes les provinces. Dorénavant, il ne faudra pas plus de gens de Québec pour avoir droit à un député aux Communes qu'il n'en faut dans aucune autre province.

Opposition à l'amendement

Trois députés seulement se sont opposés ouvertement au rétablissement du principe si juste de la même unité de représentation pour tout le monde. Mais nos adversaires ont cherché à masquer leur opposition réelle avec l'argument que nous n'avions pas le droit d'y procéder sans obtenir auparavant le consentement des gouvernements provinciaux.

D'après eux, il aurait fallu demander la permission préalable au moins de certains gouvernements provinciaux notamment celui de monsieur Duplessis et celui de son ami, monsieur George Drew. Et parce que nous ne l'avons pas fait, ceux qui s'y connaissent si bien aux façons de faire de la politique que je connais si mal, pensent maintenant qu'ils peuvent convaincre la population du Québec que nous avons mis en péril l'usage de la langue française en notre pays.

Voici le rapport publié dans *Le Devoir* du 19 août, de ce que M. Duplessis a dit en une grande assemblée publique à Ste-Rose, le dimanche précédent:

"Depuis près de 80 ans que nous sommes dans la Confédération. jamais il n'y eut de tels fanatiques qu'en 1946, de fanatiques au point d'aller dire que la langue française n'a plus droit de cité dans la province de Québec. Et c'est un ministre libéral de langue française qui a dit cela."

A plusieurs reprises aussi, monsieur Ivan Sabourin, l'organisateur dans notre province du parti progressiste-conservateur, a dit à peu près la même chose. Cela a été préparé lors du débat aux Communes sur le projet d'amendement. Monsieur Arthur Smith, député progressiste-conservateur de Calgary-ouest, m'avait sommé de répondre comme Ministre de la Justice à l'objection suivante: Si le Parlement peut sans le consentement des gouvernements provinciaux faire modifier la Constitution pour changer la proportion de députés pour chaque province, n'aurait-il pas le même droit pour faire modifier l'article 133 quant à l'usage de la langue française ?

Un de ces grands connaisseurs en politique aurait pu éviter de répondre clairement à une telle question. Il aurait pu se contenter de dire qu'il s'agissait en l'espèce de réparer une injustice et que le droit de la réparer n'impliquait aucun droit d'en commettre d'autres. Mais nous discutions l'effet véritable de la Constitution au point de vue strictement légal et j'ai répondu qu'au point de vue strictement légal, les gouvernements provinciaux comme tels, n'avaient rien à faire quant au respect dû à la langue française dans le Parlement fédéral.

J'ai pu ajouter, en toute confiance, que pour les Canadiens de ma race et de ma religion, il existe une garantie plus sûre que l'article 133 de la Constitution pour protéger nos droits essentiels: Ce n'est pas la façon d'agir de ceux qui ont été formés selon les principes traditionnels de la liberté et du fair play britannique de poser des actes que la conscience de l'humanité jugerait déshonorants.

L'interprétation de la Constitution et l'usage du français

Ce n'est pas moi qui ai rédigé la Constitution de 1867 et lorsque je l'interprète comme avocat il me faut l'interpréter telle qu'elle est et non pas telle qu'on pourrait souhaiter qu'elle fût. En fait tant que nous n'aurons pas adopté un système pour l'amender chez nous, elle s'amende par statuts adoptés au Parlement de Londres. Depuis le Statut de Westminster, le Parlement de Londres ne légifère pour nous que lorsque nous le demandons et de la façon que nous demandons et à la seule condition que la demande soit faite par ceux qui, en vertu de la Constitution, ont juridiction en la matière à laquelle l'amendement doit s'appliquer.

Certaines matières sont sous la juridiction exclusive des législatures provinciales. Quant à celles-là, aucune demande d'amendement provenant du Parlement fédéral ne peut être accueillie. Quant aux autres matières, celles qui ne sont pas expressément attribuées aux législatures provinciales par les termes de la Constitution, les demandes d'amendement doivent venir du Parlement fédéral et c'est lui seul qui est responsable envers les citoyens canadiens de la teneur de ces demandes. Car il ne faut pas l'oublier, le Parlement fédéral est notre parlement à nous, tout autant qu'il est le parlement des Canadiens des autres provinces. La juridiction qu'il exerce, c'est vous

qui l'exercez en y envoyant vos représentants, et vos représentants ont la responsabilité d'y faire respecter vos droits dans le domaine fédéral tout comme vos représentants à la Législature ont la responsabilité de faire respecter ceux du domaine provincial. Nos droits à l'usage de la langue française dans le domaine fédéral, ne sont pas plus exposés par suite du fait que les législatures provinciales n'ont rien à y voir, que ne le sont vos comptes de banque, vos droits de voter aux élections fédérales, vos droits d'avoir la protection du code criminel contre les assassins et les voleurs.

Monsieur Duplessis était d'autant moins justifiable de faire à mon endroit une assertion comme celle que je vous ai citée tout à l'heure que je lui avais écrit, cinq ou six semaines auparavant, c'est-à-dire le 9 juillet, 1946, un lettre dont je vais me permettre de vous lire certains extraits:

"Il me semble étrange, toutefois, que vous introduisiez dans le débat la question de l'usage de la langue française. Il est vrai que la question a été soulevée ici par un député conservateur de l'Ouest, mais on a considéré la menace voilée qu'elle comportait comme un épouvantail à corbeaux qui n'a effrayé personne. C'était trop apparemment une manœuvre destinée à empêcher les députés de Québec d'insister pour qu'on attribue à notre population la représentation numérique au Parlement, à laquelle, vous admettrez avec moi, nous avons un droit incontestable d'après l'esprit de la loi de 1867 et même d'après ce que nous pensions en être le texte, avant l'interprétation donnée à ce texte par le jugement du Conseil Privé dans la cause de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard.

"L'article 133 de la Constitution a trait à l'usage des deux langues, — anglaise et française, — au Parlement fédéral et dans la Législature de Québec, ainsi que devant certains tribunaux.

"Il est évident que ce serait empiéter sur les droits de la Législature de Québec pour le Parlement fédéral de décider quoi que ce soit, quant à l'usage de ces langues dans les procédés des Chambres de la Législature de Québec ou des tribunaux de notre province. Quant à l'usage de ces langues dans le Parlement fédéral ou devant ces tribunaux fédéraux, cela intéresse la population canadienne représentée, d'après moi, autrement que par les députés élus à la Législature de Québec."

"Lorsqu'un mandant a deux mandataires, à qui ses pouvoirs ont été délégués pour des fins spécifiquement déterminées quant à chacun, le fait que l'un d'eux faillit aux responsabilités de son mandat n'a pas pour effet de transférer ses pouvoirs à l'autre. En outre, en l'occurrence, le mandataire fédéral de la population canadienne n'a pas failli aux responsabilités de son mandat, ne manifeste aucune intention d'y faillir, et personnellement, je suis convaincu qu'il n'y faillira jamais."

Relations fédérales-provinciales — Respect de l'autonomie des provinces

J'aurais voulu parler des relations fédérales-provinciales mais j'ai été déjà trop long. Ce n'est pas vous du reste qu'il est nécessaire de mettre en garde contre les discours de monsieur Duplessis et de ceux qui, avec lui, cherchent à créer l'impression que le gouvernement d'Ottawa veut empiéter sur l'autonomie des provinces. Le gouvernement d'Ottawa a fait aux provinces des propositions fiscales qui lui paraissaient de nature à faciliter l'accomplissement, tant par les gouvernements des provinces que par le gouvernement fédéral, des responsabilités respectives qui leur incombent en vertu de la Constitution et cela pour que la Constitution puisse être pleinement respectée.

Le gouvernement de Québec n'a pas voulu accepter ces propositions, mais malgré toutes les déclarations pompeuses de son chef actuel sur son désir de collaborer avec les autorités fédérales, il n'a jamais été possible d'avoir la moindre précision quant aux conditions qu'il aurait trouvées acceptables.

Un exemple des objections de M. Duplessis: l'impôt sur les successions

Je ne mentionnerai qu'un seul item de ses objections comme exemple de sa façon de mener la controverse: Pour faire face aux dépenses énormes qu'il a fallu encourir comme conséquence de la guerre, le Parlement fédéral a dû décréter des augmentations importantes de l'impôt sur le revenu. Il a dû aussi exercer son droit indéniable de décréter des impôts sur les successions.

Or, l'administration des deux lois a révélé que la perception de l'impôt sur les successions permettrait de découvrir bien des évasions pratiquées à l'égard de l'impôt sur le revenu. L'examen du bilan d'une succession permet de contrôler quelle proportion des actifs qui la constituent provient de revenus gagnés antérieurement et permet souvent de percevoir l'impôt sur des revenus qui n'avaient pas été déclarés.

Or, Messieurs, lorsque le taux de l'impôt est élevé et que tous souhaitent comme nous le faisons dans le moment qu'il puisse être abaissé, une condition indispensable à la possibilité de l'abaisser, c'est le paiement par tous, sans aucune évasion, de ce qui est dû au taux en vigueur. Lorsqu'un contribuable omet de payer la part qu'il doit supporter suivant le taux en vigueur, ce n'est pas le gouvernement qui en souffre mais ce sont les autres contribuables.

Le gouvernement réussira toujours à prélever la totalité des sommes dont il a besoin et s'il n'obtient pas de chaque contribuable la part que celui-ci doit fournir, il obtiendra quand même les sommes requises en augmentant le taux ou en maintenant à un niveau élevé le taux de la contribution des autres.

Le gouvernement fédéral était donc d'avis que, pour l'heure, au moins, il était dans l'intérêt général de la masse des contribuables canadiens qu'il continuât à imposer des droits de succession. Il a même proposé que les provinces s'abstiennent temporairement d'en imposer contre certains versements qu'il ferait à chacune. Cela ne paraissait acceptable qu'à certaines provinces et comme le taux de l'impôt doit être le même partout et qu'il fallait dans les provinces qui acceptaient la proposition fédérale, fixer un taux assez élevé pour couvrir les deux taux — fédéral et provincial — auparavant en vigueur et ainsi être en état de leur faire les remboursements convenus, le gouvernement a dû recommander et le Parlement a adopté une loi établissant le même nouveau niveau pour toutes les provinces. Mais pour n'être pas injuste envers celles qui n'acceptaient pas la proposition fédérale, le Gouvernement a recommandé et le Parlement a décrété que le montant de l'impôt fédéral serait diminué pour chaque contribuable jusqu'à concurrence de ce qu'il aurait à payer comme impôt de succession au gouvernement de sa province, n'excédant pas 50 pour cent de l'impôt total.

Si l'impôt fédéral suivant le nouveau taux est de 100 et que le contribuable doit payer 50 au gouvernement de sa province, il ne paiera que 50 au fisc fédéral.

Or, vous constatez que le Premier ministre actuel de la province de Québec se plaint dans ses discours de l'attitude provocante du gouvernement fédéral: non seulement a-t-il refusé à la conférence de se retirer du domaine de l'impôt sur les successions, mais, par sa loi de la dernière session, il a doublé la cote de cet impôt !

Messieurs, ce n'est pas ainsi que je conçois dire la vérité, toute la vérité et rien que la vérité. C'est peut-être faire preuve de certaine habilité stratégique en politique, mais je persiste quand même à croire qu'il vaut encore mieux respecter l'intelligence et la bonne foi de ceux qui ont la responsabilité de porter des jugements sur la conduite des hommes politiques.

Conclusion

Nous sommes tous des citoyens d'un même pays, d'un pays jeune mais d'un pays dont les habitants sont déjà devenus une nation. Je participe dans le moment à une conférence de 54 nations et je puis vous donner l'assurance que le rang et le rôle de la nôtre ne sont pas parmi les moins importants.

C'est nous qui, sous l'œil de la Providence et la poussée des événements qu'il est parfois difficile aux hommes de contrôler, sommes les seuls maîtres de nos destinées. La constitution sous laquelle nous vivons fait un partage judicieux des prérogatives et des responsabilités de la souveraineté entre le pouvoir central et les organismes provinciaux.

C'est un système qui n'est peut-être pas parfait mais je n'en connais aucun qui conviendrait mieux à la situation que les événements nous ont imposés. Nous entendons qu'il soit maintenu.

Notre Premier Ministre disait, dans un discours en 1942: "Notre statut national n'est pas fondé sur la supériorité d'une seule race ou d'une seule langue. Le Canada a été fondé sur la confiance que les deux races les plus fières du monde pourraient en dépit de différence de langue et de croyances, travailler ensemble dans un esprit de tolérance et de respect mutuel au développement d'une nationalité commune.

Dans cette association égale des Canadiens de langue anglaise et de langue française, nous avons admis des milliers qui sont issus d'autres races et qui parlent d'autres langues. Tous et chacun, ils ont cherché une patrie où la nationalité ne veut dire ni domination, ni esclavage mais égalité et liberté. Sans l'idéal de l'égalité entre eux de tous les hommes, sans cette vision d'humanité fraternelle, la nation canadienne n'aurait pu naître, sans eux, elle ne pourra vivre."

La nationalité canadienne est aussi basée sur le principe fondamental de la division des pouvoirs entre un Parlement où se traitent et se règlent les problèmes que tous les Canadiens ont en commun et des législatures, seules compétentes à traiter et à régler ceux qui les intéressent séparément et spécialement comme habitants d'une province.

Le parti auquel j'appartiens a toujours été et sera toujours le ferme défenseur de cette répartition si juste, si logique et si indispensable au sain développement de la nationalité canadienne. Je répète ici comme assertion de fait et comme promesse quelques lignes additionnelles de la lettre que j'écrivais à monsieur Duplessis le 9 juillet dernier où je me servais des termes mêmes d'un ordre en conseil qu'il avait fait adopter le 3 juillet et dont il m'avait adressé la copie:

"Le gouvernement du Canada a pris les mesures appropriées pour faire droit au "désir de la province de Québec que toutes les provinces, Québec en particulier, obtiennent, par des procédés conformes à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Constitution du Canada, une représentation fédérale juste et raisonnable.

La province de Québec verra toujours respecté "son irrévocable désir de sauvegarder intégralement les prérogatives constitutionnelles qui lui appartiennent et de conserver intacts les droits intangibles et inaliénables de la langue française";

Le gouvernement de la province de Québec n'a à redouter aucun manquement au "respect intégral du pacte confédératif canadien".

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D 64350

THE LIBERAL PARTY
PERSONALITIES AND POLICIES

SPEECHES BY

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister and Leader of the
Liberal Party of Canada

AND

The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent,
Minister of Justice and Secretary
of State for External Affairs

DELIVERED AT THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC, QUEBEC

NOVEMBER 29, 1946.

▼

On the Occasion of

**The Complimentary Banquet in Honour of
Mr. St. Laurent**

D 64351

THE LIBERAL PARTY—PERSONALITIES and POLICIES

Speech by The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

QUEBEC, NOVEMBER 29th, 1946

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I thank him most warmly for all his generous words of welcome which I shall long remember. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to have at my side the honourable Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal Party in this Province. Often in the past we have been deeply moved by his eloquence. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes much to Mr. Godbout.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, met here tonight not to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphal fashion. I speak, of course, of our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Tribute to a Truly Great Man

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal Party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.*

Let me say, at once, that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the Party's platform

* The Prime Minister's remarks up to this point were spoken in French.

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and policies, or to debate public issues. For me, for these purposes other occasions will be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay on behalf of the Party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and one who in the course of his comparatively few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to the Liberal Party and to our country.

The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our Party has been in office for almost thirty-five years during the past half century.

A Record of Which to be Proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any Party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten

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leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our Party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the Party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our Party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory. You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity:—Party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side, two such colleagues as

the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government over many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the government in the Senate, he was its oldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the oldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French-speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in those very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been.

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to the late Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's

entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the people of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of chivalry on the part of others. I understood, and he knew I understood, exactly how he felt. But I know, as he also knew, that we all alike had to face the stern necessities of war, and that, if unity were to be preserved, each new situation could only be met in the light of new developments. I always regretted that Mr. Cardin found it necessary to resign from the Ministry, but I never questioned his motives. Nor did his resignation ever make any difference in our personal relations, or in the affection I cherished for him.

Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening.* The services rendered by all during the

* The following, in addition to the four Ministers mentioned, were members of the Cabinet during all or most of the years of the war: Messrs. J. H. King (appointed Leader of the Government in the Senate, 1942, and Speaker of the Senate, 1945, Ralston, Crerar, Power, Michaud, McLarty, MacKinnon, Mulock, Gibson, Angus Macdonald, Thorson, St. Laurent and Mitchell. Mr. Casgrain was also sworn as a member of the Ministry in May, 1940, but retired on appointment to the Bench in December 1941. Messrs. Fournier, Bertrand and LaFleche entered the government in October, 1942; Mr. Claxton and General McNaughton in October and November, 1944, respectively; Messrs. Glen, Jean, Chevrier, Martin, Abbott, McCann, MacLaren in April, 1945; Mr. Bridges in August and Senator Wishart Robertson in September, 1945.

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war are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their co-operation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St. Laurent as Minister of Justice

Mr. Lapointe's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

As Minister of Justice, Mr. St. Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

One of the Finest Figures in Canadian Public Life

Mr. St. Laurent brought more than this. He brought a broad outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year. Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St. Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

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Mr. St. Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St. Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred percent behind the Party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's Role in the Crisis of 1944

I have referred to what it meant to have Mr. St. Laurent a member of the Government in the difficult and moving months of 1942 at the time of the plebiscite. At that time there was the first resignation from the Ministry. I do not know that it has ever been realized how near in November, 1944, we came to having no government at all in Canada, and no Party that could form a government, with any hope of being able to carry on in parliament while our armed forces were facing the last terrible ordeal of battle at the front. I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgment, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence

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helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster.

I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the high public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years!

I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to express to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's Response to Many Calls

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only

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because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the Party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the Party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such re-organization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament reassembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "The Duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a coloured regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo' po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of de war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning".

Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general

elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the Party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the Party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all parts of the constituency been what it was over the greater part.

Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the Party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the Party. I wish I could impress on every member of the Liberal Party how much the Party's future is dependent on individuals, dependent on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness—nay, possibly, the very lives—of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a Party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a Party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole Party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political Party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one whit less sordid than service to a political Party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect.

Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

Old and New Political Parties

One hears from time to time a great deal about the old political parties, as though noble traditions and years of experience should count for nothing in politics, although they are expected to count for everything in other spheres of activity. There is no more reason why a political party should not be proud of its many years of existence and of office than why the members of any church, of any regiment, of any institution of learning, of any business concern, should not be proud of service these organizations have rendered over the years. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, arises not from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past, it arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

In this Province, there have appeared in recent times, the Union Nationale, the Bloc Populaire, the C.C.F., Social Credit, the Union des Electeurs, the Labour Progressive Party, and so-called Independents of every colour of the rainbow. What do any of them represent either of tradition or of a truly Canadian outlook? The so-called Union Nationale is not national, but narrowly provincial; the Bloc Populaire is certainly not popular; many people do not know what the initials C.C.F. stand for; one day, Social Credit is the same thing as the Union des Electeurs, the next day it is not; and the third day it is Social Credit again but worst of all no one seems to know at any time just what exactly in this province Social Credit means; Labour Progressive no longer serves to disguise the real nature of the Party which has assumed that name, and, most ludicrous of all, there was for a time one Member of Parliament who, all by himself, pretended to be the Canadian Party.

Many Parties a Source of Danger to the Nation

The very number of such parties and groups unfortunately brings discredit in the public mind on all political parties. If that were the worst effect, the consequences might not be so serious. Unfortunately, parties in names and numbers so considerable: unions, blocs, movements with all sorts of fancy names, while in the long run they get nowhere themselves, tend, meanwhile, to undermine and weaken the effectiveness of parties which have a nation-wide influence. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all now know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating that supreme folly in our own land. What we want in Canada are political parties that will serve to unite its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a Party we have in the Liberal Party in Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

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Unity, Security and Freedom

I opened my remarks this evening by speaking of the history and traditions of the Liberal Party. I spoke of the long procession in which, for more than a century, members of the Party, in generation following generation, had marched steadily forward under the banner of Freedom. I have, I hope, shown wherein the secret of its many victories is to be found in the emphasis the Party has placed upon unity:—a united Party; a united country; nations of the world united in the bonds of brotherhood and peace.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face Mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for Unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal Party stands for Security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for Freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which we stand; these are the banners under which, as members of the Liberal Party of Canada, we will continue to serve.

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THE LIBERAL PARTY—PERSONALITIES and POLICIES

Speech by The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent

Expression of Gratitude

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I will not try to find any new formula to express to you my gratitude, that of my wife and that of all my family for this splendid tribute of esteem and friendship which you are giving me tonight. One would be quite devoid of any sensibility if one failed to be profoundly moved by it and it is from the very depth of my being, much more than from the lips that I say to you, to each one of you in particular, I thank you.

One would also have to be devoid of any sentiment of pride, be modest to a degree which few men can achieve, especially men in politics, not to feel as proud inside as one must appear embarrassed outside, at hearing about oneself such praise as has been spoken by the Right Honourable Mackenzie King and Honourable Adélard Godbout. Oh, I know how large a part of it must be attributed to the friendship with which they honour me. I also know how large a part of the cordial plaudits with which you have greeted this praise should be attributed to a similar sentiment of generous friendship. But it is none the less very flattering for me and for all those who are close to me to be given this demonstration that I have been able to win and to keep their friendship and yours.

This is the second time in my life that I am feasted in a banquet. The first one was far from being as brilliant as this. It was tendered to me in my native village of Compton, 41 years ago, when I was admitted to the Bar of the Province of Quebec. I was the first from my parish to become a lawyer and the friends in whose midst I had grown up came together to rejoice over such successes as I had won at school and at University and to wish me others in the career upon which I was embarking.

This first banquet, modest as it was compared to this one, nevertheless had the same essential characteristic. It was a tribute of congratulations, of esteem and of friendship which I have never forgotten. And the moving memory which it left with me is an earnest to you that I shall no more forget this evening's feast and the generous participation of each one of you which has made it such a grand success.

Joins the Ministry

It is true that it was five years ago that Mr. King invited me to take part in the administration of the Government of Canada and it is almost five years ago that the electors of Quebec East chose me to succeed Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe as their representative in the House of Commons.

To have one's name bracketed with that of Wilfrid Laurier and Ernest Lapointe constitutes in itself a title to fame in the political history of the Canadians of my province. No one has equalled them in winning the admiration of their fellow-citizens of the two last

generations from one end to the other of our broad country. To succeed them, to be called upon to continue their work, is fame if you will, but also what dangerous fame! There had to be a war to make me dare to have Compton thus brought into contact with St-Lin and St-Eloi. I felt, however, that the state of war and your own traditional generosity would prevent comparisons and that if I did my best, I might continue to stand on my own feet and perhaps even some day be able to assert without the swagger of Rostand's hero: My own glass is a small one but it is the one from which I am accustomed to drink.

I have recalled that we were then at war. I wonder if you all remember as I do what was the phase of the war when I was invited by Mr. King to become a member of his Cabinet. The day on which I took my oaths of office was the day when the papers told us about the attack on Pearl Harbor and the sinking of the Repulse and of the Prince of Wales. Japan was thus asserting by its simultaneous attacks on the United States and on the British Commonwealth its firm belief that with the Axis powers it would triumph over the Allied Nations and would impose upon them the conditions of serfdom intended by their war lords.

Weeks of Anxiety

The following weeks and even months were weeks and months of constant repulses and increasing anxiety for the military chiefs of the Allied Forces. They were also weeks and months of anxiety for our own public and especially for those who were members of the government. The public was aware of the agitation of the two hundred in Toronto. It was aware of the stormy debate in the House of Commons on the plebiscite act. It was aware of the no less stormy campaign which preceded the vote on the plebiscite. It was aware of the subsequent debate in the House on the amendment of the Mobilization Act. But it was perhaps less aware of the danger which threatened during all those weeks and months of a dissolution of Parliament and of a general election where the question of total and immediate conscription would have brought about a profound and lasting division in our population, a division all the more lasting and profound because it would have been based on sincere and honest convictions on both sides.

That would have been a misfortune, a great misfortune, a misfortune which would have impeded our war effort, which would have lessened the contribution which we were able to make to the cause of the Allied Nations, and which if it had not made final victory uncertain might have retarded it and resulted in the loss of many more masses of human lives during the period thus added to the terrible conflict. It would have been a misfortune which would have poisoned Canadian national life for many long years with social and economical consequences that it is not easy to assess exactly but the importance of which it is not easy to exaggerate.

Reasons for Satisfaction

Gentlemen, in spite of my 64 years and more, I am still young enough, especially in politics, to have retained some illusions. I

confess in retaining the illusion that I was able to play a not inconsiderable part in warding off that misfortune. Now if I were to have no other satisfaction than that illusion to compensate for the years I have spent in Ottawa instead of continuing the peaceful but rather satisfactory practice of my profession in Quebec, I would have no regrets. And this satisfaction comes not only from the feeling of having contributed to the performance of a public service which I deem to have been of major importance; during those weeks and months I had the satisfaction of becoming convinced that the enlightened patriotism of Canadian public men was real and was fruitful. It was given to me to see, as a fact, that the devotion to public duty and the patriotic selflessness of those with whom I had to collaborate could revive memories of the devotion to public duty and the selflessness of the great figures of all histories and of all centuries.

There were diverging views profoundly, sincerely and almost passionately held as to the best way to safeguard effectively the vital interests of the Canadian nation, the very existence of the Canadian nation.

But in every one without any exception, those views were inspired by the most lofty patriotism. And yet they were none the less diverging, very diverging and, for weeks and months, those divergencies constituted serious and agonizing conscientious problems for each one. Should he, could he sacrifice his personal convictions to continue to collaborate in carrying out policies which were yielding some results but which he could not bring himself to believe were the best?

Was it really inevitable that his refusal to do so would provoke a crisis and would paralyze efforts which were important and even indispensable without a serious prospect of seeing them resumed soon enough and with increased vigour. And while the pros and cons are being weighed and re-weighed there is the haunting and constant spectre of the war which is going relentlessly on, the spectre of the war where men are being wounded and killed each day and where men will continue to be wounded and killed each day that it shall last.

I was the newest arrival in this company of some twenty Ministers who were carrying and who knew they were carrying this heavy responsibility. Several had been my friends before I became their colleague and as to the others, friendship, and even intimacy, comes quickly in the presence of heavy responsibilities which have to be borne in commom. We gave each other enlightenment, moral support, example and encouragement and the danger passed. Our war effort continued with a constantly increasing tempo and with, in fact, a very general, almost unanimous support from our population.

Oh, there were discordant notes from time to time and here and there but these discordant notes took the form of speeches and writings and did not prevent the population generally from giving a very satisfactory response to the directives which we sought to formulate.

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Crisis in the Fall of 1944

And then, in the Fall of 1944, there was another critical period for consciences and convictions.

To say that it was more agonizing than the first one as far as I am concerned would not be wholly true because not for a moment was I able to hesitate as to the line of conduct that I was in duty bound to follow. But that line of conduct was indicated to me by facts known to me and that I could not communicate to my friends. I therefore found myself in the painful necessity of following a line of conduct which many of you, my friends, sincerely and honestly felt to be wrong. It was all the more painful because I could not but recognize your good faith and because I was convinced that if I had been able to reveal to you the motives which made me act, you would have approved them unanimously as in fact they were approved in the election of June 1945.

By that time, the security reasons which prevented me from speaking in November 1944, no longer existed and happenings which had occurred in the interval constituted a complete demonstration that we had been right.

It was hard, however, to have to disappoint one's friends, to have to appear even momentarily to have betrayed their confidence, to do things which seemed to them to be wrong, and to feel that one had to keep inviolate the secret of facts which had it been possible to reveal them would have cleared away all these appearances and made everything acceptable.

It was hard but it was inevitable and it is partly because I had to do it that you are giving me this tribute tonight.

It was hard but it was not nearly as hard as that which was accepted by the hundreds of thousands of young Canadians who joined the colours, who underwent long periods of training under conditions so different from those of the normal life of the citizens of our country, who surrendered almost completely their own individual wills to accept the commands of their superior officers, who volunteered to go and fight, to be wounded, to be crippled, perhaps even to die so that we might live and so that the Canadian nation might continue to live.

Tribute to Others

What was done by those who were engaged in war activities on the home-front is little compared to that which was done by those who went to the battle front and this banquet which you have tendered me, and of which I am so proud, I accepted it and I now accept it as a tribute to all those who tried to serve their country during the years we have just gone through.

This is a tribute to me but it is also a tribute to the Prime Minister of Canada, one whose whole career has been that of a man of peace but who revealed himself a war leader whose contribution to everything that made possible the final victory of the Allied Nations will be assessed as inferior to that of no other of all our great leaders when the perspective of years will have allowed historians to assess it at its full worth.

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It is also a tribute to all his colleagues, the Mackenzies, the Ralstons, the Chubby Powers, the Ilsleys, the Howes, Angus MacDonald, McNaughton, Gardiner, MacKinnon, Gibson, Mitchell, Fournier, Bertrand, LaFlèche, to name only a few of those who are still with us and whose names, with those of the great departed Lapointe, Rogers, Cardin, will head the different chapters of the history to be written of the universal mobilization of the human and the material resources which our country contributed to the defence of christian civilization against the forces of evil.

But it is also a tribute and it is especially a tribute to the lads of the 22e Regiment, of the Royal Rifles, of the Régiment de la Chaudière, of the Régiment de Maisonneuve, and of all our other regiments, to the lads of the Canadian Navy, to those of the Air Force, to all those who carried our participation on to the fields of battle, on to the oceans and in the skies.

It is at the same time a tribute to the millions of Canadian men and women who, in the forests, on the farms, in the mines, in the plants and in the factories, in the banking and in the financial houses, everywhere, came together and with such ardour put forth the national effort that this world crisis forced upon us.

Peace-time Realizations—Family Allowances

Let me remind you now of some of the peacetime realizations with which I had something to do since I went to Ottawa. The first I wish to mention is the Family Allowance Act. I will not go so far as to say that that Act was perfect in all its details, but it is a good Act. It is the best social Act the Canadian Parliament ever enacted. It takes care in some important degree of the anomaly under which 80% of the Canadian children—80% of the Canadian citizens of the next generation—were supported by 15% of the present generation. And there was no other efficient cure for that anomaly. It is all very well to talk about the family wage, but in a country like ours whose economy is so dependent on international trade, on our capacity to produce and to sell in competition with other countries, it must be admitted that wages and salaries have to be kept in a direct relationship with the exchange value of that which is produced through the work for which the wages and salaries are paid. To fix them at the level required by the householder maintaining the largest number of children would put a load on our industries that competition makes it impossible for them to carry. On the other hand, any attempt to proportion wages and salaries to the domestic requirements of those to whom they are paid would necessarily prevent the hiring of precisely the persons the system would be designed to favour. Equal pay for equal work is an unavoidable consequence of the system under which we live. But the system under which we live is one by which we all profit and it was only fair to distribute on the whole community a part of the burden which bore too heavily on the fathers of large families.

The Act which came into operation on the 1st July, 1945, provides for the distribution of about $250,000,000 a year to that end. Not only does it help the fathers of those families whose wealth consists principally of future Canadian citizens, but it

places at their disposal a purchasing power of $250,000,000 a year, which is currently expended and creates a stable and continuing market for a corresponding volume of consumer goods.

Certain details of this Act have been criticised. For example, it has been said that allocations should not start before the 3rd child. This objection fails to take into account the fact that the allocations are paid periodically for all children of less than 16 years at the time they are paid, and that statistics show that at the time of each payment in almost half the families with young children there are not more than two of that age. That does not mean that the families which are beginning will not become more numerous, nor does it mean that in those where the youngest have reached the ages of 14 and 15 they have not been more numerous. What it does mean is that in every family from the beginning to its full development the allocations are paid each month according to the number of children of the age required to receive them during that month.

The law has also been criticised because it provides for a decreasing rate when there are more than four children entitled to receive allocations at the same time in the same family. It may be that experience will show that the rate of decrease has not been properly adjusted, but I do not think it can be seriously contended that it is unfair to give some consideration to the fact that the monthly expenditures required in a family where there are seven or eight children under 16 years of age are not exactly twice as high as those which have to be made in a family where there are three or four.

And, after all gentlemen, what are the human realizations which can be said to be absolutely perfect from the start? It may be that this one is, but even if it is not it is still a good Act, a very good Act and the Party I belong to is proud to have written it into our Statutes.

Re-Distribution—Reasons for Amendment to the Constitution

Another reform our Party is proud of and in which I am proud of having taken a part is the re-adjustment of the representation of the population of our provinces in our national parliament. We started out in 1867 with a representation based on the population of each province. Sixty-five members were allotted to the Province of Quebec and the unit representation for the other provinces was fixed at 1/65 of the population of Quebec.

There was to be a re-adjustment of representation after each decennial census, but there was a clause in the Constitutional Act to the effect that no province would have its representation diminished unless the proportion of its population compared to that of the whole nation showed a decrease of 1/20th since the last re-adjustment.

Apparently the writers of this clause agreed that there might be some departure from the principle of proportionate representation, but they expected that it would be corrected from decade to decade, or at least as soon as it had become as much as 1/20th. But the Privy Council called up to construe that clause in 1904 reached

the conclusion that there was a re-adjustment of representation each time that representation was compared to the last census and the result was that there had to be a dimunition of 1/20th between two consecutive censuses to bring about a reduction in representation.

That made possible departures of much more than 1/20th between the representation of Quebec and that of other provinces in the event the decrease in the proportion of the population thereof, though progressive and cumulative, did not amount to 1/20th in a single decade. Now, after the census of 1941, the people of Ontario had 8 members more than their true proportionate representation and that departure might have increased indefinitely if its progress had been the same as during the three last decades. When the compilations of the 1941 census were published in 1943, a re-distribution would have been in order. In making that re-distribution due regard would have to be given to the judgment of the Privy Council. That re-distribution would have meant a loss of several seats to Manitoba and in Saskatchewan, but Ontario would have retained the eight it has had in excess of proportionate representation. The government reached the conclusion that such a re-distribution would have been unfair and it sought an amendment to the Constitution to postpone it until after the war, because there was such tension during the war period that it probably would not have been possible to have an amendment accepted which would have brought about an increase in Quebec's representation in the national parliament. At the time I agreed to share the responsibility for this adjournment of the re-distribution and I declared in the House that I was doing so because re-distribution under those conditions would have been unfair for the people of Manitoba and of Saskatchewan, but would also have been unfair for the people of Quebec and because I was confident that with an adjournment it would be possible to have a system accepted which would be fair for everybody.

At the time there were some who mocked at my naive confidence. It was even felt in certain quarters that the public could be persuaded I was making a cowardly concession to satisfy others at the expense of the people of my own province. To lay oneself open so naively to the criticism of opponents is perhaps one reason for the opinion so often expressed about me—

"St. Laurent—he may have been a good enough lawyer but he knows nothing about politics".

I confess that I know nothing about a certain kind of politics. Not only do I confess it, but I glory in it. What little experience I have about men and the manner in which they react I acquired by appearing before Judges whose intelligence and good faith I always respected. In seeking judgments from them I felt I had to submit to their appreciation all the pertinent facts and nothing but the pertinent facts; in other words, the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Now during more than 36 years at the Bar I found that a pretty successful system and when I had to go to another forum and plead

my cases before the public at large, which is our judge in political affairs, I had become too old to change to any other system. I continued to respect the intelligence and the good faith of my new judges and, quite frankly, I am under the impression that it is a system which they do not dislike.

But let us get back to re-distribution. The confidence I expressed in 1943 does not now appear to have been so naive. You know that during the last session we secured another amendment to the Constitution to re-establish the principle of proportionate representation in all the provinces. From now on it will not take more to entitle people in Quebec to a member in the Commons than it takes in any other province.

Opposition to the Amendment

There were only three members who openly opposed the principle —so just in fact—of the same unit of representation for everybody. But our opponents tried to hide their real opposition under the argument that we had no right to proceed without obtaining the prior consent of provincial governments.

They said that we should have requested prior leave at least from certain provincial governments, notably that of Mr. Duplessis and that of his friend Mr. George Drew. And because we did not do so, those who seem to know so much about the political strategies about which I am so ignorant, now think they can convince the people of Quebec that we have imperilled the use of the French language in our country.

This is a report published in Le Devoir of the 19th August and what Mr. Duplessis said at a big public meeting at St. Rose on the preceding Sunday:

"During the whole period of almost 80 years that we have had Confederation there have never been such fanatics as in 1946—fanatics who have gone so far as to say that the French language has no longer any rights in the Province of Quebec. And that was said by a French-speaking Liberal Minister".

Mr. Ivan Sabourin, the chief organizer in our Province of the Progressive-Conservative party has several times said almost the same thing. Now, all that was prepared during the debate in the House of Commons on our draft amendment. Mr. Arthur Smith, Progressive-Conservative Member for Calgary West, had defied me, as Minister of Justice, to answer the following objection: if Parliament can, without the consent of provincial governments, secure an amendment of the Constitution to change the proportion of the members for each province, would it not have the same right to secure an amendment to section 133, concerning the use of the French language?

One of those experts in political strategy might have avoided giving a clear answer to such a question. He might have been content with saying that what we were doing was to remove an injustice and that the right to remove an injustice did not imply the right to commit another one. But we were discussing the true effect of the Constitution from a strictly legal angle and I answered him

that from this strictly legal angle that provincial governments had nothing to do with the use of the French language in the Federal Parliament.

I was able to add in all confidence that we, Canadians of my race and my religion, have a much more effective guarantee than anything to be found in section 133 of the Constitution to protect our essential rights: it is the fact that it is not the custom of those who had been nurtured in the traditional principles of liberty and British fair-play to do things which the conscience of mankind would brand as dishonourable.

True Construction of the Constitution and the Use of the French Language

I am not responsible for the drafting of the Constitution of 1867 and when I am called upon to construe it as a lawyer I have to construe it as it is and not as some might wish it to be. As a matter of fact, until we shall have adopted a system to amend it at home, it can be amended only by statutes enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Now since the Statute of Westminster, the Parliament of the United Kingdom legislates for us only when we ask that it be done and in the manner in which we ask that it be done and provided that the request be made by those who, under the Constitution have jurisdiction in the matter to which the amendment is to apply.

Certain matters are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures. With respect to them, no request for an amendment coming from the Federal Parliament could be entertained. As to the other matters, those which are not expressly allotted to the Provincial Legislatures by the terms of the Constitution, requests for amendments must come from the Federal Parliament and it is that Parliament alone which is responsible to the citizens of Canada for the content of such requests. Now it must not be forgotten that the Federal Parliament is our Parliament just as much as it is that of Canadians of other provinces. The jurisdition exercised by it is exercised by you through the representatives you send there and those representatives are responsible to you for the integrity of your rights in federal matters, just as your representatives in the Legislature are responsible to you for their integrity in the provincial field. Our rights to the use of the French language in the Federal field are in no greater danger because of the fact that the Provincial Legislatures have no competence in that respect than are your bank accounts, your rights to vote in Federal elections and your rights to enjoy the protecion of the criminal code against assassins and thieves. Mr. Duplessis was all the less entitled to make about me an assertion like that which I cited to you a few moments ago, because I had written to him five or six weeks before—to be exact on the 9th July, 1946—a letter from which I will cite a few extracts. They are these:

"Article 133 of the Constitution deals with the use of the two languages, English and French, in the Federal Parliament and in the Legislature of Quebec, as well as before certain courts.

"It is clear that the Federal Parliament would be impinging on the rights of the Quebec Legislature if it attempted to decide anything with respect to the use of these languages in the proceedings of the Houses of the Quebec Legislature or of the courts of our province. But as to the use of these languages in the Federal Parliament, or before the Federal courts, that is a matter which concerns the Canadian population represented, otherwise, in my view, than by the members elected to the Quebec Legislature. When a mandator has two mandatories to whom he has delegated powers for specific purposes as to each, the fact that one of them fails to discharge the responsibilities of his mandate, does not transfer his powers to the other mandatory. Moreover in this case the Federal mandatory of the Canadian population has not failed to discharge his mandate, shows no intention of doing so and personally I am convinced that he will never do so".

Dominion-Provincial Relations—Provincial Autonomy Respected

I would have liked to say something about Dominion-Provincial relations, but I have already spoken too long. And, in fact, you are not the ones who have to be warned against the speeches made by Mr. Duplessis or by those who are seeking with him to create the impression that the Ottawa Government is seeking to encroach upon Provincial autonomy.

The Ottawa Government made to the provinces certain financial proposals which it felt would be apt to facilitate the fulfilling as well by the Provincial Governments as by the Federal Government of their respective responsibilities under the Constitution and it did so to the end that the Constitution might be fully respected.

The Quebec Government has not seen fit to accept those proposals, but in spite of all the wordy declarations of its present leader as to his desire to collaborate with the Federal authorities, it has never been possible to obtain from him the slightest precise indication as to what conditions he might find acceptable.

Succession Duties as an Example of Mr. Duplessis' Objections

I will mention only one item of his objections as an example of his method of expounding the controversy.

In order to meet the enormous expenditures imposed upon us by the war, the Federal Parliament had to make important increases in respect of income taxes. It was also compelled to exercise its incontestable right to impose succession duties. Now in administering these two Acts it was found that the collection of succession duties brought to light many evasions under the Income Tax Act. The scrutiny of the list of assets in an estate makes it possible to determine what proportion of those assets represents the capitalization of previous income and often makes it possible to collect taxes on income which had not been declared.

In general when the rate of taxation is high and everyone is hoping, as we are now, that it may be lowered, an indispensable condition to any possible decrease is that everyone pay without any

evasion whatsoever what becomes due under existing rates. When a taxpayer fails to remit the amount he owes under the existing rate, it is not the government that suffers thereby but all the other taxpayers. The government will always succeed in raising the aggregate sum it requires and if it does not get from each taxpayer the portion he should pay, it will still get the aggregate sum by raising the rate or by maintaining at a high level the rate at which the others are required to pay.

The Federal Government, therefore, felt that for the time being, at least, it was in the general interest of the whole body of Canadian tax payers that it continue to collect succession duties. It even proposed that the provinces abstain temporarily from imposing such duties in return for certain payments it would make to each. But that did not appear acceptable to certain provinces and as the rate of taxation has to be the same everywhere and as it had to be fixed for the provinces accepting the federal proposal at a rate high enough to cover both the federal rate and the provincial rate heretofore prevailing and thus enable the agreed refunds to be made, the government was constrained to recommend, and Parliament enacted the Act establishing the same new rate for all the provinces. But in order to avoid injustices in those which did not accept the Federal proposal, the government recommended and Parliament enacted that each taxpayer would be entitled to a credit against his Federal tax equal to the amount he would have to pay as succession tax to the government of his own province, not exceeding 50 percent of the total tax.

If, under the new Federal rate the tax is 100 and the taxpayer has to pay 50 to the government of his own province, he has only 50 to pay to the Federal Treasury.

Now you are hearing the present Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec complaining in his speeches of the provocative attitude of the Federal Government; not only did it refuse at the Conference to retire from the field of succession duties, but under the law enacted at the last session the rate of those duties was doubled!

Gentlemen, that is not the way I think the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth should be told. It may be evidence of certain experience in political strategy, but I still believe it is preferable to respect the intelligence and the good faith of those who have the responsibilities of passing judgment on the doing of men in politics.

Conclusion

Now we are all citizens of a country which is still young but whose inhabitants have already become a nation. I am taking part just now in a Conference of 54 nations and I can assure you that the rank and roll of ours in not among the least important.

We are the ones who, under providence and the stress of events, which it is sometimes difficult for men to control, are the sole masters of our own destiny. The Constitution under which we live has made a judicious distribution of the prerogatives and responsibilities of sovereignty between the central authority and

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the provincial institutions. The system may not be perfect but I know of none which would be better fitted to the situation which events have made for us. We intend that it shall be maintained. Our Prime Minister said in a speech made in 1942:

> " . . . . Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality. Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationality means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being; without them, it cannot survive."

Canadian nationhood is also based on the fundamental principle of the distribution of sovereign powers to a Parliament which deals with and determines the problems which all Canadians have in common and to Legislatures who have exclusive competence to deal with and determine those which concern separately the residents of each province.

The Party to which I belong has always been and will continue to be the firm supporter of that distribution so just, so logical and so indispensable to the healthy development of our Canadian nationality. I repeat here both as a statement of fact and as a promise some additional lines taken from the letter I wrote to Mr. Duplessis on the 9th July last and in which I used language from the Order in Council he had caused to be passed on the 3rd July and of which he had sent me a copy.

The Government of Canada did take the appropriate measures to meet "the desires of the Province of Quebec, that all the provinces, Quebec in particular, secure by proceedings carried out in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Canadian Constitution a just and fair Federal representation.

The Province of Quebec will always see due regard paid to "its irrevocable desire to safeguard fully the constitutional prerogatives to which it is entitled and to conserve intact the intangible and unalienable rights of the French language."

The Quebec Government has no reason to fear any lack of "integral respect for the Canadian federating pact."

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Ne pas publier avant que le discours soit prononcé.-

Banquet en l'honneur du

Très Honorable Louis Saint-Laurent, P.C., M.P.

Ministre de la Justice et Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures

Château Frontenac Québec, ce 29 novembre 1946

Discours du Très Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,

Premier ministre et chef du Parti libéral du Canada,

en proposant la santé de l'invité d'honneur.

Monsieur le Président, Messieurs,

Je suis heureux d'etre de nouveau á une réunion politique dans la province de Québec, et tout spécialement á une réunion de famille.

C'est un plaisir aussi pour moi de voir comme président de cette fete, mon vieil ami, le sénateur Fafard. Ses nombreux succès á la présidence du caucus libéral au parlement lui ont valu, sur l'assentiment complet de tous les membres, d'être nommé sénateur á vie.

Je suis encore heureux de voir á cette table et á cette réunion un aussi grand nombre de mes confrères du parlement, des membres libéraux du Parlement Provincial de Québec, et des

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libéraux en vue de cette ville et de cette province. Je suis tout heureux de voir , M. Adélard Godbout, le chef de l'opposition libérale de cette province.

Comme chef des forces libérales de l'arène provinciale, M. Godbout, pendant plusieurs années, au pouvoir ou dans l'opposition, fut toujours sur les premiers rangs de la bataille.

Il y en a aussi plusieurs autres dont je voudrais mentionner les noms. Nous nous sommes réunis ici ce soir, non pas tant pour nous faire honneur, mais pour honorer un des nôtres dont le parti est tellement fier et qui, malgré la courte durée de sa vie politique, a toujours tenu haut et d'une façon triomphale la bannière libérale. Vous savez qu'il s'agit de notre ami très estimé, le ministre de la Justice et Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, le Très-honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Pour gagner du prestige, pour se maintenir, un parti politique a besoin de personnalités tout autant que de principes. Ce dont je veux surtout parler ce soir, c'est de la personnalité de M. Saint-Laurent et de ce qu'elle a signifié dans notre vie politique. Je voudrais pouvoir le faire à la fois en français et en anglais. Je puis déjà me rendre compte, d'après ce que j'ai essayé de dire en français, qu'un retour à ma langue maternelle ne

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sera pas malvenu. Permettez-moi d'offrir premièrement au nom des membres du gouvernement et de ma part nos plus sincères remerciements à ceux qui ont organisé cette magnifique fête en l'honneur de notre collègue, M. Saint-Laurent. Je tiens aussi à vous remercier tous de la chaleureuse réception que vous avez été assez gentils de m'offrir. Veuillez m'excuser si je continue mon discours en anglais. (A ce moment, le P. M. continua en anglais)

Je tiens à vous dire dès maintenant que je suis venu à Québec pour être présent à ce banquet en l'honneur de M. Saint-Laurent. Je ne suis pas venu pour faire de cette occasion une discussion de tribune électorale et de politique ou de débat sur les questions publiques. J'aurai des occasions plus appropriées à ces fins. Sans doute que M. Saint-Laurent désirera parler de certaines questions qui, dans cette province, sont le sujet de différends politiques. Je suis venu comme chef du parti libéral du Canada pour offrir, au nom du parti, et au nom du gouvernement, nos hommages à celui qui est vraiment un grand homme et qui, malgré son peu d'années dans la vie politique, a rendu des services exceptionnels à notre parti et à notre pays.

<u>Le parti libéral, le parti de la liberté</u>

Le parti libéral, au Canada, a une longue histoire. Il a suivi aussi de nobles traditions. Pendant plus d'un siècle, des hommes d'origines ethniques et de croyances différentes, des

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travailleurs intellectuels et manuels, jeunes et vieux, ont, de génération en génération, marché ensemble dans un vaste cortège, sous la bannière de la Liberté.

Tantôt, c'était la liberté politique et constitutionnelle; tantôt, la liberté personnelle et économique; tantôt encore, la liberté sociale et industrielle; tantôt enfin, la liberté nationale et mondiale; mais toujours, sous quelque forme que ce fût, c'était une liberté de plus en plus grande.

En tête de ce long cortège, on voyait les réformateurs des premières heures, champions du gouvernement responsable, collègues dans l'établissement de la Confédération, les vaillants "Grits" pendant les nombreuses années où le parti fut du côté de l'opposition, puis les chefs d'un libéralisme triomphant. Sauf les années de la première Grande Guerre et celles qui l'ont précédée et suivie immédiatement, ainsi que la période de crise de la première moitié des années 30, notre parti a été au pouvoir près de trente-cinq ans dans l'espace du demi-siècle dernier.

<u>Réalisation qui est un sujet de fierté</u>

De 1921 à 1946, dernière moitié de ce demi-siècle, il y a eu sept élections générales. Six fois sur les sept, le parti libéral a été porté au pouvoir. Cela s'est produit nonobstant le fait que sept des années en question furent des années de guerre. Pendant cette période de guerre, l'on compte deux victoires aux

élections générales. En outre, aux deux élections de cette période, le parti libéral a fait élire le plus grand nombre de députés qu'aucun parti ait jamais élus à la Chambre des Communes. Comme chef libéral, j'ai eu le plus grand support jamais donné à un premier ministre dans l'histoire du Canada. M. Ilsley, habile à utiliser les chiffres pour en faire ressortir une vérité importante, a calculé que depuis 1896, le parti libéral, sous deux chefs, a connu deux défaites aux élections; tandis que le parti conservateur, sous dix chefs, a perdu dix élections. M. Ilsley a omis, il va sans dire, les élections de 1917, alors que le gouvernement était une coalition de membres des deux partis. Présentant les résultats de la calculation de M. Ilsley, en termes de gains plutôt que de pertes, le parti libéral, sur une période de cinquante ans, avec deux chefs, a gagné dix élections; tandis que le parti conservateur, avec dix chefs, en a gagné deux. Vraiment, voilà une réalisation dont nous pouvons tous être fiers.

Ce soir, nous sommes réunis afin de rendre hommage à l'un des nôtres, auquel, à un titre très spécial, nous sommes redevables de l'état actuel de notre parti.

<u>Laurier, Lapointe et Saint-Laurent</u>

Si je me demande pourquoi notre parti est resté si longtemps au pouvoir dans l'arène fédérale, au cours des

cinquante dernières années, j'en trouve le secret dans l'importance qu'il a attachée à l'unité et aux moyens de maintenir cette unité. Ici, dans cette ville de Québec, je suis particulièrement heureux de pouvoir dire qu'à mon sens, nous devons aux chefs que la circonscription de Québec-Est a élus au Parlement du Canada, plus qu'à tout autre facteur pris à part, l'unité de notre parti et, permettez-moi d'ajouter, notre unité nationale.

Parmi ces chefs que Québec-Est a envoyés au Parlement, le premier qui vous viendra à l'esprit est sir Wilfrid Laurier. Quelle vénération nous aurons toujours pour le nom de sir Wilfrid et quel soin nous mettrons à chérir sa mémoire! Vous songerez ensuite, avec une vénération presque égale, au Très honorable Ernest Lapointe. Quel caractère loyal et généreux! Ce soir, celui qui occupe le meilleur de nos pensées, c'est le digne successeur de ces deux hommes, le ministre de la Justice du Canada et secrétaire d'Etat pour les affaires extérieures, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Nous sommes réunis ce soir pour rendre hommage à M. Saint-Laurent. Eh bien, présentons-lui tout honneur. Nous savons tous, et nul mieux que moi ne le sait, que sans le rôle que M. Saint-Laurent a joué durant les années où il a fait partie du ministère, la situation du parti libéral serait tout autre que ce qu'elle est ce soir; Que dis-je? non seulement la

situation du parti, mais la situation de notre pays dans le monde.

Unité du parti et unité nationale

En ma qualité de chef du parti, permettez-moi de vous dire, messieurs, ce qu'a été pour moi la présence de M. Saint-Laurent dans le cabinet. Pour cela, je reviens sur l'importance à attacher à l'unité: unité du parti et unité nationale.

Vous vous rappelez comment, en 1896, sir Wilfrid Laurier, lors de la formation de son premier ministère, sut grouper autour de la table du conseil des ministres à Ottawa des hommes compétents et expérimentés de toutes les provinces. Or, en 1921, quand je fus chargé de former un nouveau gouvernement libéral, je me suis efforcé, en tout et partout, de suivre l'exemple de sir Wilfrid et je pense y avoir réussi. A la direction des affaires publiques, je ne tardai pas à me convaincre davantage de ce qui m'était apparu il y a longtemps, je veux dire le fait que l'unité ministérielle, tout comme l'unité de parti et l'unité nationale, dépend par-dessus tout d'une étroite collaboration des ministres de la province de Québec avec ceux des autres provinces.

Pour favoriser les relations harmonieuses entre Québec et les autres provinces, aucun chef n'a eu autant que moi à se féliciter d'avoir eu successivement à ses côtés deux collègues aussi éminents que le Très honorable Ernest Lapointe et le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent. Ernest Lapointe a été pour moi

un collègue qui, grâce à sa sagesse politique, son dévouement désintéressé et sa loyauté personnelle, s'est montré, dans le véritable sens du mot, un guide, un philosophe et un ami dans tout ce qui concernait les problèmes épineux de notre vie politique.

La représentation du Québec dans le cabinet

Quand M. Lapointe mourut, je fus profondément affligé. Comme vous le savez, cette mort est survenue il y a eu cinq ans, cette semaine. La deuxième guerre mondiale sévissait alors. Peu de temps auparavant, le cabinet avait perdu, au cours d'un accident tragique, Norman Rogers qui avait été étroitement associé à l'administration publique pendant nombre d'années, et un collègue qui était un des mieux doués parmi les jeunes ministres. A une date encore plus récente, disparaissait le docteur Skelton, un de mes conseillers les plus intimes dans les services administratifs, qui avait été longtemps sous-secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures et qui était l'un des hommes le plus au courant des questions internationales. Je me suis alors souvent demandé si je pourrais rester à la tâche.

Je doute qu'il m'eût été possible de rester à mon parti, si M. Saint-Laurent n'avait pas répondu à l'appel du devoir et n'avait pas accepté de faire partie du cabinet. Vous allez voir comme cela était vrai. En effet, trois mois après

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l'arrivée de M. Saint-Laurent à Ottawa, le sénateur Dandurand mourait et, deux mois plus tard, M. Cardin démissionnait comme ministre. Le sénateur Dandurand était non seulement le leader du Gouvernement au sénat, mais il en était aussi le membre le plus ancien et le plus expérimenté. Par les années de services, M. Cardin était le plus vieux membre de la Chambre des Communes.

Le sénateur Dandurand et M. Cardin représentaient tous deux votre province dans le cabinet. Tous deux étaient des conseillers sages et habiles. Si M. Saint-Laurent n'était pas alors devenu membre du cabinet, après la perte de M. Lapointe, du sénateur Dandurand et de M. Cardin, je n'aurais pas eu un seul collègue de langue française de la province de Québec. Par la suite, d'autres ministres de langue française du Québec sont entrés dans le ministère. Mais, sans M. Saint-Laurent, songez un peu dans quelle fâcheuse posture je me serais trouvé, moi et mon cabinet, au cours de ces mois très critiques!

Je désire le reconnaître pour la première fois ce soir. Je suis heureux de le faire en présence de M. Saint-Laurent et de ses nombreux amis.

Hommage à l'hon. P.-J.-A. Cardin

Je crois qu'il convient de m'arrêter ici un moment et de rendre hommage à la mémoire de mon ancien collègue, l'honorable

Arthur Cardin, que la mort nous a enlevé il y a quelques semaines.

Les treize années durant lesquelles M. Cardin et moi-même avons siégé ensemble dans le cabinet ont été des années importantes dans l'histoire du Canada. Elles ont été des années de prospérité ainsi que d'adversité; elles ont été marquées par l'entrée du Canada dans la deuxième guerre mondiale et par le magnifique effort de guerre du pays. Le peuple canadien et, certes toutes les nations alliées, ne comprendront jamais tout ce qu'ils doivent aux efforts accomplis par M. Cardin et M. Lapointe pour sauvegarder l'unité canadienne à l'époque la plus critique de l'histoire du monde. S'ils n'avaient pas fait montre d'une attitude aussi courageuse, si leurs directives avaient été moins clairvoyantes, s'ils n'avaient pas été aussi sincèrement patriotes, l'histoire de la participation du Canada dans cette grande guerre aurait suivi un cours bien différent.

En face des grands services qu'il avait déjà rendus, il n'est pas surprenant qu'il ait été si pénible pour M. Cardin d'être obligé de faire face à certaines situations survenues par la suite. La nature émotive de M. Cardin avait un côté chevaleresque qui le rendait très sensible à tout ce qui lui semblait être un manque de chevalerie de la part de certaines personnes. J'ai compris, et il savait que je comprenais exactement les sentiments qu'il éprouvait. Mais je savais, comme lui, que nous

devions tous faire face aux dures exigences de la guerre et que, pour sauvegarder l'unité, il fallait envisager chaque situation nouvelle à la lumière des faits. J'ai toujours regretté que M. Cardin ait cru nécessaire de quitter le cabinet, mais je n'ai jamais douté des motifs de sa conduite. De même, sa démission n'a jamais rien changé dans nos rapports personnels, ni dans l'amitié que j'avais pour lui.

Permettez-moi maintenant de résumer ce que je veux dire au sujet de M. Saint-Laurent.

Dette envers les collègues du Cabinet

J'ai souvent affirmé que je dois mon succès dans la vie publique à l'inspiration, à l'exemple et aux sacrifices de personnes disparues depuis longtemps. J'ai aussi affirmé, - et c'est également vrai, je crois - que je dois mon succès à titre de chef du parti à l'habileté et à la loyauté des hommes qui m'ont toujours appuyé de leurs conseils et honoré de leur confiance aux réunions du Cabinet. Il suffit de jeter un regard sur les membres du gouvernement ici présents pour comprendre combien le Canada doit à leur habileté et à leur intégrité, et tout ce que je dois moi-même à leur loyauté. Parmi ceux qui sont ici présents, MM. Mackenzie, Ilsley, Howe et Gardiner ont été mes compagnons fidèles pendant les onze années qui se sont écoulées depuis la victoire de notre parti

en 1935. Ils ont assumé une large part du fardeau et des obligations en ce qui regarde la direction de l'effort de guerre de notre pays.

Il y a d'autres collaborateurs, qui ne font plus partie du Cabinet, mais qui m'ont accordé leur appui durant la guerre, d'autres encore qui ont accepté des postes dans le Cabinet durant la guerre et après la fin des hostilités, et la plupart sont ici présents ce soir. Je songe en ce moment aux services qu'ils ont rendus à notre pays et à la reconnaissance que je leur dois pour leur collaboration dans l'administration des affaires de l'Etat. Parmi les membres du Cabinet actuel, - et je sais que j'exprime leurs sentiments unanimes, - aucun ne jouit de plus d'admiration, de confiance et d'amitié que notre invité de ce soir, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent. Personne n'occupe une place plus chère dans nos coeurs.

M. Saint-Laurent, ministre de la Justice

La mort nous a ravi M. Lapointe à l'un des moments les plus critiques de la guerre. Les armées allemandes s'étaient emparées de presque toute l'Europe, y compris la partie occidentale de l'Union soviétique. Trois jours avant la nomination de M. Saint-Laurent à titre de ministre de la Couronne, les Japonais avaient attaqué Pearl Harbour. La guerre s'étendait à toutes les parties du monde. M. Saint-

Laurent est donc devenu membre du Cabinet à l'heure la plus grave de l'histoire de l'univers. Il s'est rendu à un appel en faveur de de la cause de la liberté.

A titre de ministre de la Justice, M. Saint-Laurent occupait l'un des postes les plus importants du Cabinet, et d'une importance exceptionnelle en temps de guerre, alors qu'il faut rapidement créer un grand nombre de précédents et interpréter sans cesse des questions de droit lourdes de conséquences. Nous savions qu'entre ses mains la balance de la justice ne se détraquerait pas et que les plus nobles traditions de la profession étaient en sécurité. Possédant une connaissance approfondie du droit et de la constitution, une grande puissance d'analyse et une expérience inégalée dans l'exercice de sa profession d'avocat, il avait la compétence voulue pour assumer ces fonctions. Mais il possédait aussi d'autres qualités: une grande connaissance des affaires nationales, un esprit essentiellement juste et sans préjugés, un coeur très sympathique et la plus grande intégrité.

Par sa courtoisie et son esprit chevaleresque, il incarne l'un des plus beaux traits de la race française. Un grand nombre d'hommes éminents de l'histoire du Canada ont détenu le portefeuille de ministre de la Justice et Louis Saint-Laurent occupe la place qui lui revient parmi ces hommes distingués.

Ceux qui le connaissent s'imaginent à peine que M. Saint-Laurent achevait sa soixantième année, lorsqu'il a été assermenté

comme ministre, le 10 décembre 1941. Les sexagénaires songent rarement à entrer dans une nouvelle carrière, surtout lorsqu'ils ont très bien réussi dans la profession de leur choix.

M. Saint-Laurent n'a pas choisi la vie politique et il n'y a sûrement pas été attiré par ambition. Par sa grande compétence, il s'était assuré un rang éminent au barreau et cette distinction lui assurait certes le droit d'espérer jouir de plus de loisirs pendant le reste de sa vie. Sans l'appel impérieux du devoir, il ne se serait pas laissé convaincre de poser sa candidature, et, par conséquent, le Canada aurait été privé de l'un de ses hommes publics les plus éminents.

M. Saint-Laurent, homme d'Etat et chef politique

Lorsque M. Saint-Laurent a abandonné l'exercice d'une profession lucrative pour accepter le poste de ministre de la Justice, on comptait bien qu'il dirigerait les affaires du ministère de façon tout à fait satisfaisante pour lui-même et pour l'Administration. Il n'avait pas encore fait ses preuves comme homme d'Etat ou comme chef politique. On ne savait pas avec quelle compétence il remplirait l'un et l'autre de ces rôles. Vous savez maintenant que M. Saint-Laurent s'est acquis l'estime de ses collègues au Parlement dès le début. Vous savez que l'admiration et la confiance du public en lui n'ont cessé de s'accroître. Vous savez comment, durant mon absence récente en Europe, les membres de tous

les partis l'ont bien accueilli comme premier ministre suppléant, et comment il s'est montré à la hauteur de la tâche et s'est acquitté de ces fonctions à la satisfaction de tous. Et nous savons également qu'en sa qualité de chef de la délégation canadienne à l'Assemblée des nations unies tenue à Londres en décembre dernier, et présentement à New-York, aucune voix n'est plus écoutée que la sienne. Ce fut la même chose à San-Francisco, lorsqu'il s'est agi de rédiger la Charte des Nations Unies.

Le temps ne me permet pas de dire à quel point les sages avis de M. Saint-Laurent ont influé sur la préparation des mesures législatives au Cabinet, sur l'étude de mesures difficiles à la Chambre des Communes, et sur la présentation de questions importantes au public. Nous sommes tous au courant des succès qu'il a remportés dans les débats à la Chambre. Au cours des élections générales de 1945 nous nous sommes rendus compte de sa valeur comme orateur politique, aussi bien dans sa circonscription que dans les autres parties de la province, bien que très peu de gens connaissent les difficultés qu'il a dû surmonter alors.

Que ne devons-nous pas à l'attitude franche et sans équivoque prise par M. Saint-Laurent, et à la défense qu'il a faite de la conduite et du programme du Gouvernement, lors de la campagne électorale de 1945? A un moment où d'aucuns nous combat-

taient, où d'autres hésitaient et où certains n'osaient se déclarer ouvertement, il n'a pas hésité un seul instant à dire qu'il appuyait entièrement le chef du parti et qu'il était convaincu que la ligne de conduite suivie par le Gouvernement, au cours d'une période des plus critiques, était la seule capable de préserver l'unité au pays.

Le rôle de M. Saint-Laurent pendant la crise de 1944

Je ne sais pas si on s'est jamais rendu compte du fait qu'en novembre 1944 nous avons été bien près de ne pas avoir de gouvernement au Canada, ni de parti en état de former un ministère avec le moindre espoir de se maintenir au Parlement, alors que nos forces armées étaient engagées dans un terrible combat au front. Je croirai toujours que c'est à l'attitude ferme prise par l'homme d'Etat que le ministre de la Justice s'est révélé en cette heure de crise, à sa claire vision, à la sagesse de son jugement, à la rapidité de ses décisions, et à ses facultés de persuasion plus qu'à tout autre facteur qu'il faut attribuer le maintien du Gouvernement et l'éloignement d'un désastre épouvantable.

Loin de moi la pensée de laisser entendre que tous les membres du Gouvernement ne saisissaient pas également la gravité de la situation et n'étaient pas aussi désireux de prendre la bonne décision, mais d'après ce que je sais de la situation et de la position excessivement difficile dans laquelle se trouvaient

plusieurs députés de cette province ainsi que bon nombre d'autres, d'ailleurs, au Canada, je suis convaincu que si M. Saint-Laurent m'avait retiré son appui ou, même, s'était montré hésitant, j'aurais été obligé de démissionner, ce qui eût entraîné aussi la démission du Cabinet.

Les résultats du scrutin de 1945 démontrent de façon satisfaisante que la ligne de conduite adoptée par le Gouvernement a paru la bonne dans les circonstances. Mais pour en apprécier toute la valeur, il faudrait savoir ce qu'il serait advenu, si le Gouvernement n'avait pu se maintenir. De plus, il faudrait considérer cette situation en regard du succès que nous a valu un effort de guerre ininterrompu de la part du Canada.

Services rendus au Parti et à l'Etat

J'en ai peut-être dit assez pour vous permettre de juger ce que le parti et le pays doivent à notre invité de ce soir, ce que les services de M. Saint-Laurent ont valu aux deux. N'est-il pas vrai que M. Saint-Laurent occupe une place presque unique dans notre vie publique? Et n'est-ce pas un grand honneur pour nous tous d'avoir l'occasion de reconnaître hautement les grands services qu'il a rendus au parti libéral et au Canada, au cours des cinq dernières années?

Je n'ai encore rien dit de la contribution accordée par les autres membres de la famille de M. Saint-Laurent en regard des

services qu'ils ont rendus au pays en temps de guerre. Vous en savez déjà quelque chose. J'ai omis aussi de parler de la confusion créée par l'obligation de résider à Ottawa et de ce que les voyages fréquents entre Ottawa et Québec ont pu causer de dérangements dans la vie ordonnée et paisible de la famille Saint-Laurent. De ces questions de famille, je ne suis malheureusement pas compétent. Je suis cependant convaincu que pour plusieurs privations et pour l'indulgence démontrée en maintes circonstances afin de permettre au ministre de la Justice de poursuivre son genre de vie normale, nous devons beaucoup à madame Saint-Laurent. Je voudrais profiter de l'occasion, en votre nom et en le mien, pour exprimer à madame Saint-Laurent notre profonde admiration pour, dans l'ombre, nous avoir rendu service à tous.

Un mot seulement, au sujet de M. Saint-Laurent, avant de conclure ce que j'ai à dire.

<u>La réponse de M. Saint-Laurent à maints appels</u>

Lorsqu'en décembre 1941, M. Saint-Laurent céda à ma demande pressée d'entrer dans le ministère, il m'a promis de le faire, en raison de la guerre, et seulement pour la durée du conflit. Les hostilités, à ce moment-là, avaient déjà duré plus de vingt-sept mois. Ce n'était pas alors la conviction générale que la guerre durerait plus de quatre ans. De fait, elle dura six ans. En moins d'une quinzaine de jours, il y aura cinq ans

que M. Saint-Laurent est devenu membre du gouvernement.

Lorsque la guerre en Europe arriva à sa fin, M. Saint-Laurent me rappela ce qu'il m'avait dit au moment où il entra dans le gouvernement. Mais le parti, à ce moment-là, faisait face à une élection générale. M. Saint-Laurent aurait été le dernier à chercher à se retirer à un tel moment. Il me dit qu'il désirait être avec le parti pendant la campagne, mais il espérait que, peu après, il lui serait possible de prendre sa retraite. Depuis les élections, il m'a parlé à différents moments de sujets qu'il croyait devoir prendre en considération. Avec une chevalerie qui lui est caractéristique, il a, à chaque occasion, accédé à ma demande de rester à la tâche. Non seulement ça, mais en plus des lourdes responsabilités du portefeuille de la Justice, qu'il continue de détenir, il a pris sur lui et il porte, pour le moment au moins, les responsabilités toujours plus grandes et plus lourdes qui sont celles de secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures.

J'ai déjà fait savoir que dans une réorganisation du ministère, que je pourrais juger propice de faire, et qui sera faite avant l'ouverture de la session, le ministère des Affaires extérieures aura un ministre qui sera en mesure de consacrer son temps, plus ou moins exclusivement, aux questions inter-commonwealth et internationales. Avec cette réorganisation, j'espère que M. Saint-Laurent trouvera possible, pour quelque temps encore, de

continuer à donner à notre pays, au Parlement et au monde, dans l'arène internationale, le bénéfice de ses talents exceptionnels, de sa très grande sagesse et de sa vaste expérience.

Servir pour la "durée"

De crainte que M. Saint-Laurent sente que, n'étant pas disposé à m'en séparer comme collègue à aucun temps, j'oublierais ce qui a été entendu entre nous, à savoir qu'il entrait dans le Cabinet seulement pour la durée de la guerre, laissez-moi lui raconter un petit incident que j'ai lu, il y a à peine un jour ou deux, et qui est très pertinent. Je ne me souviens pas des mots exacts pour raconter cette histoire, mais la logique de ses arguments m'a profondément ému. Un soldat, appartenant à un Régiment de Noirs, demandait instamment à son sergent qu'on lui permette de prendre sa retraite de l'armée en raison du fait qu'il s'était enrôlé seulement pour la durée de la guerre: "La guerre est finie, protesta-t-il, je r'tourn' chez moi. Je m'suis enrôlé que pour la "durée"." S'il vous plaît, monsieur le ministre, rappelez-vous que la "durée" vient seulement de commencer.

La nécessité de l'organisation

Aujourd'hui, on parle trop, à mon sens, des retraites possibles; on fait aussi trop de commentaires sur la question de savoir qui dirigera le parti à la prochaine élection générale. Qu'il suffise, pour le moment, de remporter la victoire aux élections

partielles. Soyons absolument francs: nous serions beaucoup plus heureux ce soir si le parti n'avait pas perdu Pontiac, dans cette province, et Portage-la-Prairie, au Manitoba. Nous aurions dû être vainqueurs dans ces deux circonscriptions; nous l'aurions été si l'organisation du parti avait été ce qu'elle aurait dû être. Toronto-Parkdale ne nous a jamais appartenu. Néanmoins, nous sommes venus tout près d'y remporter la palme. Les chiffres établissent clairement que c'est ce qui serait arrivé si l'organisation avait été aussi efficace partout dans la circonscription qu'elle ne l'a été dans la majeure partie.

Ce soir, moins que jamais, je ne chercherai pas à établir à qui attribuer le blâme. Toutefois, je vais sonner l'appel pour inviter tous et chacun des membres du parti, qu'ils détiennent une situation éminente à titre de députés au Parlement, ou qu'ils soient d'humbles ouvriers dans le rang, à se rendre compte que le sort du parti, dans une mesure plus ou moins grande, est entre leurs mains. Je voudrais pouvoir convaincre tous les membres du parti libéral que l'avenir du parti dépend de chacun d'eux. Je voudrais pouvoir faire comprendre à chaque membre ce qui, en une période comme celle que traverse le monde aujourd'hui, est infiniment plus important, savoir: jusqu'à quel point les chances de succès, le sort, le bonheur, que dis-je la vie même,

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peut-être, d'innombrables hommes, femmes et enfants sont liés au sort d'un parti dont le but et l'objet sont la protection et l'accroissement des droits humains et de la liberté humaine.

A moins que, à titre de membres d'un parti, tous ne soient prêts à agir comme des hommes et suivant les règles du jeu, non pour des fins égoïstes mais pour le bien général, il est sûr que le parti en souffrira. En politique, comme en mécanique, la force d'une chaîne est celle de sa plus faible maille.

Relation entre le Parti et l'Etat

Vous aurez noté sans doute que dans toutes mes observations, ce soir, j'ai parlé à la fois du service envers le parti et du service envers l'Etat, comme si tous deux signifiaient à peu près la même chose. C'est peut-être que ma vie a été consacrée au service des deux et que, dans ma carrière, les deux ont été, en quelque sorte, inséparables. Je sais que l'on pourrait à bon droit s'objecter si je disais simplement que le service envers l'Etat est inséparable du service envers un parti politique. Mais lorsque, comme en politique, l'un constitue la fin et l'autre, le moyen d'atteindre cette fin, ils sont, en vérité, inséparables.

Tout dépend de la fin que nous voulons servir. Le service envers l'Etat, lorsque la fin est de partager les dépouilles, d'une manière ou d'une autre, n'est nullement moins sordide que le service envers un parti politique, pour la même fin. D'autre part,

si la fin est de servir l'Etat pour améliorer le sort de son semblable, le service envers un parti politique qui favorise cette fin devient aussi une des plus hautes formes de service envers l'Etat.

Si les hommes et les femmes qui ont les mêmes idées sur les questions d'actualité ne s'unissent pas sous quelque bannière qui leur permette de marcher en une seule colonne, ils peuvent être assurés que ceux qui diffèrent d'opinion seront tout prêts à profiter de leur négligence. Sans un parti où ils peuvent faire triompher leurs vues, il deviendrait bientôt impossible de servir l'Etat conformément aux principes et au programme en lesquels un grand nombre d'hommes et de femmes ont foi, et dont la mise à exécution est une condition du bien-être d'une multitude d'humains.

Anciens et nouveaux partis politiques

De temps à autre, on entend dire beaucoup de choses au sujet des vieux partis politiques, comme si les nobles traditions et la longue expérience ne comptaient pour rien en politique, alors qu'on s'attend à ce qu'elles comptent dans toute autre sphère d'activité. Un parti politique a autant de raisons d'être fier de ses nombreuses années d'existence et de possession du pouvoir qu'en ont les membres d'une église, d'un régiment, d'une maison d'éducation, d'une maison d'affaires, d'être fiers des services rendus par le passé. Le danger pour un gouvernement représentatif, dans plusieurs pays aujourd'hui, vient non autant de la perpétuation

des partis qui ont un long et honorable passé, mais d'un égarement des partis politiques qui n'ont pas de passé et peu de chance pour l'avenir.

Récemment, dans cette province, sont apparus l'Union Nationale, le Bloc Populaire, le C.C.F., le Crédit Social, l'Union des électeurs, le Parti progressiste ouvrier, et des supposés Indépendants de toutes les couleurs de l'arc-en-ciel. Que représentent-ils de tradition et de conception vraiment canadiennes? La soi-disant Union Nationale n'est pas nationale, mais d'un esprit d'étroit provincialisme; le Bloc Populaire n'est certainement pas populaire; plusieurs ignorent la signification des lettres C.C.F.; un jour, le Crédit Social est identique à l'Union des Electeurs, le lendemain, ce ne l'est plus; et le troisième jour, c'est redevenu le Crédit Social; le nouveau parti Progressiste-ouvrier ne sert plus à exprimer la véritable conception du parti qui a assumé ce nom; et, ce qui est le plus amusant de tout, il y avait un membre du Parlement qui, tout fin seul, prétendait être le Parti Canadien.

Le grand nombre de cette sorte de partis et groupes malheureusement jette le discrédit dans l'esprit du public sur tous les partis politiques. Si c'était là le pire effet, les conséquences ne seraient probablement pas aussi sérieuses.

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Malheureusement, des partis aux différents noms et de toutes sortes, unions, blocs, mouvements aux curieuses dénominations, bien qu'à la fin ils n'arrivent à rien, réussissent entre-temps de saboter et d'amoindrir l'efficacité des partis qui ont une influence nationale. Une multiplicité de partis a pour résultat de détruire la conception entière des organisations politiques responsables et d'affaiblir la nation elle-même. Ceci, comme nous l'avons tous constaté, fut la malchance de la France au début de la guerre. Gardons-nous de ne pas répéter la même erreur. Ce dont nous avons besoin au Canada, ce sont des partis qui serviront à unir en une seule nation, ses provinces d'un océan à l'autre. Nous avons aujourd'hui, au Canada, un tel parti dans le parti libéral. Protégeons cet héritage.

J'ai débuté ce soir en parlant de l'histoire et des traditions du parti libéral. J'ai parlé de la longue procession dans laquelle, pour plus d'un centenaire, les membres du Parti, de génération en génération, ont avancé d'un pas ferme sous la bannière de la liberté.

J'ai, je l'espère, démontré où le secret des nombreuses victoires du Parti doit être trouvé, et c'est dans son attachement à l'unité: un parti uni; un pays uni; les nations du monde unies par les liens de la fraternité et de la paix.

En aucun temps de l'histoire du Canada avons-nous senti un besoin plus grand qu'aujourd'hui de voir se perpétuer un parti

D 64390

libéral puissant, alors que l'humanité est devant l'alternative de la destruction universelle ou de la liberté parfaite. Dans notre pays, comme dans plusieurs autres, où le facteur géographique et les différences sociales portent à la division, le parti libéral se fait le défenseur de l'unité. Dans un monde où la sécurité de l'homme et de la femme est une chose précieuse, le parti libéral se fait le défenseur de la sécurité. A un moment où la liberté continue d'être menacée par les tendances à la dictature et au totalitarisme, le parti libéral est toujours le défenseur de la liberté. Unité, Sécurité, Liberté: voilà les grands principes pour lesquels nous combattons, voilà les étendards sous lesquels, comme parti, nous continuerons de servir.

Messieurs: je vous demande de vous lever et de boire à la santé de celui qui a combattu noblement pour l'unité, la sécurité et la liberté, dans notre pays et parmi les nations du monde, le ministre de la Justice et secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Je ne chercherai pas de formule nouvelle pour vous exprimer ma gratitude, celle de ma femme et celle de toute ma famille pour ce splendide témoignage d'estime et d'amitié que vous me donnez ce soir. Il faudrait être entièrement dépourvu de toute sensibilité pour n'en être pas profondément ému. Aussi est-ce du plus profond de mon être beaucoup plus que du bout des lèvres, que je vous dis à tous, et à chacun de vous en particulier, je vous remercie.

Il faudrait aussi être dépourvu de tout sentiment d'orgueuil, être modeste à un degré que peu d'hommes peuvent atteindre, surtout en politique, pour n'être pas aussi fier intérieurement qu'on est embarrassé extérieurement d'entendre dire de soi autant de louanges que viennent d'en prononcer à mon endroit le Très Honorable Mackenzie King et l'Honorable Adélard Godbout.

Oh! je sais bien quelle large part il convient d'en attribuer à l'amitié dont ils m'honorent. Je sais aussi quelle large part des applaudissements si cordiaux dont vous les avez acceuillis il convient d'attribuer à un même sentiment de généreuse amitié. Mais c'est déjà très flatteur pour moi et tous les miens d'avoir cette éclatante démonstration que j'ai pu gagner et conserver leur amitié et la vôtre.

C'est la deuxième fois dans ma vie qu'on me fête dans un banquet. Le premier n'avait pas l'éclat de celui-ci. Il me fut donné dans mon village de Compton il y a 41 ans lors de mon admission au barreau de la Province de Québec. J'étais le premier

de ma paroisse à devenir avocat et les amis au milieu desquels j'avais grandi s'étaient réunis pour se réjouir des quelques succès que j'avais eus au collège et à l'Université et pour m'en souhaiter d'autres dans la carrière où je me lançais.

Ce premier banquet - si modeste fut-il en comparaison de celui-ci - en avait cependant la même caractéristique essentielle; c'était un témoignage de félicitations, d'estime et d'amitié que je n'ai jamais oublié. Et le souvenir ému que j'en ai gardé vous est un gage que je n'oublierai jamais non plus la fête de ce soir et la généreuse participation de chacun de vous qui en fait un succès si éclatant.

Il y a cinq ans, en effet, que monsieur King m'a appelé à participer à l'administration du gouvernment du Canada et, près de cinq ans, que les électeurs de Québec-Est m'ont élu pour succéder à Sir Wilfrid Laurier et au Très Honorable Ernest Lapointe comme leur député à la Chambre des Communes.

Voir son nom accollé à ceux de Wilfrid Laurier et Ernest Lapointe, c'est déjà un titre glorieux dans l'histoire politique des Canadiens de notre province. Nul autant qu'eux ne s'est imposé à l'admiration de leurs concitoyens des deux dernières générations d'un bout à l'autre de notre immense pays. Leur succéder, se voir chargé de continuer leur oeuvre était glorieux, si vous voulez, mais combien périlleux.

D 64-20.

Il fallait que nous fussions en guerre pour que j'aie osé affronter le péril de rapprocher Compton de St-Lin et de St-Eloi. Je comptais que l'état de guerre et votre générosité traditionnelle interdiraient les comparaisons et qu'en faisant mon possible, je pourrais continuer à me tenir debout en public et peut-être même un jour me permettre sans fanfaronnade de répéter avec le héros de Rostand: "Mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre".

J'ai rappelé que nous étions alors en guerre; je ne sais si tous se souviennent comme moi de la phase de la guerre où nous étions lorsque j'ai été invité par monsieur King à faire partie de son Cabinet. Le jour où j'ai été assermenté, les journaux nous apprenaient l'attaque sur Pearl Harbour et le coulage du Repulse et du Prince of Wales. Le Japon affirmait ainsi, en s'attaquant simultanément aux Etats-Unis et au Commonwealth Britannique, sa croyance ferme qu'il allait avec les puissances de l'Axe vaincre les nations alliées et leur imposer les conditions de servage rêvées par leurs géo-politiques.

Les semaines et même les mois qui ont suivi ont été des semaines et des mois de reculs constants et d'anxiété croissante pour les chefs militaires des forces alliées. Ils ont été aussi des semaines et des mois d'anxiété pour notre public et surtout pour tous ceux qui faisaient partie du gouvernement. Le public a connu l'agitation des deux cents, à Toronto; il a connu les débats orageux à la Chambre sur la loi du plébiscite, il a connu la campagne non moins

orageuse qui a abouti au vote du plébiscite, il a connu les débats subséquents à la Chambre sur l'amendement de la loi de mobilisation. Ce qu'il a peut-être moins connu, c'est le danger qu'il a couru pendant toutes ces semaines et ces mois de dissolution des Chambres, d'élections générales, où la question de conscription générale et immédiate aurait causé une division profonde et durable dans notre population, d'autant plus profonde et plus durable qu'elle aurait été basée sur des convictions honnêtes et sincères de part et d'autre. C'eut été un grand, un très grand malheur. Un malheur qui aurait mui à notre effort de guerre, qui aurait amoindri la contribution que nous avons pu fournir qux nations alliées, qui s'il n'avait pas compromis la victoire finale, aurait pu la retarder et se traduire en hécatombes additionnelles pendant la période qui eut été ajoutée au terrible conflit. C'eut été aussi un malheur qui aurait empoisonné la vie nationale canadienne pour de longues années, avec des conséquences sociales et économiques dont il n'est pas facile d'apprécier exactement l'importance mais dont il n'est pas facile non plus de s'exagérer les dangers.

Messieurs, malgré mes 64 ans et plus, je suis encore assez jeune, surtout en politique, pour qu'il me reste des illusions. J'ai l'illusion d'avoir pris une part assez considérable à conjurer ce danger et s'il ne me restait aucune autre satisfaction que cette illusion pour compenser les années que j'ai passées à Ottawa au lieu de continuer l'exercice tranquille mais assez satisfaisant de ma profession à Québec, je n'en aurais aucun regret. Et ce n'est

pas seulement la satisfaction d'avoir contribué à rendre à son pays un service que j'estime de conséquence majeure; j'ai eu pendant ces semaines et ces mois la satisfaction de me convaincre que le patriotisme éclairé des hommes publics canadiens était réel et qu'il était fécond. J'ai été à même de constater que tous ceux avec qui je collaborais étaient d'un dévouement à la cause publique et d'un désintéressement patriotique qui rappelaient les dévouements et le désintéressement des grandes figures de toutes les histoires et de tous les siècles.

Il y avait des divergences d'opinion, profondes, sincères et presque passionément convaincues quant aux meilleurs moyens de sauvegarder efficacement les intérêts de la nation canadienne, l'existence même de la nation canadienne. Pour tous, sans aucune exception, ces opinions étaient inspirées du plus pur patriotisme mais elles n'en étaient pas moins divergentes, très divergentes, et ce fut pendant des semaines et des mois, des problèmes de conscience sérieux et angoissants pour chacun. Devait-il, pouvait-il sacrifier ses convictions personnelles pour collaborer à une politique d'action qui donnait des résultats mais qu'il ne pouvait pas croire être la meilleure?

Etait-il bien inévitable que son refus de le faire provoquerait une crise et paralyserait des efforts importants, peut-être indispensables, sans chance sérieuse de les faire reprendre assez tôt et avec une vigueur augmentée? Pendant qu'on pèse et qu'on soupèse le pour et le contre il y a la hantise

constante du spectre de la guerre qui marche toujours, du spectre de la guerre où des hommes souffrent et meurent chaque jour et où des hommes souffriront et mourront chaque jour tant qu'elle durera.

J'étais le dernier venu dans cette compagnie d'une vingtaine de ministres qui portaient, et qui savaient qu'ils portaient cette lourde responsabilité. Plusieurs avaient été de mes amis avant que je devienne leur collègue et quant aux autres, l'amitié, et même l'intimité, se produisent vite en face d'une lourde responsabilité qu'il faut porter en commun.

Nous nous sommes fourni mutuellement éclaircissements, aide morale, exemple et encouragements, et le danger a été conjuré. Notre effort de guerre a continué à une allure constamment croissante et avec l'appui, en fait, très général presque unanime, de toute notre population. Oh, il y a bien eu des notes discordantes de temps à autre et en certains quartiers, mais ces notes discordantes se traduisaient surtout en paroles et en écrits, et n'ont pas empêché l'ensemble de la population de répondre avec un élan très satisfaisant aux directives que nous cherchions à lui donner.

Puis, à l'automne de 1944, survint une autre crise des consciences et des convictions. Dire qu'elle fut plus angoissante pour moi que la première ne serait pas l'exacte vérité car je n'ai jamais eu un moment d'hésitation quant à la ligne de conduite que le devoir m'imposait. Mais cette ligne de conduite m'était tracée par la connaissance de faits que je savais et que je ne pouvais pas communiquer à mes amis. Je me suis donc trouvé dans la pénible nécessité d'adopter une ligne de conduite que beaucoup d'entre vous, mes amis, considériez sincèrement et honnêtement devoir

réprouver. C'était d'autant plus pénible que je connaissais votre bonne foi et que j'étais convaincu que si j'avais eu le droit de vous révéler les motifs qui me faisaient agir, vous les auriez unanimement approuvés, comme on l'a fait du reste à l'élection de juin 1945. A ce moment, les motifs de sécurité qui m'empéchaient de parler en novembre 1944 n'existaient plus et les faits qui s'étaient passés dans l'intervalle fournissaient la démonstration complète que nous avions eu raison.

C'est dur, tout de même, d'avoir à désappointer ses amis, d'être obligé de paraître, même momentanément, trahir leur confiance, accomplir ce qui leur semble être de mauvaises actions et se sentir obligé de garder le secret inviolable de faits qui, s'il était permis de les révéler, dissiperaient toutes ces apparences et feraient tout accepter.

C'était dur mais c'était inévitable et c'est un peu parce qu'il m'a fallu le faire que vous me fêtez ce soir. C'était dur mais c'était tout de même moins dur que ce qu'ont accepté des centaines de mille jeunes Canadiens qui se sont enrôlés sous les drapeaux, qui ont subi de longues périodes d'entraînement dans des conditions absolument différentes de celles de la vie normale des citoyens de notre pays, qui ont abdiqué presque complètement leur volonté individuelle pour accepter les commandements de leurs officiers supérieurs, qui ont accepté d'aller se battre, de recevoir des blessures, de perdre des membres, peut-être de mourir pour que nous vivions et pour que la nation canadienne continue de vivre.

Ce que nous avons fait, nous, en nous occupant d'oeuvres de guerre sur l'arrière-ligne, est peu de chose comparé à ce qu'ont eu à faire ceux qui sont allés au front, et ce banquet que vous m'offrez et dont je suis si fier, je l'ai accepté et

je l'accepte comme hommage à tous ceux qui ont cherché à servir le pays pendant les années que nous venons de traverser. Vous me fêtez, mais vous fêtez aussi le Premier Ministre du Canada, dont toute la carrière avait été celle d'un homme de paix mais qui s'est révélé un Premier Ministre de guerre dont l'apport à tout ce qui a assuré la victoire finale des nations alliées, ne s'avérera inférieure à celle d'aucun autre de nos grands chefs lorsque le recul des années aura permis aux historiens d'en apprécier toute l'ampleur.

Vous fêtez également tous ses collègues, les Mackenzie, les Ralston, les Chubby Power, les Ilsley, les Howe, les Angus MacDonald, les McNaughton, les Gardiner, les MacKinnon, les Gibson, les Humphrey Mitchell et tous les autres, pour ne nommer que quelques-uns de ceux qui vivent encore et dont les noms sont comme des en-têtes de chapitres différents dans l'histoire qui s'écrira de la mobilisation universelle de toutes les ressources humaines et matérielles que notre pays a contribuées à la défense de la civilisation chrétienne contre les forces du mal. Mais vous fêtez aussi et vous fêtez surtout tous les gars du 22ième, des Royal Rifles, du Régiment de la Chaudière, du Régiment de Maisonneuve, et de tous nos autres régiments, ceux de la marine canadienne, tous nos aviateurs, tous ceux qui sont allés porter notre participation sur les champs de bataille, sur les océans ou dans les airs, vous fêtez aussi et en même temps les millions de Canadiens et de Canadiennes qui, dans les forêtes, sur les fermes, dans les mines, dans les chantiers et dans les usines, dans les maisons de banque et de finance, partout, se sont associés avec tant d'ardeur à l'effort national que cette crise mondiale nous a imposé.

Permettez-moi maintenant de vous rappeler quelques-unes des réalisations de paix auxquelles il m'a été donné de parti-

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REPEAT
REPETITION

ciper depuis que je suis à Ottawa. La première que je veux signaler, c'est la loi des allocations familiales. Je n'irai pas jusqu'à prétendre que cette loi est parfaite dans tous ses détails, mais c'est une bonne loi. C'est la meilleure loi sociale que le Parlement canadien ait jamais adoptée. Elle remédie, en une mesure importante, à l'anomalie qui faisait que 80% des enfants canadiens, 80% des citoyens canadiens de la prochaine génération, étaient à la charge de moins que 15% de la génération actuelle.

Et il n'y avait pas d'autre moyen de remédier d'une manière efficace à cette anomalie. On a beau parler de salaire familial, lorsqu'on habite un pays comme le nôtre, dont l'économie dépend en une si large mesure de son commerce international, de notre capacité de produire et de vendre en concurrence avec tous les autres pays, il faut admettre que les gages et les salaires doivent rester en fonction directe de la valeur économique des produits résultant du travail dont les gages et les salaires sont le prix. Les fixer pour tout le monde au niveau des besoins du père de famille ayant à sa charge le plus grand nombre d'enfants grèverait nos industries de fardeaux que la concurrence des autres ne leur permet pas de porter. D'autre part, tenter de proportionner les gages et les salaires aux charges de famille de ceux qui les reçoivent, empêcherait fatalement l'embauchage de ceux-là mêmes que le système serait destiné à favoriser.

L'égalité des gages et des salaires pour égalité de rendement est une conséquence inéluctable du système sous lequel nous vivons. Mais le système

sous lequel nous vivons en est un dont tous nous profitons et il est juste de répartir sur l'ensemble de la communauté une partie de la charge qui portait trop lourdement sur les chefs des familles nombreuses.

La loi dont la mise en opération remonte au 1er juillet 1945 pourvoit à la distribution d'environ 250 millions de dollars par année à cette fin. Non seulement elle vient en aide aux chefs de familles riches surtout en futurs citoyens canadiens, mais elle place à leur disposition un pouvoir d'achat de 250 millions de dollars par année qui est utilisé couramment et qui crée un marché stable et constant pour un volume correspondant de denrées de consommation.

On a critiqué certains détails de cette loi. On a dit, par exemple, qu'on ne devrait commencer à verser les allocations qu'au troisième enfant. On oubliait de tenir compte du fait que ces allocations sont versées périodiquement pour tous les enfants ayant moins de seize ans au moment où elles sont versées et que la statistique démontre qu'au moment de chaque versement il y a près de la moitié des familles où il n'y a pas plus que deux enfants de cet âge. Pour celles qui commencent, cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles ne deviendront pas plus nombreuses et pour celles dont les derniers ont déjà 14 ou 15 ans, cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles n'ont pas été plus nombreuses. Mais cela veut dire que pour tous les ménages, jeunes comme moins jeunes, les allocations sont payées chaque mois suivant le nombre d'enfants dans la famille ayant l'âge voulu pour les recevoir au cours de ce mois.

On a critiqué aussi le fait que la loi comportait un taux décroissant lorsqu'il y avait lieu de

verser des allocations pour plus que quatre enfants en même temps dans la même famille. Il est possible que l'expérience démontre que le taux de cette décroissance a été mal établi mais je ne crois pas qu'on puisse sérieusement prétendre qu'il est injuste de tenir un certain compte du fait que les dépenses mensuelles à la charge du père de 7 ou 8 enfants de moins de 16 ans ne sont pas exactement le double des mêmes dépenses à la charge de celui qui n'en a que 3 ou 4.

Et du reste, Messieurs, quelles sont les oeuvres humaines qui soient absolument parfaites lorsqu'elles sont d'abord ébauchées? Il est possible que celle-ci le soit, mais même si elle ne l'est pas, c'est une bonne loi, une très bonne loi et le parti auquel j'appartiens est fier de l'avoir inscrite dans nos statuts.

Une autre réforme dont notre parti est fier et à laquelle je suis fier d'avoir collaboré, c'est le rajustement de la représentation des populations des provinces dans notre parlement national. On a commencé en 1867 avec une représentation basée sur la population de chacune des provinces; on a attribué 65 députés à la province de Québec et on a fixé l'unité de représentation pour les autres provinces à 1/65 de la population de chez nous.

Il devait y avoir rajustement de la représentation après chaque recensement décennal mais il y avait une clause dans l'Acte constitutionnel comportant qu'on ne diminuerait la représentation d'une province que si la proportion de sa population comparée à celle de toute la nation avait diminué d'un vingtième depuis le dernier rajustement.

Apparemment, les rédacteurs de cette clause consentaient à un certain écart du principe de la représentation proportionnelle mais entendaient qu'il fut corrigé de décade en décade ou au moins aussitôt qu'il aurait atteint l'importance d'un vingtième. Mais le Conseil Privé ayant eu à interpréter cette disposition en 1904, il en vint à la conclusion qu'il y avait rajustement de la représentation chaque fois que cette représentation était mise en regard du plus récent recensement avec la conséquence qu'ilfallait une diminution d'un vingtième entre deux recensements conséqutifs pour permettre une réduction.

Ceci rendait possibles des écarts de beaucoup plus qu'un vingtième entre la représentation de Québec et celle des autres provinces pourvu que la dimination dans la proportion de la population de celles-ci bien que progressive et cumulative, n'égalât pas un vingtième dans une seule décade. Déjà, après le recensement de 1941, la population d'Ontario avait huit députés de plus que sa représentation proportionnelle et cet écart aurait pu augmenter indéfiniment s'il avait suivi la même progression que pendant les trois dernières décades. Lorsque les compilations du recensement de 1941 furent publiées en 1943, il y aurait eu lieu de procéder à une redistribution. Il aurait fallu faire cette redistribution en tenant compte du jugement du Conseil Privé. Cette redistribution aurait fait perdre plusieurs députés aux citoyens de Manitoba et de Saskatchewan, mais Ontario aurait gardé ses huit députés de plus que sa représentation proportionnelle. Le Gouvernement en est venu à la conclusion qu'une telle redistribution

n'eut pas été juste et il a fait adopter un amendement à la Constitution pour la remettre jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, car la tension des esprits pendant la guerre était telle qu'il n'aurait probablement pas été possible de faire accepter un amendement qui eut augmenté la proportion des gens de chez nous dans le parlement national. J'ai consenti dans le temps à assumer ma part de responsabilité pour cet ajournement de la redistribution et j'ai déclaré à la Chambre que je le faisais parce qu'une redistribution sous les conditions d'alors eut été injuste pour les populations du Manitoba et de Saskatchewan mais j'ajoutais qu'elle eut été injuste aussi pour la population de Québec et que j'avais confiance qu'une remise permettrait de faire accepter un système qui nous rendrait justice à tous.

On s'est bien moqué dans le temps de ma naiveté si confiante. On a même pensé, en certains milieux, qu'on pourrait faire croire au public qu'il y avait là une lâche concession de ma part pour faire l'affaire des autres aux dépens des gens de chez nous. Prêter le flanc si naivement à la critique des adversaires est peut-être une des raisons qu'à mon ami, monsieur Duplessis, pour l'opinion qu'il exprime si souvent à mon endroit: "St-Laurent? Il a pu être un assez bon avocat, mais il ne connait rien en politique." J'avoue ne rien connaitre à certaines façons de faire de la politique. Non seulement, je l'avoue mais je m'en glorifie. Le peu d'expérience que j'ai des hommes et de leurs façons de réagir, je l'ai acquise à plaider devant des juges dont je respectais l'intelligence et la bonne foi. En leur demandant de rendre

des jugements, j'estimais qu'il fallait soumettre à leur appréciation tous les faits pertinents, mais rien autre chose que les faits pertinents; en d'autres termes, la vérité, toute la vérité, rien que la vérité.

C'estun système que m'a réussi pendant au-delà de 36 ans au Barreau et quand j'ai été obligé de changer de juge et de plaider mes causes devant le grand public, dont nous dépendons en politique, j'étais trop vieux pour changer de système. J'ai continué à respecter l'intelligence et la bonne foi de mes nouveaux juges et, franchement, j'ai l'impression que ce n'est pas un système qui leur déplait.

Mais revenons à la redistribution. La confiance que j'exprimais en 1943 ne paraît plus aussi naive. Vous savez qu'à la dernière session nous avons de nouveau fait amender la Constitution pour rétablir le principe de la représentation proportionnée à la population quant à toutes les provinces. Dorénavant, il ne faudra pas plus de gens de Québec pour avoir droit à un député aux Communes qu'il n'en faut dans aucune autre province.

Trois députés seulement se sont opposés ouvertement au rétablissement du principe si juste de la même unité de représentation pour tout le monde. Mais nos adversaires ont cherché à masquer leur opposition réelle avec l'argument que nous n'avions pas le droit d'y procéder sans obtenir auparavant le consentement des gouvernements provinciaux.

D'après eux, il aurait fallu demander la permission préalable au moins de certains gouvernments provinciaux notamment celui de monsieur Duplessis et

celui de son ami, monsieur George Drew. Et parce que nous ne l'avons pas fait, monsieur Duplessis qui s'y connait si bien aux façons de faire de la politique que je connais si mal, pense maintenant qu'il peut convaincre la population du Québec que nous avons mis en péril l'usage de la langue française en notre pays.

Voici le rapport publié dans Le Devoir du 19 d'août, de ce qu'il a dit en une grande assemblée publique à Ste-Rose, le dimanche précédent, assemblée importante et solennelle où il parlait à côté de Son Excellence Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Montréal:

"Depuis près de 80 ans que nous sommes dans la Confédération, jamais il n'y eut de tels fanatiques qu'en 1946, de fanatiques au point d'aller dire que la langue française n'a plus droit de cité dans la province de Québec. Et c'est un ministre libéral de langue française qui a dit cela."

A plusieurs reprises aussi, monsieur Ivan Sabourin, l'organisateur dans notre province du parti progressiste-conservateur a dit à peu près la même chose. Cela a été préparé lors du débat aux Communes sur le projet d'amendement quant à la redistribution. Monsieur Arthur Smith, député progressiste-conservateur de Calgary Ouest, m'avait sommé de répondre comme Ministre de la Justice à l'objection suivante: Si le Parlement peut sans le consentement des gouvernements provinciaux faire modifier la Constitution pour changer la proportion de députés pour chaque province, n'aurait-il pas le même droit pour faire modifier l'article 133 quant à l'usage de la langue française?

Un connaisseur en politique comme monsieur Duplessis aurait pu éviter de répondre clairement à une telle question. Il aurait pu se contenter de dire qu'il s'agissait en l'espèce de réparer une injustice et que le droit de la réparer n'impliquait aucun droit d'en commettre d'autres. Mais nous discutions l'effet véritable de la Constitution au point de vue strictement légal et j'ai répondu qu'au point de vue strictement légal, les gouvernements provinciaux comme tels, n'avaient rien à faire quant au respect dû à la langue française dans le Parlement fédéral.

J'ai eu la naiveté d'ajouter que mes concitoyens canadiens de ma race et de ma religion, pouvaient être assurés qu'il existait une garantie plus sûre que toute disposition que pouvait renfermer l'article 133 de la Constitution pour protéger nos droits essentiels et que ce n'est pas la façon d'agir de ceux qui ont été formés selon les principes traditionnels de la liberté et du fair play britannique de poser des actes que la conscience de l'humanité jugerait déshonorants.

Ce n'est pas moi qui ai rédigé la Constitution de 1867 et lorsque je l'interprète comme avocat il me faut l'interpréter telle qu'elle est et non pas telle qu'on pourrait souhaiter qu'elle fut. En fait tant que nous n'aurons pas adopté un système pour l'amender chez nous, elle s'amende par statuts adoptés au Parlement de Londres. Depuis le Statut de Westminster, le Parlement de Londres ne légifère pour nous que lorsque nous le demandons et de la façon que nous demandons et à la seule condition que la demande soit faite par ceux qui, en vertu de la Constitution ont juridiction en la matière à laquelle l'amendement doit s'appliquer.

Certaines matières sont sous la juridiction exclusive des législatures provinciales. Quant à celles-là, aucune demande d'amendement provenant du Parlement fédéral ne peut être acceuillie. Quant aux autres matières, qui sont sous la juridiction du Parlement fédéral, et cela veut dire toutes celles qui ne sont pas expressément attribuées aux législatures provinciales par les termes de la Constitution, les demandes d'amendement doivent venir du Parlement fédéral et c'est lui seul qui est responsable envers les citoyens canadiens de la teneur de ces demandes, car il ne faut pas l'oublier, le Parlement fédéral est notre parlement à nous, tout autant qu'il est le parlement des Canadiens des autres provinces. La juridiction qu'il exerce, c'est vous qui l'exercez en y envoyant vos représentants, et vos représentants ont la responsabilité d'y faire respecter vos droits dans le domaine fédéral tout comme vos représentants à la Législature ont la responsabilité de faire respecter ceux du domaine provincial. Nos droits à l'usage de la langue française dans le domaine fédéral, ne sont pas plus exposés par suite du fait que les législatures provinciales n'ont rien à y voir, que ne le sont vos comptes de banque, vos droits de voter aux élections fédérales, vos droits d'avoir la protection du code criminel contre les assassins et les voleurs.

Monsieur Duplessis était d'autant moins justifiable de faire une assertion comme celle que je vous ai citée tout à l'heure que je lui avais écrit, cinq ou six semaines auparavant, c'est-à-dire le 9 juillet, 1946, une lettre dont je vais me permettre de vous lire certains extraits:

"Il me semble étrange, toutefois, que vous introduisiez dans le débat la question de l'usage de la langue française. Il est vrai que la question a été soulevée ici par un député conservateur de l'Ouest, mais on a considéré la menace voilée qu'elle comportait comme un épouvantail à corbeaux qui n'a effrayé personne. C'était trop apparemment une manoeuvre destinée à empêcher les députés de Québec d'insister pour qu'on attribue à notre population la représentation numérique au Parlement, à laquelle, vous admettrez avec moi, nous avons un droit incontestable d'après l'esprit de la loi de 1867 et même d'après ce que nous pensions en être le texte, avant l'interprétation donnée à ce texte par le jugement du Conseil Privé dans la cause de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard.

"L'article 133 de la Constitution a trait à l'usage des deux langues, - anglaise et française, - au Parlement fédéral et dans la Législature de Québec, ainsi que devant certains tribunaux.

"Il est évident que ce serait empiéter sur les droits de la Législature de Québec pour le Parlement fédéral de décider quoi que ce soit, quant à l'usage de ces langues dans les procédés des Chambres de la Législature de Québec ou des tribunaux de notre province. Quant à l'usage de ces langues dans le Parlement fédéral ou devant ces tribunaux fédéraux, cela intéresse la population canadienne représentée, d'après moi, autrement que par les députés élus à la Législature de Québec."

"Lorsqu'un mandant a deux mandataires, à qui ses pouvoirs ont été délégués pour des fins spécifiquement déterminées quant à chacun, le fait que l'un d'eux faillit aux responsibilités de son mandat n'a pas pour effet de transférer ses pouvoirs à l'autre. En outre, en l'occurence, le mandataire fédéral de la population canadienne n'a pas failli aux responsabilités de son mandat, ne manifeste aucune intention d'y faillir, et personnellement, je suis convaincu qu'il n'y faillira jamais."

J'aurais voulu parler des relations fédérales-provinciales mais j'ai été déjà trop long. Ce n'est pas vous du reste qu'il est nécessaire de mettre en garde contre le discours de monsieur Duplessis et de ceux qui avec lui, cherchent à créer l'impression que le gouvernement d'Ottawa veut empiéter sur l'autonomie des provinces. Le gouvernment d'Ottawa a fait aux provinces des propositions fiscales qui lui paraissaient de nature à faciliter l'accomplissement, tant par les gouvernements des provinces que par le gouvernment fédéral, des responsabilités respectives qui leur incombent en vertu de la Constitution et cela pour que la Constitution puisse être pleinement respectée.

Le gouvernment de Québec n'a pas voulu accepter ces propositions, mais malgré toutes les déclarations pompeuses de son chef actuel sur son désir de collaborer avec les autorités fédérales, il n'a jamais été possible d'avoir la moindre précision quant aux conditions qu'il aurait trouvées acceptables. Je ne mentionnerai qu'un seul item de ses objections comme exemple de sa façon de mener la controverse: Pour faire face aux dépenses énormes qu'il à fallu

encourir comme conséquence de la guerre, le Parlement fédéral a dû décréter des augmentations importantes de l'impôt sur le revenu. Il a dû aussi exercer son droit indéniable de décréter des impôts sur les successions.

Or, l'administration des deux lois a révélé que la perception de l'impôt sur les successions permettrait de découvrir bien des évasions pratiquées à l'égard de l'impôt sur le revenu. L'examen du bilan d'une succession permet de contrôler quelle proportion des actifs qui la constituent provient de revenus gagnés antérieurement et permet souvent de percevoir l'impôt sur des revenus qui n'avaient pas été déclarés.

Or, Messieurs, lorsque le taux de l'impôt est élevé et que tous souhaitent comme nous le faisons dans le moment qu'il puisse être abaissé, une condition indispensable à la possibilité de l'abaisser, c'est le paiement par tous, sans aucune évasion, de ce qui était dû au taux d'auparavant. Lorsqu'un contribuable omet de payer la part qu'il doit supporter suivant le taux en vigueur, ce n'est pas le gouvernement qui en souffre mais ce sont les autres contribuables.

Le gouvernement réussira toujours à prélever la totalité des sommes dont il a besoin et s'il n'obtient pas de chaque contribuable la part que celui-ci doit fournir, il l'obtiendra quand même en augmentant le taux ou en maintenant à un niveau élevé le taux de la contribution des autres.

Le gouvernement fédéral a donc décidé que, pour l'heure, au moins, il était dans l'intérêt général de la masse des contribuables canadiens qu'il continuât à imposer des droits de succession. Il a même proposé que les provinces s'abstiennent temporairement d'en imposer contre certains versements qu'il ferait à chacune. Cela ne paraissait acceptable qu'à certaines provinces et comme le taux de l'impôt doit être le même partout et qu'il fallait dans les provinces qui acceptaient la proposition fédérale, fixer un taux assez élevé pour être en état de leur faire les remboursements convenus, le gouvernment a dû recommander et le Parlement a adopté une loi établissant le nouveau niveau pour toutes les provinces. Mais pour n'être pas injuste envers celles qui n'acceptaient pas la proposition fédérale, le Gouvernement a recommandé et le Parlement a décrété que le montant de l'impôt fédéral serait diminué pour chaque contribuable jusqu'à concurrence de ce qu'il aurait à payer comme impôt de succession au gouvernement de sa province.

Si l'impôt fédéral suivant le nouveau taux est de 100 et que le contribuable doit payer 50 au gouvernement de sa province, il ne paiera que 50 au fisc fédéral.

Or, vous constatez que le Premier ministre actuel de la province de Québec affirme dans ses discours que, non seulement le gouvernement fédéral a-t-il refusé à la conférence de se retirer du domaine de l'impôt sur les successions, mais que, par sa loi de la dernière session, il a doublé la cote de cet impôt.

Messieurs, ce n'est pas ainsi que je conçois dire la vérité, toute la vérité et rien que la vérité. C'est peut-être fairepreuve de certaine habilité stratégique en politique, mais je persiste quand même à croire qu'il vaut encore mieux respecter l'intelligence et la bonne foi de ceux qui ont la responsabilité de porter des jugements sur la conduite des hommes politiques.

Nous sommes tous des citoyens d'un même pays, d'un pays jeune mais d'un pays dont les habitants sont déjà devenus une nation. Je participe dans le moment à une conférence de 54 nations et je puis vous donner l'assurance que le rang et le rôle de la nôtre ne sont pas parmi les moins importants.

C'est nous qui, sous l'oeil de la Providence et la poussée des événements qu'il est parfois difficile aux hommes de contrôler, sommes les seuls maîtres de nos destinées. La constitution sous laquelle nous vivons fait un partage judicieux des prérogatives et des responsabilités de la souveraineté entre le pouvoir central et les organismes provinciaux.

C'est un système qui n'est peut-être pas parfait mais je n'en connais aucun qui conviendrait mieux à la situation que les événements nous ont imposés. *Nous entendons qu'il soit maintenu.*

Notre Premier Ministre disait, dans un discours, en 1942: "Notre statut national n'est pas fondé sur la supériorité d'une seule race ou d'une seule langue. Le Canada a été fondé sur la confiance que les deux races les plus fières du monde pourraient en dépit de différence de langue et de croyances, travailler ensemble dans un esprit de tolérance et de respect mutuel au développement d'une nationalité commune.

Dans cette association égale des Canadiens de langue anglaise etde langue française, nous avons admis des milliers qui sont issus d'autres races et qui parlent d'autres langues. Tous et chacun, ils ont cherché une patrie où la nationalité ne veut dire ni domination, ni esclavage mais égalité et liberté. Sans l'idéal de l'égalité entre eux de tous les hommes, sans cette vision d'humanité fraternelle, la nation canadienne n'aurait pu naître, sans eux, elle ne pourra vivre."

La nationalité canadienne est aussi basée sur le principe fondamental de la division des pouvoirs entre un Parlement où se traitent et se règlent les problèmes que tous les Canadiens ont en commun et des législatures, seules compétentes à traiter et à régler ceux qui les intéressent séparément et spécialement comme habitants d'une province.

Le parti auquel j'appartiens à toujours été et sera toujours le ferme défenseur de cette répartition si juste, si logique et si indispensable au sain développement de la nationalité canadienne. Je répète ici comme assertion de fait et comme promesse quelques lignes additionnelles de la lettre que j'écrivais à monsieur Duplessis le 9 juillet dernier où je me servais des termes mêmes d'un ordre en conseil qu'il avait fait adopter le 3 juillet et dont il m'avait adressé la copie:

"Le gouvernement du Canada a pris les mesures appropriées pour faire droit au "désir de la province de Québec que toutes les provinces, Québec en particulier, obtiennent, par des procédés conformes à l'esprit et à la lettre de la Constitution du Canada, une représentation fédérale juste et raisonnable.

La province de Québec verra toujours respecté "son irrévocable désir de sauvegarder intégralement les prérogatives constitutionnelles qui lui appartiennent et de conserver intacts les droits intangibles et inaliénables de la langue française";

Le gouvernement de la province de Québec n'a à redouter aucun manquement au "respect intégral du pacte fédératif canadien".

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Ne pas publier avant que le discours soit prononcé.-

Banquet en l'honneur du

Très Honorable Louis Saint-Laurent, P.C., M.P.

Ministre de la Justice et Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures

Château Frontenac Québec, ce 29 novembre 1946

Discours du Très Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,

Premier ministre et chef du Parti libéral du Canada,

en proposant la santé de l'invité d'honneur.

Monsieur le Président, Messieurs,

Je suis heureux d'etre de nouveau á une réunion politique dans la province de Québec, et tout spécialement á une réunion de famille.

C'est un plaisir aussi pour moi de voir comme président de cette fete, mon vieil ami, le sénateur Fafard. Ses nombreux succès à la présidence du caucus libéral au parlement lui ont valu, sur l'assentiment complet de tous les membres, d'être nommé sénateur à vie.

Je suis encore heureux de voir á cette table et á cette réunion un aussi grand nombre de mes confrères du parlement, des membres libéraux du Parlement Provincial de Québec, et des

libéraux en vue de cette ville et de cette province. Je suis tout heureux de voir , M. Adélard Godbout, le chef de l'opposition libérale de cette province.

Comme chef des forces libérales de l'arène provinciale, M. Godbout, pendant plusieurs années, au pouvoir ou dans l'opposition, fut toujours sur les premiers rangs de la bataille.

Il y en a aussi plusieurs autres dont je voudrais mentionner les noms. Nous nous sommes réunis ici ce soir, non pas tant pour nous faire honneur, mais pour honorer un des nôtres dont le parti est tellement fier et qui, malgré la courte durée de sa vie politique, a toujours tenu haut et d'une façon triomphale la bannière libérale. Vous savez qu'il s'agit de notre ami très estimé, le ministre de la Justice et Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, le Très-honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Pour gagner du prestige, pour se maintenir, un parti politique a besoin de personnalités tout autant que de principes. Ce dont je veux surtout parler ce soir, c'est de la personnalité de M. Saint-Laurent et de ce qu'elle a signifié dans notre vie politique. Je voudrais pouvoir le faire à la fois en français et en anglais. Je puis déjà me rendre compte, d'après ce que j'ai essayé de dire en français, qu'un retour à ma langue maternelle ne

sera pas malvenu. Permettez-moi d'offrir premièrement au nom des membres du gouvernement et de ma part nos plus sincères remerciements à ceux qui ont organisé cette magnifique fête en l'honneur de notre collègue, M. Saint-Laurent. Je tiens aussi à vous remercier tous de la chaleureuse réception que vous avez été assez gentils de m'offrir. Veuillez m'excuser si je continue mon discours en anglais. (A ce moment, le P. M. continua en anglais)

Je tiens à vous dire dès maintenant que je suis venu à Québec pour être présent à ce banquet en l'honneur de M. Saint-Laurent. Je ne suis pas venu pour faire de cette occasion une discussion de tribune électorale et de politique ou de débat sur les questions publiques. J'aurai des occasions plus appropriées à ces fins. Sans doute que M. Saint-Laurent désirera parler de certaines questions qui, dans cette province, sont le sujet de différends politiques. Je suis venu comme chef du parti libéral du Canada pour offrir, au nom du parti, et au nom du gouvernement, nos hommages à celui qui est vraiment un grand homme et qui, malgré son peu d'années dans la vie politique, a rendu des services exceptionnels à notre parti et à notre pays.

<u>Le parti libéral, le parti de la liberté</u>

Le parti libéral, au Canada, a une longue histoire. Il a suivi aussi de nobles traditions. Pendant plus d'un siècle, des hommes d'origines ethniques et de croyances différentes, des

travailleurs intellectuels et manuels, jeunes et vieux, ont, de génération en génération, marché ensemble dans un vaste cortège, sous la bannière de la Liberté.

Tantôt, c'était la liberté politique et constitutionnelle; tantôt, la liberté personnelle et économique; tantôt encore, la liberté sociale et industrielle; tantôt enfin, la liberté nationale et mondiale; mais toujours, sous quelque forme que ce fût, c'était une liberté de plus en plus grande.

En tête de ce long cortège, on voyait les réformateurs des premières heures, champions du gouvernement responsable, collègues dans l'établissement de la Confédération, les vaillants "Grits" pendant les nombreuses années où le parti fut du côté de l'opposition, puis les chefs d'un libéralisme triomphant. Sauf les années de la première Grande Guerre et celles qui l'ont précédée et suivie immédiatement, ainsi que la période de crise de la première moitié des années 30, notre parti a été au pouvoir près de trente-cinq ans dans l'espace du demi-siècle dernier.

<u>Réalisation qui est un sujet de fierté</u>

De 1921 à 1946, dernière moitié de ce demi-siècle, il y a eu sept élections générales. Six fois sur les sept, le parti libéral a été porté au pouvoir. Cela s'est produit nonobstant le fait que sept des années en question furent des années de guerre. Pendant cette période de guerre, l'on compte deux victoires aux

élections générales. En outre, aux deux élections de cette période, le parti libéral a fait élire le plus grand nombre de députés qu'aucun parti ait jamais élus à la Chambre des Communes. Comme chef libéral, j'ai eu le plus grand support jamais donné à un premier ministre dans l'histoire du Canada. M. Ilsley, habile à utiliser les chiffres pour en faire ressortir une vérité importante, a calculé que depuis 1896, le parti libéral, sous deux chefs, a connu deux défaites aux élections; tandis que le parti conservateur, sous dix chefs, a perdu dix élections. M. Ilsley a omis, il va sans dire, les élections de 1917, alors que le gouvernement était une coalition de membres des deux partis. Présentant les résultats de la calculation de M. Ilsley, en termes de gains plutôt que de pertes, le parti libéral, sur une période de cinquante ans, avec deux chefs, a gagné dix élections; tandis que le parti conservateur, avec dix chefs, en a gagné deux. Vraiment, voilà une réalisation dont nous pouvons tous être fiers.

Ce soir, nous sommes réunis afin de rendre hommage à l'un des nôtres, auquel, à un titre très spécial, nous sommes redevables de l'état actuel de notre parti.

<u>Laurier, Lapointe et Saint-Laurent</u>

Si je me demande pourquoi notre parti est resté si longtemps au pouvoir dans l'arène fédérale, au cours des

cinquante dernières années, j'en trouve le secret dans l'importance qu'il a attachée à l'unité et aux moyens de maintenir cette unité. Ici, dans cette ville de Québec, je suis particulièrement heureux de pouvoir dire qu'à mon sens, nous devons aux chefs que la circonscription de Québec-Est a élus au Parlement du Canada, plus qu'à tout autre facteur pris à part, l'unité de notre parti et, permettez-moi d'ajouter, notre unité nationale.

Parmi ces chefs que Québec-Est a envoyés au Parlement, le premier qui vous viendra à l'esprit est sir Wilfrid Laurier. Quelle vénération nous aurons toujours pour le nom de sir Wilfrid et quel soin nous mettrons à chérir sa mémoire! Vous songerez ensuite, avec une vénération presque égale, au Très honorable Ernest Lapointe. Quel caractère loyal et généreux! Ce soir, celui qui occupe le meilleur de nos pensées, c'est le digne successeur de ces deux hommes, le ministre de la Justice du Canada et secrétaire d'Etat pour les affaires extérieures, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Nous sommes réunis ce soir pour rendre hommage à M. Saint-Laurent. Eh bien, présentons-lui tout honneur. Nous savons tous, et nul mieux que moi ne le sait, que sans le rôle que M. Saint-Laurent a joué durant les années où il a fait partie du ministère, la situation du parti libéral serait tout autre que ce qu'elle est ce soir; Que dis-je? non seulement la

situation du parti, mais la situation de notre pays dans le monde.

Unité du parti et unité nationale

En ma qualité de chef du parti, permettez-moi de vous dire, messieurs, ce qu'a été pour moi la présence de M. Saint-Laurent dans le cabinet. Pour cela, je reviens sur l'importance à attacher à l'unité: unité du parti et unité nationale.

Vous vous rappelez comment, en 1896, sir Wilfrid Laurier, lors de la formation de son premier ministère, sut grouper autour de la table du conseil des ministres à Ottawa des hommes compétents et expérimentés de toutes les provinces. Or, en 1921, quand je fus chargé de former un nouveau gouvernement libéral, je me suis efforcé, en tout et partout, de suivre l'exemple de sir Wilfrid et je pense y avoir réussi. A la direction des affaires publiques, je ne tardai pas à me convaincre davantage de ce qui m'était apparu il y a longtemps, je veux dire le fait que l'unité ministérielle, tout comme l'unité de parti et l'unité nationale, dépend par-dessus tout d'une étroite collaboration des ministres de la province de Québec avec ceux des autres provinces.

Pour favoriser les relations harmonieuses entre Québec et les autres provinces, aucun chef n'a eu autant que moi à se féliciter d'avoir eu successivement à ses côtés deux collègues aussi éminents que le Très honorable Ernest Lapointe et le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent. Ernest Lapointe a été pour moi

un collègue qui, grâce à sa sagesse politique, son dévouement désintéressé et sa loyauté personnelle, s'est montré, dans le véritable sens du mot, un guide, un philosophe et un ami dans tout ce qui concernait les problèmes épineux de notre vie politique.

La représentation du Québec dans le cabinet

Quand M. Lapointe mourut, je fus profondément affligé. Comme vous le savez, cette mort est survenue il y a eu cinq ans, cette semaine. La deuxième guerre mondiale sévissait alors. Peu de temps auparavant, le cabinet avait perdu, au cours d'un accident tragique, Norman Rogers qui avait été étroitement associé à l'administration publique pendant nombre d'années, et un collègue qui était un des mieux doués parmi les jeunes ministres. A une date encore plus récente, disparaissait le docteur Skelton, un de mes conseillers les plus intimes dans les services administratifs, qui avait été longtemps sous-secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures et qui était l'un des hommes le plus au courant des questions internationales. Je me suis alors souvent demandé si je pourrais rester à la tâche.

Je doute qu'il m'eût été possible de rester à mon parti, si M. Saint-Laurent n'avait pas répondu à l'appel du devoir et n'avait pas accepté de faire partie du cabinet. Vous allez voir comme cela était vrai. En effet, trois mois après

l'arrivée de M. Saint-Laurent à Ottawa, le sénateur Dandurand mourait et, deux mois plus tard, M. Cardin démissionnait comme ministre. Le sénateur Dandurand était non seulement le leader du Gouvernement au sénat, mais il en était aussi le membre le plus ancien et le plus expérimenté. Par les années de services, M. Cardin était le plus vieux membre de la Chambre des Communes.

Le sénateur Dandurand et M. Cardin représentaient tous deux votre province dans le cabinet. Tous deux étaient des conseillers sages et habiles. Si M. Saint-Laurent n'était pas alors devenu membre du cabinet, après la perte de M. Lapointe, du sénateur Dandurand et de M. Cardin, je n'aurais pas eu un seul collègue de langue française de la province de Québec. Par la suite, d'autres ministres de langue française du Québec sont entrés dans le ministère. Mais, sans M. Saint-Laurent, songez un peu dans quelle fâcheuse posture je me serais trouvé, moi et mon cabinet, au cours de ces mois très critiques!

Je désire le reconnaître pour la première fois ce soir. Je suis heureux de le faire en présence de M. Saint-Laurent et de ses nombreux amis.

<u>Hommage à l'hon. P.-J.-A. Cardin</u>

Je crois qu'il convient de m'arrêter ici un moment et de rendre hommage à la mémoire de mon ancien collègue, l'honorable

Arthur Cardin, que la mort nous a enlevé il y a quelques semaines.

Les treize années durant lesquelles M. Cardin et moi-même avons siégé ensemble dans le cabinet ont été des années importantes dans l'histoire du Canada. Elles ont été des années de prospérité ainsi que d'adversité; elles ont été marquées par l'entrée du Canada dans la deuxième guerre mondiale et par le magnifique effort de guerre du pays. Le peuple canadien et, certes toutes les nations alliées, ne comprendront jamais tout ce qu'ils doivent aux efforts accomplis par M. Cardin et M. Lapointe pour sauvegarder l'unité canadienne à l'époque la plus critique de l'histoire du monde. S'ils n'avaient pas fait montre d'une attitude aussi courageuse, si leurs directives avaient été moins clairvoyantes, s'ils n'avaient pas été aussi sincèrement patriotes, l'histoire de la participation du Canada dans cette grande guerre aurait suivi un cours bien différent.

En face des grands services qu'il avait déjà rendus, il n'est pas surprenant qu'il ait été si pénible pour M. Cardin d'être obligé de faire face à certaines situations survenues par la suite. La nature émotive de M. Cardin avait un côté chevaleresque qui le rendait très sensible à tout ce qui lui semblait être un manque de chevalerie de la part de certaines personnes. J'ai compris, et il savait que je comprenais exactement les sentiments qu'il éprouvait. Mais je savais, comme lui, que nous

devions tous faire face aux dures exigences de la guerre et que, pour sauvegarder l'unité, il fallait envisager chaque situation nouvelle à la lumière des faits. J'ai toujours regretté que M. Cardin ait cru nécessaire de quitter le cabinet, mais je n'ai jamais douté des motifs de sa conduite. De même, sa démission n'a jamais rien changé dans nos rapports personnels, ni dans l'amitié que j'avais pour lui.

Permettez-moi maintenant de résumer ce que je veux dire au sujet de M. Saint-Laurent.

Dette envers les collègues du Cabinet

J'ai souvent affirmé que je dois mon succès dans la vie publique à l'inspiration, à l'exemple et aux sacrifices de personnes disparues depuis longtemps. J'ai aussi affirmé, - et c'est également vrai, je crois - que je dois mon succès à titre de chef du parti à l'habileté et à la loyauté des hommes qui m'ont toujours appuyé de leurs conseils et honoré de leur confiance aux réunions du Cabinet. Il suffit de jeter un regard sur les membres du gouvernement ici présents pour comprendre combien le Canada doit à leur habileté et à leur intégrité, et tout ce que je dois moi-même à leur loyauté. Parmi ceux qui sont ici présents, MM. Mackenzie, Ilsley, Howe et Gardiner ont été mes compagnons fidèles pendant les onze années qui se sont écoulées depuis la victoire de notre parti

en 1935. Ils ont assumé une large part du fardeau et des obligations en ce qui regarde la direction de l'effort de guerre de notre pays.

Il y a d'autres collaborateurs, qui ne font plus partie du Cabinet, mais qui m'ont accordé leur appui durant la guerre, d'autres encore qui ont accepté des postes dans le Cabinet durant la guerre et après la fin des hostilités, et la plupart sont ici présents ce soir. Je songe en ce moment aux services qu'ils ont rendus à notre pays et à la reconnaissance que je leur dois pour leur collaboration dans l'administration des affaires de l'Etat. Parmi les membres du Cabinet actuel, - et je sais que j'exprime leurs sentiments unanimes, - aucun ne jouit de plus d'admiration, de confiance et d'amitié que notre invité de ce soir, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent. Personne n'occupe une place plus chère dans nos coeurs.

M. Saint-Laurent, ministre de la Justice

La mort nous a ravi M. Lapointe à l'un des moments les plus critiques de la guerre. Les armées allemandes s'étaient emparées de presque toute l'Europe, y compris la partie occidentale de l'Union soviétique. Trois jours avant la nomination de M. Saint-Laurent à titre de ministre de la Couronne, les Japonais avaient attaqué Pearl Harbour. La guerre s'étendait à toutes les parties du monde. M. Saint-

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Laurent est donc devenu membre du Cabinet à l'heure la plus grave de l'histoire de l'univers. Il s'est rendu à un appel en faveur de de la cause de la liberté.

A titre de ministre de la Justice, M. Saint-Laurent occupait l'un des postes les plus importants du Cabinet, et d'une importance exceptionnelle en temps de guerre, alors qu'il faut rapidement créer un grand nombre de précédents et interpréter sans cesse des questions de droit lourdes de conséquences. Nous savions qu'entre ses mains la balance de la justice ne se détraquerait pas et que les plus nobles traditions de la profession étaient en sécurité. Possédant une connaissance approfondie du droit et de la constitution, une grande puissance d'analyse et une expérience inégalée dans l'exercice de sa profession d'avocat, il avait la compétence voulue pour assumer ces fonctions. Mais il possédait aussi d'autres qualités: une grande connaissance des affaires nationales, un esprit essentiellement juste et sans préjugés, un coeur très sympathique et la plus grande intégrité.

Par sa courtoisie et son esprit chevaleresque, il incarne l'un des plus beaux traits de la race française. Un grand nombre d'hommes éminents de l'histoire du Canada ont détenu le portefeuille de ministre de la Justice et Louis Saint-Laurent occupe la place qui lui revient parmi ces hommes distingués.

Ceux qui le connaissent s'imaginent à peine que M. Saint-Laurent achevait sa soixantième année, lorsqu'il a été assermenté

comme ministre, le 10 décembre 1941. Les sexagénaires songent rarement à entrer dans une nouvelle carrière, surtout lorsqu'ils ont très bien réussi dans la profession de leur choix.

M. Saint-Laurent n'a pas choisi la vie politique et il n'y a sûrement pas été attiré par ambition. Par sa grande compétence, il s'était assuré un rang éminent au barreau et cette distinction lui assurait certes le droit d'espérer jouir de plus de loisirs pendant le reste de sa vie. Sans l'appel impérieux du devoir, il ne se serait pas laissé convaincre de poser sa candidature, et, par conséquent, le Canada aurait été privé de l'un de ses hommes publics les plus éminents.

M. Saint-Laurent, homme d'Etat et chef politique

Lorsque M. Saint-Laurent a abandonné l'exercice d'une profession lucrative pour accepter le poste de ministre de la Justice, on comptait bien qu'il dirigerait les affaires du ministère de façon tout à fait satisfaisante pour lui-même et pour l'Administration. Il n'avait pas encore fait ses preuves comme homme d'Etat ou comme chef politique. On ne savait pas avec quelle compétence il remplirait l'un et l'autre de ces rôles. Vous savez maintenant que M. Saint-Laurent s'est acquis l'estime de ses collègues au Parlement dès le début. Vous savez que l'admiration et la confiance du public en lui n'ont cessé de s'accroître. Vous savez comment, durant mon absence récente en Europe, les membres de tous

les partis l'ont bien accueilli comme premier ministre suppléant, et comment il s'est montré à la hauteur de la tâche et s'est acquitté de ces fonctions à la satisfaction de tous. Et nous savons également qu'en sa qualité de chef de la délégation canadienne à l'Assemblée des nations unies tenue à Londres en décembre dernier, et présentement à New-York, aucune voix n'est plus écoutée que la sienne. Ce fut la même chose à San-Francisco, lorsqu'il s'est agi de rédiger la Charte des Nations Unies.

Le temps ne me permet pas de dire à quel point les sages avis de M. Saint-Laurent ont influé sur la préparation des mesures législatives au Cabinet, sur l'étude de mesures difficiles à la Chambre des Communes, et sur la présentation de questions importantes au public. Nous sommes tous au courant des succès qu'il a remportés dans les débats à la Chambre. Au cours des élections générales de 1945 nous nous sommes rendus compte de sa valeur comme orateur politique, aussi bien dans sa circonscription que dans les autres parties de la province, bien que très peu de gens connaissent les difficultés qu'il a dû surmonter alors.

Que ne devons-nous pas à l'attitude franche et sans équivoque prise par M. Saint-Laurent, et à la défense qu'il a faite de la conduite et du programme du Gouvernement, lors de la campagne électorale de 1945? A un moment où d'aucuns nous combat-

taient, où d'autres hésitaient et où certains n'osaient se déclarer ouvertement, il n'a pas hésité un seul instant à dire qu'il appuyait entièrement le chef du parti et qu'il était convaincu que la ligne de conduite suivie par le Gouvernement, au cours d'une période des plus critiques, était la seule capable de préserver l'unité au pays.

Le rôle de M. Saint-Laurent pendant la crise de 1944

Je ne sais pas si on s'est jamais rendu compte du fait qu'en novembre 1944 nous avons été bien près de ne pas avoir de gouvernement au Canada, ni de parti en état de former un ministère avec le moindre espoir de se maintenir au Parlement, alors que nos forces armées étaient engagées dans un terrible combat au front. Je croirai toujours que c'est à l'attitude ferme prise par l'homme d'Etat que le ministre de la Justice s'est révélé en cette heure de crise, à sa claire vision, à la sagesse de son jugement, à la rapidité de ses décisions, et à ses facultés de persuasion plus qu'à tout autre facteur qu'il faut attribuer le maintien du Gouvernement et l'éloignement d'un désastre épouvantable.

Loin de moi la pensée de laisser entendre que tous les membres du Gouvernement ne saisissaient pas également la gravité de la situation et n'étaient pas aussi désireux de prendre la bonne décision, mais d'après ce que je sais de la situation et de la position excessivement difficile dans laquelle se trouvaient

plusieurs députés de cette province ainsi que bon nombre d'autres, d'ailleurs, au Canada, je suis convaincu que si M. Saint-Laurent m'avait retiré son appui ou, même, s'était montré hésitant, j'aurais été obligé de démissionner, ce qui eût entraîné aussi la démission du Cabinet.

Les résultats du scrutin de 1945 démontrent de façon satisfaisante que la ligne de conduite adoptée par le Gouvernement a paru la bonne dans les circonstances. Mais pour en apprécier toute la valeur, il faudrait savoir ce qu'il serait advenu, si le Gouvernement n'avait pu se maintenir. De plus, il faudrait considérer cette situation en regard du succès que nous a valu un effort de guerre ininterrompu de la part du Canada.

Services rendus au Parti et à l'Etat

J'en ai peut-être dit assez pour vous permettre de juger ce que le parti et le pays doivent à notre invité de ce soir, ce que les services de M. Saint-Laurent ont valu aux deux. N'est-il pas vrai que M. Saint-Laurent occupe une place presque unique dans notre vie publique? Et n'est-ce pas un grand honneur pour nous tous d'avoir l'occasion de reconnaître hautement les grands services qu'il a rendus au parti libéral et au Canada, au cours des cinq dernières années?

Je n'ai encore rien dit de la contribution accordée par les autres membres de la famille de M. Saint-Laurent en regard des

services qu'ils ont rendus au pays en temps de guerre. Vous en savez déjà quelque chose. J'ai omis aussi de parler de la confusion créée par l'obligation de résider à Ottawa et de ce que les voyages fréquents entre Ottawa et Québec ont pu causer de dérangements dans la vie ordonnée et paisible de la famille Saint-Laurent. De ces questions de famille, je ne suis malheureusement pas compétent. Je suis cependant convaincu que pour plusieurs privations et pour l'indulgence démontrée en maintes circonstances afin de permettre au ministre de la Justice de poursuivre son genre de vie normale, nous devons beaucoup à madame Saint-Laurent. Je voudrais profiter de l'occasion, en votre nom et en le mien, pour exprimer à madame Saint-Laurent notre profonde admiration pour, dans l'ombre, nous avoir rendu service à tous.

Un mot seulement, au sujet de M. Saint-Laurent, avant de conclure ce que j'ai à dire.

<u>La réponse de M. Saint-Laurent à maints appels</u>

Lorsqu'en décembre 1941, M. Saint-Laurent céda à ma demande pressée d'entrer dans le ministère, il m'a promis de le faire, en raison de la guerre, et seulement pour la durée du conflit. Les hostilités, à ce moment-là, avaient déjà duré plus de vingt-sept mois. Ce n'était pas alors la conviction générale que la guerre durerait plus de quatre ans. De fait, elle dura six ans. En moins d'une quinzaine de jours, il y aura cinq ans

que M. Saint-Laurent est devenu membre du gouvernement.

Lorsque la guerre en Europe arriva à sa fin, M. Saint-Laurent me rappela ce qu'il m'avait dit au moment où il entra dans le gouvernement. Mais le parti, à ce moment-là, faisait face à une élection générale. M. Saint-Laurent aurait été le dernier à chercher à se retirer à un tel moment. Il me dit qu'il désirait être avec le parti pendant la campagne, mais il espérait que, peu après, il lui serait possible de prendre sa retraite. Depuis les élections, il m'a parlé à différents moments de sujets qu'il croyait devoir prendre en considération. Avec une chevalerie qui lui est caractéristique, il a, à chaque occasion, accédé à ma demande de rester à la tâche. Non seulement ça, mais en plus des lourdes responsabilités du portefeuille de la Justice, qu'il continue de détenir, il a pris sur lui et il porte, pour le moment du moins, les responsabilités toujours plus grandes et plus lourdes qui sont celles de secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures.

J'ai déjà fait savoir que dans une réorganisation du ministère, que je pourrais juger propice de faire, et qui sera faite avant l'ouverture de la session, le ministère des Affaires extérieures aura un ministre qui sera en mesure de consacrer son temps, plus ou moins exclusivement, aux questions inter-commonwealth et internationales. Avec cette réorganisation, j'espère que M. Saint-Laurent trouvera possible, pour quelque temps encore, de

continuer à donner à notre pays, au Parlement et au monde, dans l'arène internationale, le bénéfice de ses talents exceptionnels, de sa très grande sagesse et de sa vaste expérience.

Servir pour la "durée"

De crainte que M. Saint-Laurent sente que, n'étant pas disposé à m'en séparer comme collègue à aucun temps, j'oublierais ce qui a été entendu entre nous, à savoir qu'il entrait dans le Cabinet seulement pour la durée de la guerre, laissez-moi lui raconter un petit incident que j'ai lu, il y a à peine un jour ou deux, et qui est très pertinent. Je ne me souviens pas des mots exacts pour raconter cette histoire, mais la logique de ses arguments m'a profondément ému. Un soldat, appartenant à un Régiment de Noirs, demandait instamment à son sergent qu'on lui permette de prendre sa retraite de l'armée en raison du fait qu'il s'était enrôlé seulement pour la durée de la guerre: "La guerre est finie, protesta-t-il, je r'tourn' chez moi. Je m'suis enrôlé que pour la "durée"." S'il vous plaît, monsieur le ministre, rappelez-vous que la "durée" vient seulement de commencer.

La nécessité de l'organisation

Aujourd'hui, on parle trop, à mon sens, des retraites possibles; on fait aussi trop de commentaires sur la question de savoir qui dirigera le parti à la prochaine élection générale. Qu'il suffise, pour le moment, de remporter la victoire aux élections

partielles. Soyons absolument francs: nous serions beaucoup plus heureux ce soir si le parti n'avait pas perdu Pontiac, dans cette province, et Portage-la-Prairie, au Manitoba. Nous aurions dû être vainqueurs dans ces deux circonscriptions; nous l'aurions été si l'organisation du parti avait été ce qu'elle aurait dû être. Toronto-Parkdale ne nous a jamais appartenu. Néanmoins, nous sommes venus tout près d'y remporter la palme. Les chiffres établissent clairement que c'est ce qui serait arrivé si l'organisation avait été aussi efficace partout dans la circonscription qu'elle ne l'a été dans la majeure partie.

Ce soir, moins que jamais, je ne chercherai pas à établir à qui attribuer le blâme. Toutefois, je vais sonner l'appel pour inviter tous et chacun des membres du parti, qu'ils détiennent une situation éminente à titre de députés au Parlement, ou qu'ils soient d'humbles ouvriers dans le rang, à se rendre compte que le sort du parti, dans une mesure plus ou moins grande, est entre leurs mains. Je voudrais pouvoir convaincre tous les membres du parti libéral que l'avenir du parti dépend de chacun d'eux. Je voudrais pouvoir faire comprendre à chaque membre ce qui, en une période comme celle que traverse le monde aujourd'hui, est infiniment plus important, savoir: jusqu'à quel point les chances de succès, le sort, le bonheur, que dis-je la vie même,

peut-être, d'innombrables hommes, femmes et enfants sont liés au sort d'un parti dont le but et l'objet sont la protection et l'accroissement des droits humains et de la liberté humaine.

A moins que, à titre de membres d'un parti, tous ne soient prêts à agir comme des hommes et suivant les règles du jeu, non pour des fins égoïstes mais pour le bien général, il est sûr que le parti en souffrira. En politique, comme en mécanique, la force d'une chaîne est celle de sa plus faible maille.

Relation entre le Parti et l'Etat

Vous aurez noté sans doute que dans toutes mes observations, ce soir, j'ai parlé à la fois du service envers le parti et du service envers l'Etat, comme si tous deux signifiaient à peu près la même chose. C'est peut-être que ma vie a été consacrée au service des deux et que, dans ma carrière, les deux ont été, en quelque sorte, inséparables. Je sais que l'on pourrait à bon droit s'objecter si je disais simplement que le service envers l'Etat est inséparable du service envers un parti politique. Mais lorsque, comme en politique, l'un constitue la fin et l'autre, le moyen d'atteindre cette fin, ils sont, en vérité, inséparables.

Tout dépend de la fin que nous voulons servir. Le service envers l'Etat, lorsque la fin est de partager les dépouilles, d'une manière ou d'une autre, n'est nullement moins sordide que le service envers un parti politique, pour la même fin. D'autre part,

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si la fin est de servir l'Etat pour améliorer le sort de son semblable, le service envers un parti politique qui favorise cette fin devient aussi une des plus hautes formes de service envers l'Etat.

Si les hommes et les femmes qui ont les mêmes idées sur les questions d'actualité ne s'unissent pas sous quelque bannière qui leur permette de marcher en une seule colonne, ils peuvent être assurés que ceux qui diffèrent d'opinion seront tout prêts à profiter de leur négligence. Sans un parti où ils peuvent faire triompher leurs vues, il deviendrait bientôt impossible de servir l'Etat conformément aux principes et au programme en lesquels un grand nombre d'hommes et de femmes ont foi, et dont la mise à exécution est une condition du bien-être d'une multitude d'humains.

Anciens et nouveaux partis politiques

De temps à autre, on entend dire beaucoup de choses au sujet des vieux partis politiques, comme si les nobles traditions et la longue expérience ne comptaient pour rien en politique, alors qu'on s'attend à ce qu'elles comptent dans toute autre sphère d'activité. Un parti politique a autant de raisons d'être fier de ses nombreuses années d'existence et de possession du pouvoir qu'en ont les membres d'une église, d'un régiment, d'une maison d'éducation, d'une maison d'affaires, d'être fiers des services rendus par le passé. Le danger pour un gouvernement représentatif, dans plusieurs pays aujourd'hui, vient non autant de la perpétuation

des partis qui ont un long et honorable passé, mais d'un égarement des partis politiques qui n'ont pas de passé et peu de chance pour l'avenir.

Récemment, dans cette province, sont apparus l'Union Nationale, le Bloc Populaire, le C.C.F., le Crédit Social, l'Union des électeurs, le Parti progressiste ouvrier, et des supposés Indépendants de toutes les couleurs de l'arc-en-ciel. Que représentent-ils de tradition et de conception vraiment canadiennes? La soi-disant Union Nationale n'est pas nationale, mais d'un esprit d'étroit provincialisme; le Bloc Populaire n'est certainement pas populaire; plusieurs ignorent la signification des lettres C.C.F.; un jour, le Crédit Social est identique à l'Union des Electeurs, le lendemain, ce ne l'est plus; et le troisième jour, c'est redevenu le Crédit Social; le nouveau parti Progressiste-ouvrier ne sert plus à exprimer la véritable conception du parti qui a assumé ce nom; et, ce qui est le plus amusant de tout, il y avait un membre du Parlement qui, tout fin seul, prétendait être le Parti Canadien.

Le grand nombre de cette sorte de partis et groupes malheureusement jette le discrédit dans l'esprit du public sur tous les partis politiques. Si c'était là le pire effet, les conséquences ne seraient probablement pas aussi sérieuses.

Malheureusement, des partis aux différents noms et de toutes sortes, unions, blocs, mouvements aux curieuses dénominations, bien qu'à la fin ils n'arrivent à rien, réussissent entre-temps de saboter et d'amoindrir l'efficacité des partis qui ont une influence nationale. Une multiplicité de partis a pour résultat de détruire la conception entière des organisations politiques responsables et d'affaiblir la nation elle-même. Ceci, comme nous l'avons tous constaté, fut la malchance de la France au début de la guerre. Gardons-nous de ne pas répéter la même erreur. Ce dont nous avons besoin au Canada, ce sont des partis qui serviront à unir en une seule nation, ses provinces d'un océan à l'autre. Nous avons aujourd'hui, au Canada, un tel parti dans le parti libéral. Protégeons cet héritage.

J'ai débuté ce soir en parlant de l'histoire et des traditions du parti libéral. J'ai parlé de la longue procession dans laquelle, pour plus d'un centenaire, les membres du Parti, de génération en génération, ont avancé d'un pas ferme sous la bannière de la liberté.

J'ai, je l'espère, démontré où le secret des nombreuses victoires du Parti doit être trouvé, et c'est dans son attachement à l'unité: un parti uni; un pays uni; les nations du monde unies par les liens de la fraternité et de la paix.

En aucun temps de l'histoire du Canada avons-nous senti un besoin plus grand qu'aujourd'hui de voir se perpétuer un parti

libéral puissant, alors que l'humanité est devant l'alternative de la destruction universelle ou de la liberté parfaite. Dans notre pays, comme dans plusieurs autres, où le facteur géographique et les différences sociales portent à la division, le parti libéral se fait le défenseur de l'unité. Dans un monde où la sécurité de l'homme et de la femme est une chose précieuse, le parti libéral se fait le défenseur de la sécurité. A un moment où la liberté continue d'être menacée par les tendances à la dictature et au totalitarisme, le parti libéral est toujours le défenseur de la liberté. Unité, Sécurité, Liberté: voilà les grands principes pour lesquels nous combattons, voilà les étendards sous lesquels, comme parti, nous continuerons de servir.

Messieurs: je vous demande de vous lever et de boire à la santé de celui qui a combattu noblement pour l'unité, la sécurité et la liberté, dans notre pays et parmi les nations du monde, le ministre de la Justice et secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

DRAFT OUTLINE OF PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH D 64450

Banquet in Honour of
Rt. Hon. L.S. St. Laurent

Introduction

Character of occasion - honouring Rt. Hon. L. S. St.Laurent not only for elevation to Imperial Privy Council but in recognition of services to country.

Great pleasure at being able to join with many friends in paying tribute to distinguished colleague.

Talents

Ability as lawyer

- qualities of heart, mind assured him of reaching great heights in profession. Mr. St. Laurent one of Canada's most eminent legal men.

Spirit of Public Service

- at time in life when one might look forward to years of comparative leisure entered into politics.

Considerable personal sacrifice.

Co-operation

- Mr. St.Laurent, loyal, faithful colleague sharing with me unreservedly particularly heavy burdens and problems of these critical times.

Courteousness and Chivalry

- Associations not only with colleagues in Cabinet, but with everyone, characterized by the utmost chivalry and courteousness.

A Great Liberal

Liberalism

- Fitting to say something about Liberalism on occasion such as this.
- re-statement of Liberal principles looking to the future.
- Adherence to principles proven sound in past may assist in providing answers to grave questions which confront us daily.

The Times in Which we Live

- chaotic state of the world, aftermath of a terrible war.

Certain forces in world beyond our control exerting influences upon us. Stir up class

and racial strife.

People apprehensive of the future,

both on external and domestic front.

Reason, Toleration, Moderation

True Liberal spirit combination of simple age old virtues:

Reason

Toleration

Moderation

- Reason implies unfettered investigation in solution of problems - co-operation and consent rather than coercion and force. Emphasis placed on common sense.
- Toleration readiness to recognize opposing views and aims, respect of opponents' opinions.
- Moderation avoidance of extremes, stability and ordered progress in society. Public affairs conducted with dignity, modesty, restraint in contrast with stridency, aggressiveness, exaggerated claims.

What Liberalism has to Offer

- External Affairs

Continued efforts towards making and maintaining just and lasting peace, not oblivious to obstacles standing in path. Faith in the United Nations.

Mr. St. Laurent head of Canadian delegation at meeting of United Nations General Assembly.

- Domestic Affairs

Liberalism stands for maintenance of fundamental principles of freedom, personal liberty

Freedom - political
- religious
- social
- economic

Respect for - minorities
- parliamentary institutions.

Liberalism not synonymous with laissez-faire, nor is it wedded to r egulation and control. These a means to an end to

be applied when necessity arises. Freedom only assured when the powerful few prevented from encroaching upon rights of "the little people".

Liberalism in Practice

- Presentation (EVATION) of national unity,-not uniformity, without unity we cannot be prosperous, cannot defend ourselves, have no influence in world affairs.
- Extension of Opportunity,-all people able to work at wage permitting them to live in decency, self-respect.
- Elimination of poverty, ill-health - social reform.
- Strengthening the Home - housing programme, family allowances.

Conclusion

- Mr. St.Laurent a great believer in Liberal principles.
- Not only advocate of Liberalism, but great Canadian.
- May I express to him in presence of his friends, admiration and appreciation for part he has played in affairs of our country.

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Complimentary Banquet
in honour of
The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, P.C., M.P.,
Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs
Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City November 29, 1946.

Speech by the Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,M.P.,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada,
~~in proposing the Health of the Guest of Honour.~~
and by the
Rt. Hon. Louis S. St Laurent K.C., M.P.

[Heading at top of first page]: Speech by the Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: / 6 & 8.6.

D. 64456

New Par. I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to ~~see, and to have heard again~~ have at my side the Honourable Mr. Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal

25 Sept

Thank him most warmly for all his gracious words of welcome which I long remember x

Party
~~Opposition~~ in this Province. ~~We have all, I am sure, been deeply moved by his eloquent words tonight~~. Often in the past we have been deeply moved by his eloquence. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes ~~very~~ much to ~~him~~ Hon Godbout.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, not met here tonight, to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphant fashion. I ~~mean~~ speak, of course, our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Tribute to a Truly Great Man (Subhead)

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free

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to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself. #

Let me say, at once, that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the party's platform and policies, or to debate public issues. For me, for these purposes other occasions will, ~~for me~~, be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay, on behalf of the party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and one who in the course of his comparatively few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to ~~our~~ the Liberal party and to our country.

The Prime Minister's Remarks up to this point were spoken in French.

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The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our party has been in office for almost thirty five years ~~out of~~ during the past half century.

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A record of which to be proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

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Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory! You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great, of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity: - party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side two such colleagues as the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose

political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government over many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the

government in the Senate, he was its eldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the eldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in these very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been!

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the peoples of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of chivalry on the part of others. I understood, and he knew I understood, exactly how he felt. But I know, as he also knew, that we all alike had to face the stern necessities of war, and that, if unity were to be

preserved, each new situation could only be met in the light of new developments. I always regretted that Mr. Cardin found it necessary to resign from the Ministry, but I never questioned his motives. Nor did his resignation ever make any difference in our personal relations, or in the affection I cherished for him.

Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present; Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing

and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening.* Their services rendered by all during the war ~~to our country~~ are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their cooperation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St.Laurent as Minister of Justice.

Mr. Lapointe's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

Footnote

The following, in addition to the four Ministers mentioned, were members of the Cabinet during all or most of the years of the war: Messrs. Power, Michaud, McLarty, MacKinnon, Ralston, Crerar, Mulock, Gibson, Angus Macdonald, Thorson, St.Laurent and Mitchell. Mr. Casgrain was also sworn as a member of the Ministry in May, 1940, but retired on appointment to the Bench in December 1941. Dr. King entered the Ministry in May, 1942, and Messrs. Fournier, Bertrand and LaFleche ~~entered the Ministry~~ in October, 1942; Mr. Claxton and General MacNaughton in October and November, 1944, respectively; Messrs. Glen, Jean, Chevrier, Martin, Abbott, McCann, McLaren in April, 1945; Mr. Bridges in August and Senator Wishart Robertson in September, 1945.

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As Minister of Justice, Mr. St.Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. He brought more than this. He brought a broad outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year.

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Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St.Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

Mr. St.Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St.Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what

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credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred

percent behind the party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's role in the crisis of 1944

I do not know that it has ever been realized how near we came, in November, 1944, to having no government at all in Canada, and no party that could form a government, with any hope of being able to carry on in parliament while our armed forces were facing the last terrible ordeal of battle at the front. I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgement, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster.

I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many

members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or, indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the high public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years:

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I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to express to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's response to many calls.

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the

portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such reorganization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament reassembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "the duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident

I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a colored regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo'po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of de war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning". Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all parts of the constituency been what it was over the greater part.

Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the party. I wish I could impress on every member

of the Liberal party how much the party's future is dependent on individuals, dependent on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness - nay, possibly, the very lives - of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has

been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one whit less sordid than service to a political party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect. Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

Old and New Political Parties

One hears from time to time a great deal about the old political parties, as though noble traditions and years of experience should count for nothing in politics, although they are expected to count for everything in other spheres of activity. There is no more reason why a political party should not be proud of its many years of existence and of office than why the members of any church, of any regiment, of any institution of learning, of any business concern, should not be proud of service ~~it has~~ these organizations have rendered over the years. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, arises not from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past, it arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

In this Province, there have appeared in recent times, the Union Nationale, the Bloc Populaire, the C.C.F., Social Credit, the Union des Electeurs, the Labour Progressive party, and so-called Independents of every colour of the rainbow. What do any of them represent either of tradition or of a truly Canadian outlook? The so-called Union Nationale is not national, but narrowly provincial; the Bloc Populaire is certainly not popular; many people do not know what the initials C.C.F. stand for; one day, Social Credit is the same thing as the Union des Electeurs, the next day it is not; and the third day it is

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but worst of all no one seems to know at any time just what exactly in this province Social Credit means

Social Credit again; Labour Progressive no longer serves to disguise the real nature of the party which has assumed that name, and, most ludicrous of all, there was one Member of Parliament who, all by himself, pretended to be the Canadian party.

Many Parties a Source of Danger to the Nation

The very number of such parties and groups unfortunately brings discredit in the public mind on all political parties. If that were the worst effect, the consequences might not be so serious. Unfortunately, parties in names and numbers so considerable: unions, blocs, movements with all sorts of fancy names, while in the long run they get nowhere themselves tend, meanwhile, to undermine and weaken the effectiveness of parties which have a nation-wide influence. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all now know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating that supreme folly in our own land. What we want in Canada are political parties that will serve to unite its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a party we have in the Liberal Party in Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

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Subhead D 64481

Unity, Security and Freedom

I opened my remarks this evening by speaking of the history and traditions of the Liberal Party. I spoke of the long procession in which, for more than a century, members of the Party, in generation following generation, had marched steadily forward under the banner of Freedom. I have, I hope, shown wherein the secret of its many victories is to be found in the emphasis the Party has placed upon unity: - a united Party; a united country; nations of the world united in the bonds of brotherhood and peace.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face Mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for Unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal Party stands for Security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for Freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which we stand; these are the banners under which, as members of ~~a Party~~ the Liberal Party of Canada, we will continue to serve.

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Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink to the health of one who has fought nobly for Unity, Security, and Freedom, in our land and among the nations of the world, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

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THE LIBERAL PARTY

PERSONALITIES AND POLICIES

Speeches by

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Prime Minister and Leader of the
Liberal Party of Canada

and

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT
Minister of Justice and Secretary
of State for External Affairs

(Delivered at the Chateau Frontenac
Quebec, November 29, 1946)

On the occasion of ~~the~~ Complimentary Banquet ~~Complimentary Banquet~~ in honour of
Mr. St.Laurent.

D 64484

Complimentary Banquet

IN HONOUR OF

~~The Right Honourable~~

LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, P.C., M.P.,

~~Minister of Justice~~

~~and~~

~~Secretary of State for External Affairs~~

AT THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC, QUEBEC ~~CITY~~

NOVEMBER 29, 1946.

SPEECHES BY

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,

~~P.C., M.P.~~

Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party to Canada

AND ~~BY~~

The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent,

~~K.C., M.P.~~

D 64485

THE LIBERAL PARTY
PERSONALITIES AND POLICIES

SPEECHES BY

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada

AND

The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent,
Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs

DELIVERED AT THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC, QUEBEC

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On the Occasion of
The Complimentary Banquet in Honour of
Mr. St. Laurent

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SPEECH BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair, He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I thank him most warmly for all his generous words of welcome which I shall long remember. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to have at my side the honourable Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal Party in this Province. Often in the past we have been deeply moved by his eloquence. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes much to Mr. Godbout.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, met here tonight not to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphal fashion. I speak, of course, of our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Tribute to a Truly Great Man

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal Party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.*

Let me say, at once, that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the Party's platform

* The Prime Minister's remarks up to this point were spoken in French.

and policies, or to debate public issues. For me, for these purposes other occasions will be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay on behalf of the Party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and one who in the course of his comparatively few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to the Liberal Party and to our country.

The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our Party has been in office for almost thirty-five years during the past half century.

A Record of Which to be Proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any Party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten

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leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our Party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the Party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our Party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory. You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity:—Party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side, two such colleagues as

the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government over many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the government in the Senate, he was its oldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the oldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French-speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in those very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been.

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to the late Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's

entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the people of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of chivalry on the part of others. I understood, and he knew I understood, exactly how he felt. But I know, as he also knew, that we all alike had to face the stern necessities of war, and that, if unity were to be preserved, each new situation could only be met in the light of new developments. I always regretted that Mr. Cardin found it necessary to resign from the Ministry, but I never questioned his motives. Nor did his resignation ever make any difference in our personal relations, or in the affection I cherished for him.

Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening.* The services rendered by all during the

* The following, in addition to the four Ministers mentioned, were members of the Cabinet during all or most of the years of the war: Messrs. J. H. King (appointed Leader of the Government in the Senate, 1942, and Speaker of the Senate, 1945), Ralston, Crerar, Power, Michaud, McLarty, MacKinnon, Mulock, Gibson, Angus Macdonald, Thorson, St. Laurent and Mitchell. Mr. Casgrain was also sworn as a member of the Ministry in May, 1940, but retired on appointment to the Bench in December 1941. Messrs. Fournier, Bertrand and LaFleche entered the government in October, 1942; Mr. Claxton and General McNaughton in October and November, 1944, respectively; Messrs. Glen, Jean, Chevrier, Martin, Abbott, McCann, MacLaren in April, 1945; Mr. Bridges in August and Senator Wishart Robertson in September, 1945.

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war are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their co-operation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St. Laurent as Minister of Justice

Mr. Lapointe's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

As Minister of Justice, Mr. St. Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

One of the Finest Figures in Canadian Public Life

Mr. St. Laurent brought more than this. He brought a broad outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year. Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St. Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

Mr. St. Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St. Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred percent behind the Party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's Role in the Crisis of 1944

I have referred to what it meant to have Mr. St. Laurent a member of the Government in the difficult and moving months of 1942 at the time of the plebiscite. At that time there was the first resignation from the Ministry. I do not know that it has ever been realized how near in November, 1944, we came to having no government at all in Canada, and no Party that could form a government, with any hope of being able to carry on in parliament while our armed forces were facing the last terrible ordeal of battle at the front. I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgment, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence

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helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster.

I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the high public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years!

I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to express to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's Response to Many Calls

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only

because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the Party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the Party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such re-organization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament reassembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "The Duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a coloured regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo' po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of de war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning".

Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general

elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the Party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the Party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all parts of the constituency been what it was over the greater part.

Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the Party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the Party. I wish I could impress on every member of the Liberal Party how much the Party's future is dependent on individuals, dependent on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness—nay, possibly, the very lives—of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a Party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a Party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole Party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political Party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one what less sordid than service to a political Party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect.

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Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

Old and New Political Parties

One hears from time to time a great deal about the old political parties, as though noble traditions and years of experience should count for nothing in politics, although they are expected to count for everything in other spheres of activity. There is no more reason why a political party should not be proud of its many years of existence and of office than why the members of any church, of any regiment, of any institution of learning, of any business concern, should not be proud of service these organizations have rendered over the years. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, arises not from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past, it arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

In this Province, there have appeared in recent times, the Union Nationale, the Bloc Populaire, the C.C.F., Social Credit, the Union des Electeurs, the Labour Progressive Party, and so-called Independents of every colour of the rainbow. What do any of them represent either of tradition or of a truly Canadian outlook? The so-called Union Nationale is not national, but narrowly provincial; the Bloc Populaire is certainly not popular; many people do not know what the initials C.C.F. stand for; one day, Social Credit is the same thing as the Union des Electeurs, the next day it is not; and the third day it is Social Credit again but worst of all no one seems to know at any time just what exactly in this province Social Credit means; Labour Progressive no longer serves to disguise the real nature of the Party which has assumed that name, and, most ludicrous of all, there was for a time one Member of Parliament who, all by himself, pretended to be the Canadian Party.

Many Parties a Source of Danger to the Nation

The very number of such parties and groups unfortunately brings discredit in the public mind on all political parties. If that were the worst effect, the consequences might not be so serious. Unfortunately, parties in names and numbers so considerable: unions, blocs, movements with all sorts of fancy names, while in the long run they get nowhere themselves, tend, meanwhile, to undermine and weaken the effectiveness of parties which have a nation-wide influence. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all now know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating that supreme folly in our own land. What we want in Canada are political parties that will serve to unite its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a Party we have in the Liberal Party in Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

Unity, Security and Freedom

I opened my remarks this evening by speaking of the history and traditions of the Liberal Party. I spoke of the long procession in which, for more than a century, members of the Party, in generation following generation, had marched steadily forward under the banner of Freedom. I have, I hope, shown wherein the secret of its many victories is to be found in the emphasis the Party has placed upon unity:—a united Party; a united country; nations of the world united in the bonds of brotherhood and peace.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face Mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for Unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal Party stands for Security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for Freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which we stand; these are the banners under which, as members of the Liberal Party of Canada, we will continue to serve.

SPEECH BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT

Expression of Gratitude

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I will not try to find any new formula to express to you my gratitude, that of my wife and that of all my family for this splendid tribute of esteem and friendship which you are giving me tonight. One would be quite devoid of any sensibility if one failed to be profoundly moved by it and it is from the very depth of my being, much more than from the lips that I say to you, to each one of you in particular, I thank you.

One would also have to be devoid of any sentiment of pride, be modest to a degree which few men can achieve, especially men in politics, not to feel as proud inside as one must appear embarrassed outside, at hearing about oneself such praise as has been spoken by the Right Honourable Mackenzie King and Honourable Adélard Godbout. Oh, I know how large a part of it must be attributed to the friendship with which they honour me. I also know how large a part of the cordial plaudits with which you have greeted this praise should be attributed to a similar sentiment of generous friendship. But it is none the less very flattering for me and for all those who are close to me to be given this demonstration that I have been able to win and to keep their friendship and yours.

This is the second time in my life that I am feasted in a banquet. The first one was far from being as brilliant as this. It was tendered

to me in my native village of Compton, 41 years ago, when I was admitted to the Bar of the Province of Quebec. I was the first from my parish to become a lawyer and the friends in whose midst I had grown up came together to rejoice over such successes as I had won at school and at University and to wish me others in the career upon which I was embarking.

This first banquet, modest as it was compared to this one, nevertheless had the same essential characteristic. It was a tribute of congratulations, of esteem and of friendship which I have never forgotten. And the moving memory which it left with me is an earnest to you that I shall no more forget this evening's feast and the generous participation of each one of you which has made it such a grand success.

Joins the Ministry

It is true that it was five years ago that Mr. King invited me to take part in the administration of the Government of Canada and it is almost five years ago that the electors of Quebec East chose me to succeed Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe as their representative in the House of Commons.

To have one's name bracketed with that of Wilfrid Laurier and Ernest Lapointe constitutes in itself a title to fame in the political history of the Canadians of my province. No one has equalled them in winning the admiration of their fellow-citizens of the two last generations from one end to the other of our broad country. To succeed them, to be called upon to continue their work, is fame if you will, but also what dangerous fame! There had to be a war to make me dare to have Compton thus brought into contact with St-Lin and St-Eloi. I felt, however, that the state of war and your own traditional generosity would prevent comparisons and that if I did my best, I might continue to stand on my own feet and perhaps even some day be able to assert without the swagger of Rostand's hero: My own glass is a small one but it is the one from which I am accustomed to drink.

I have recalled that we were then at war. I wonder if you all remember as I do what was the phase of the war when I was invited by Mr. King to become a member of his Cabinet. The day on which I took my oaths of office was the day when the papers told us about the attack on Pearl Harbor and the sinking of the Repulse and of the Prince of Wales. Japan was thus asserting by its simultaneous attacks on the United States and on the British Commonwealth its firm belief that with the Axis powers it would triumph over the Allied Nations and would impose upon them the conditions of serfdom intended by their war lords.

Weeks of Anxiety

The following weeks and even months were weeks and months of constant repulses and increasing anxiety for the military chiefs of the Allied Forces. They were also weeks and months of anxiety for our own public and especially for those who were members of the government. The public was aware of the agitation of the two hundred in

Toronto. It was aware of the stormy debate in the House of Commons on the plebiscite act. It was aware of the no less stormy campaign which preceded the vote on the plebiscite. It was aware of the subsequent debate in the House on the amendment of the Mobilisation Act. But it was perhaps less aware of the danger which threatened during all those weeks and months of a dissolution of Parliament and of a general election where the question of total and immediate conscription would have brought about a profound and lasting division in our population, a division all the more lasting and profound because it would have been based on sincere and honest convictions on both sides.

That would have been a misfortune, a great misfortune, a misfortune which would have impeded our war effort, which would have lessened the contribution which we were able to make to the cause of the Allied Nations, and which if it had not made final victory uncertain might have retarded it and resulted in the loss of many more masses of human lives during the period thus added to the terrible conflict. It would have been a misfortune which would have poisoned Canadian national life for many long years with social and economical consequences that it is not easy to assess exactly but the importance of which it is not easy to exaggerate.

Reasons for Satisfaction

Gentlemen, in spite of my 64 years and more, I am still young enough, especially in politics, to have retained some illusions. I confess in retaining the illusion that I was able to play a not inconsiderable part in warding off that misfortune. Now if I were to have no other satisfaction than that illusion to compensate for the years I have spent in Ottawa instead of continuing the peaceful but rather satisfactory practice of my profession in Quebec, I would have no regrets. And this satisfaction comes not only from the feeling of having contributed to the performance of a public service which I deem to have been of major importance; during those weeks and months I had the satisfaction of becoming convinced that the enlightened patriotism of Canadian public men was real and was fruitful. It was given to me to see, as a fact, that the devotion to public duty and the patriotic selflessness of those with whom I had to collaborate could revive memories of the devotion to public duty and the selflessness of the great figures of all histories and of all centuries.

There were diverging views profoundly, sincerely and almost passionately held as to the best way to safeguard effectively the vital interests of the Canadian nation, the very existence of the Canadian nation.

But in every one without any exception, those views were inspired by the most lofty patriotism. And yet they were none the less diverging, very diverging and, for weeks and months, those divergencies constituted serious and agonizing conscientious problems for each one. Should he, could he sacrifice his personal convictions to continue to collaborate in carrying out policies which

were yielding some results but which he could not bring himself to believe were the best?

Was it really inevitable that his refusal to do so would provoke a crisis and would paralyze efforts which were important and even indispensable without a serious prospect of seeing them resumed soon enough and with increased vigour. And while the pros and cons are being weighed and re-weighed there is the haunting and constant spectre of the war which is going relentlessly on, the spectre of the war where men are being wounded and killed each day and where men will continue to be wounded and killed each day that it shall last.

I was the newest arrival in this company of some twenty Ministers who were carrying and who knew they were carrying this heavy responsibility. Several had been my friends before I became their colleague and as to the others, friendship, and even intimacy, comes quickly in the presence of heavy responsibilities which have to be borne in commom. We gave each other enlightenment, moral support, example and encouragement and the danger passed. Our war effort continued with a constantly increasing tempo and with, in fact, a very general, almost unanimous support from our population.

Oh, there were discordant notes from time to time and here and there but these discordant notes took the form of speeches and writings and did not prevent the population generally from giving a very satisfactory response to the directives which we sought to formulate.

Crisis in the Fall of 1944

And then, in the Fall of 1944, there was another critical period for consciences and convictions.

To say that it was more agonizing than the first one as far as I am concerned would not be wholly true because not for a moment was I able to hesitate as to the line of conduct that I was in duty bound to follow. But that line of conduct was indicated to me by facts known to me and that I could not communicate to my friends. I therefore found myself in the painful necessity of following a line of conduct which many of you, my friends, sincerely and honestly felt to be wrong. It was all the more painful because I could not but recognize your good faith and because I was convinced that if I had been able to reveal to you the motives which made me act, you would have approved them unanimously as in fact they were approved in the election of June 1945.

By that time, the security reasons which prevented me from speaking in November 1944, no longer existed and happenings which had occurred in the interval constituted a complete demonstration that we had been right.

It was hard, however, to have to disappoint one's friends, to have to appear even momentarily to have betrayed their confidence, to do things which seemed to them to be wrong, and to feel that one had to keep inviolate the secret of facts which had it been possible

to reveal them would have cleared away all these appearances and made everything acceptable.

It was hard but it was inevitable and it is partly because I had to do it that you are giving me this tribute tonight.

It was hard but it was not nearly as hard as that which was accepted by the hundreds of thousands of young Canadians who joined the colours, who underwent long periods of training under conditions so different from those of the normal life of the citizens of our country, who surrendered almost completely their own individual wills to accept the commands of their superior officers, who volunteered to go and fight, to be wounded, to be crippled, perhaps even to die so that we might live and so that the Canadian nation might continue to live.

Tribute to Others

What was done by those who were engaged in war activities on the home-front is little compared to that which was done by those who went to the battle front and this banquet which you have tendered me, and of which I am so proud, I accepted it and I now accept it as a tribute to all those who tried to serve their country during the years we have just gone through.

This is a tribute to me but it is also a tribute to the Prime Minister of Canada, one whose whole career has been that of a man of peace but who revealed himself a war leader whose contribution to everything that made possible the final victory of the Allied Nations will be assessed as inferior to that of no other of all our great leaders when the perspective of years will have allowed historians to assess it at its full worth.

It is also a tribute to all his colleagues, the Mackenzies, the Ralstons, the Chubby Powers, the Ilsleys, the Howes, Angus MacDonald, McNaughton, Gardiner, MacKinnon, Gibson, Mitchell, Fournier, Bertrand, LaFlèche, to name only a few of those who are still with us and whose names, with those of the great departed Lapointe, Rogers, Cardin, will head the different chapters of the history to be written of the universal mobilisation of the human and the material resources which our country contributed to the defence of christian civilization against the forces of evil.

But it is also a tribute and it is especially a tribute to the lads of the 22e Regiment, of the Royal Rifles, of the Régiment de la Chaudière, of the Régiment de Maisonneuve, and of all our other regiments, to the lads of the Canadian Navy, to those of the Air Force, to all those who carried our participation on to the fields of battle, on to the oceans and in the skies.

It is at the same time a tribute to the millions of Canadian men and women who, in the forests, on the farms, in the mines, in the plants and in the factories, in the banking and in the financial houses, everywhere, came together and with such ardour put forth the national effort that this world crisis forced upon us.

Peace-time Realizations—Family Allowances

Let me remind you now of some of the peacetime realizations with which I had something to do since I went to Ottawa. The first I wish to mention is the Family Allowance Act. I will not go so far as to say that that Act was perfect in all its details, but it is a good Act. It is the best social Act the Canadian Parliament ever enacted. It takes care in some important degree of the anomaly under which 80% of the Canadian children—80% of the Canadian citizens of the next generation—were supported by 15% of the present generation. And there was no other efficient cure for that anomaly. It is all very well to talk about the family wage, but in a country like ours whose economy is so dependent on international trade, on our capacity to produce and to sell in competition with other countries, it must be admitted that wages and salaries have to be kept in a direct relationship with the exchange value of that which is produced through the work for which the wages and salaries are paid. To fix them at the level required by the householder maintaining the largest number of children would put a load on our industries that competition makes it impossible for them to carry. On the other hand, any attempt to proportion wages and salaries to the domestic requirements of those to whom they are paid would necessarily prevent the hiring of precisely the persons the system would be designed to favour. Equal pay for equal work is an unavoidable consequence of the system under which we live. But the system under which we live is one by which we all profit and it was only fair to distribute on the whole community a part of the burden which bore too heavily on the fathers of large families.

The Act which came into operation on the 1st July, 1945, provides for the distribution of about $250,000,000 a year to that end. Not only does it help the fathers of those families whose wealth consists principally of future Canadian citizens, but it places at their disposal a purchasing power of $250,000,000 a year, which is currently expended and creates a stable and continuing market for a corresponding volume of consumer goods.

Certain details of this Act have been criticised. For example, it has been said that allocations should not start before the 3rd child. This objection fails to take into account the fact that the allocations are paid periodically for all children of less than 16 years at the time they are paid, and that statistics show that at the time of each payment in almost half the families with young children there are not more than two of that age. That does not mean that the families which are beginning will not become more numerous, nor does it mean that in those where the youngest have reached the ages of 14 and 15 they have not been more numerous. What it does mean is that in every family from the beginning to its full development the allocations are paid each month according to the number of children of the age required to receive them during that month.

The law has also been criticised because it provides for a decreasing rate when there are more than four children entitled to receive allocations at the same time in the same family. It may be that experience will show that the rate of decrease has not been properly

adjusted, but I do not think it can be seriously contended that it is unfair to give some consideration to the fact that the monthly expenditures required in a family where there are seven or eight children under 16 years of age are not exactly twice as high as those which have to be made in a family where there are three or four.

And, after all gentlemen, what are the human realizations which can be said to be absolutely perfect from the start. It may be that this one is, but even if it is not it is still a good Act, a very good Act and the Party I belong to is proud to have written it into our Statutes.

Re-Distribution—Reasons for Amendment to the Constitution

Another reform our Party is proud of and in which I am proud of having taken a part is the re-adjustment of the representation of the population of our provinces in our national parliament. We started out in 1867 with a representation based on the population of each province. Sixty-five members were allotted to the Province of Quebec and the unit representation for the other provinces was fixed at 1/65 of the population of Quebec.

There was to be a re-adjustment of representation after each decennial census, but there was a clause in the Constitutional Act to the effect that no province would have its representation diminished unless the proportion of its population compared to that of the whole nation showed a decrease of 1/20th since the last re-adjustment.

Apparently the writers of this clause agreed that there might be some departure from the principle of proportionate representation, but they expected that it would be corrected from decade to decade, or at least as soon as it had become as much as 1/20th. But the Privy Council called up to construe that clause in 1904 reached the conclusion that there was a re-adjustment of representation each time that representation was compared to the last census and the result was that there had to be a dimunition of 1/20th between two consecutive censuses to bring about a reduction in representation.

That made possible departures of much more than 1/20th between the representation of Quebec and that of other provinces in the event the decrease in the proportion of the population thereof, though progressive and cumulative, did not amount to 1/20th in a single decade. Now, after the census of 1941, the people of Ontario had 8 members more than their true proportionate representation and that departure might have increased indefinitely if its progress had been the same as during the three last decades. When the compilations of the 1941 census were published in 1943, a re-distribution would have been in order. In making that re-distribution due regard would have to be given to the judgment of the Privy Council. That re-distribution would have meant a loss of several seats to Manitoba and in Saskatchewan, but Ontario would have retained the eight it has had in excess of proportionate representation' The governmentt reached the conclusion that such a re-

distribution would have been unfair and it sought an amendment to the Constitution to postpone it until after the war, because there was such tension during the war period that it probably would not have been possible to have an amendment accepted which would have brought about an increase in Quebec's representation in the national parliament. At the time I agreed to share the responsibility for this adjournment of the re-distribution and I declared in the House that I was doing so because re-distribution under those conditions would have been unfair for the people of Manitoba and of Saskatchewan, but would also have been unfair for the people of Quebec and because I was confident that with an adjournment it would be possible to have a system accepted which would be fair for everybody.

At the time there were some who mocked at my naive confidence. It was even felt in certain quarters that the public could be persuaded I was making a cowardly concession to satisfy others at the expense of the people of my own province. To lay oneself open so naively to the criticism of opponents is perhaps one reason for the opinion so often expressed about me—

"St. Laurent—he may have been a good enough lawyer but he knows nothing about politics".

I confess that I know nothing about a certain kind of politics. Not only do I confess it, but I glory in it. What little experience I have about men and the manner in which they react I acquired by appearing before Judges whose intelligence and good faith I always respected. In seeking judgments from them I felt I had to submit to their appreciation all the pertinent facts and nothing but the pertinent facts; in other words, the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Now during more than 36 years at the Bar I found that a pretty successful system and when I had to go to another forum and plead my cases before the public at large, which is our judge in political affairs, I had become too old to change to any other system. I continued to respect the intelligence and the good faith of my new judges and, quite frankly, I am under the impression that if is a system which they do not dislike.

But let us get back to re-distribution. The confidence I expressed in 1943 does not now appear to have been so naive. You know that during the last session we secured another amendment to the Constitution to re-establish the principle of proportionate representation in all the provinces. From now on it will not take more to entitle people in Quebec to a member in the Commons than it takes in any other province.

Opposition to the Amendment

There were only three members who openly opposed the principle —so just in fact—of the same unit of representation for everybody. But our opponents tried to hide their real opposition under the argument that we had no right to proceed without obtaining the prior consent of provincial governments.

They said that we should have requested prior leave at least from certain provincial governments, notably that of Mr. Duplessis and that of his friend Mr. George Drew. And because we did not do so, those who seem to know so much about the political strategies about which I am so ignorant, now think they can convince the people of Quebec that we have imperilled the use of the French language in our country.

This is a report published in Le Devoir of the 19th August and what Mr. Duplessis said at a big public meeting at St. Rose on the preceding Sunday:

"During the whole period of almost 80 years that we have had Confederation there have never been such fanatics as in 1946—fanatics who have gone so far as to say that the French language has no longer any rights in the Province of Quebec. And that was said by a French-speaking Liberal Minister".

Mr. Ivan Sabourin, the chief organizer in our Province of the Progressive-Conservative party has several times said almost the same thing. Now, all that was prepared during the debate in the House of Commons on our draft amendment. Mr. Arthur Smith, Progressive-Conservative Member for Calgary West, had defied me, as Minister of Justice, to answer the following objection: if Parliament can, without the consent of provincial governments, secure an amendment of the Constitution to change the proportion of the members for each province, would it not have the same right to secure an amendment to section 133, concerning the use of the French language?

One of those experts in political strategy might have avoided giving a clear answer to such a question. He might have been content with saying that what we were doing was to remove an injustice and that the right to remove an injustice did not imply the right to commit another one. But we were discussing the true effect of the Constitution from a strictly legal angle and I answered him that from this strictly legal angle that provincial governments had nothing to do with the use of the French language in the Federal Parliament.

I was able to add in all confidence that we, Canadians of my race and my religion, have a much more effective guarantee than anything to be found in section 133 of the Constitution to protect our essential rights: it is the fact that it is not the custom of those who had been nurtured in the traditional principles of liberty and British fair-play to do things which the conscience of mankind would brand as dishonourable.

True Construction of the Constitution and the Use of the French Language

I am not responsible for the drafting of the Constitution of 1867 and when I am called upon to construe it as a lawyer I have to construe it as it is and not as some might wish it to be. As a matter of fact, until we shall have adopted a system to amend it at home, it can be amended only by statutes enacted by the Parliament of the

United Kingdom. Now since the Statute of Westminster, the Parliament of the United Kingdom legislates for us only when we ask that it be done and in the manner in which we ask that it be done and provided that the request be made by those who, under the Constitution have jurisdiction in the matter to which the amendment is to apply.

Certain matters are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures. With respect to them, no request for an amendment coming from the Federal Parliament could be entertained. As to the other matters, those which are not expressly allotted to the Provincial Legislatures by the terms of the Constitution, requests for amendments must come from the Federal Parliament and it is that Parliament alone which is responsible to the citizens of Canada for the content of such requests. Now it must not be forgotten that the Federal Parliament is our Parliament just as much as it is that of Canadians of other provinces. The jurisdition exercised by it is exercised by you through the representatives you send there and those representatives are responsible to you for the integrity of your rights in federal matters, just as your representatives in the Legislature are responsible to you for their integrity in the provincial field. Our rights to the use of the French language in the Federal field are in no greater danger because of the fact that the Provincial Legislatures have no competence in that respect than are your bank accounts, your rights to vote in Federal elections and your rights to enjoy the protecion of the criminal code against assassins and thieves. Mr. Duplessis was all the less entitled to make about me an assertion like that which I cited to you a few moments ago, because I had written to him five or six weeks before—to be exact on the 9th July, 1946—a letter from which I will cite a few extracts. They are these:

"Article 133 of the Constitution deals with the use of the two languages, English and French, in the Federal Parliament and in the Legislature of Quebec, as well as before certain courts.

"It is clear that the Federal Parliament would be impinging on the rights of the Quebec Legislature if it attempted to decide anything with respect to the use of these languages in the proceedings of the Houses of the Quebec Legislature or of the courts of our province. But as to the use of these languages in the Federal Parliament, or before the Federal courts, that is a matter which concerns the Canadian population represented, otherwise, in my view, than by the members elected to the Quebec Legislature. When a mandator has two mandatories to whom he has delegated powers for specific purposes as to each, the fact that one of them fails to discharge the responsibilities of his mandate, does not transfer his powers to the other mandatory. Moreover in this case the Federal mandatory of the Canadian population has not failed to discharge his mandate, shows no intention of doing so and personally I am convinced that he will never do so".

Dominion-Provincial Relations—Provincial Autonomy Respected

I would have liked to say something about Dominion-Provincial relations, but I have already spoken too long. And, in fact, you are not the ones who have to be warned against the speeches made by Mr. Duplessis or by those who are seeking with him to create the impression that the Ottawa Government is seeking to encroach upon Provincial autonomy.

The Ottawa Government made to the provinces certain financial proposals which it felt would be apt to facilitate the fulfilling as well by the Provincial Governments as by the Federal Government of their respective responsibilities under the Constitution and it did so to the end that the Constitution might be fully respected.

The Quebec Government has not seen fit to accept those proposals, but in spite of all the wordy declarations of its present leader as to his desire to collaborate with the Federal authorities, it has never been possible to obtain from him the slightest precise indication as to what conditions he might find acceptable.

Succession Duties as an Example of Mr. Duplessis' Objections

I will mention only one item of his objections as an example of his method of expounding the controversy.

In order to meet the enormous expenditures imposed upon us by the war, the Federal Parliament had to make important increases in respect of income taxes. It was also compelled to exercise its uncontestable right to impose succession duties. Now in administering these two Acts it was found that the collection of succession duties brought to light many evasions under the Income Tax Act. The scrutiny of the list of assets in an estate makes it possible to determine what proportion of those assets represents the capitalization of previous income and often makes it possible to collect taxes on income which had not been declared.

In general when the rate of taxation is high and everyone is hoping, as we are now, that it may be lowered, an indispensable condition to any possible decrease is that everyone pay without any evasion whatsoever what becomes due under existing rates. When a taxpayer fails to remit the amount he owes under the existing rate, it is not the government that suffers thereby but all the other taxpayers. The government will always succeed in raising the aggregate sum it requires and if it does not get from each taxpayer the portion he should pay, it will still get the aggregate sum by raising the rate or by maintaining at a high level the rate at which the others are required to pay.

The Federal Government, therefore, felt that for the time being, at least, it was in the general interest of the whole body of Canadian tax payers that it continue to collect succession duties. It even proposed that the provinces abstain temporarily from imposing such duties in return for certain payments it would make to each. But that did not appear acceptable to certain provinces and as the

rate of taxation has to be the same everywhere and as it had to be fixed for the provinces accepting the federal proposal at a rate high enough to cover both the federal rate and the provincial rate heretofore prevailing and thus enable the agreed refunds to be made, the government was constrained to recommend, and Parliament enacted the Act establishing the same new rate for all the provinces. But in order to avoid injustices in those which did not accept the Federal proposal, the government recommended and Parliament enacted that each taxpayer would be entitled to a credit against his Federal tax equal to the amount he would have to pay as succession tax to the government of his own province, not exceeding 50 percent of the total tax.

If, under the new Federal rate the tax is 100 and the taxpayer has to pay 50 to the government of his own province, he has only 50 to pay to the Federal Treasury.

Now you are hearing the present Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec complaining in his speeches of the provocative attitude of the Federal Government; not only did it refuse at the Conference to retire from the field of succession duties, but under the law enacted at the last session the rate of those duties was doubled!

Gentlemen, that is not the way I think the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth should be told. It may be evidence of certain experience in political strategy, but I still believe it is preferable to respect the intelligence and the good faith of those who have the responsibilities of passing judgment on the doing of men in politics.

Conclusion

Now we are all citizens of a country which is still young but whose inhabitants have already become a nation. I am taking part just now in a Conference of 54 nations and I can assure you that the rank and roll of ours in not among the least important.

We are the ones who, under providence and the stress of events, which it is sometimes difficult for men to control, are the sole masters of our own destiny. The Constitution under which we live has made a judicious distribution of the prerogatives and responsibilities of sovereignty between the central authority and the provincial institutions. The system may not be perfect but I know of none which would be better fitted to the situation which events have made for us. We intend that it shall be maintained. Our Prime Minister said in a speech made in 1942:

> " . . . . Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality. Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationality means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom.

Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being; without them, it cannot survive."

Canadian nationhood is also based on the fundamental principle of the distribution of sovereign powers to a Parliament which deals with and determines the problems which all Canadians have in common and to Legislatures who have exclusive competence to deal with and determine those which concern separately the residents of each province.

The Party to which I belong has always been and will continue to be the firm supporter of that distribution so just, so logical and so indispensable to the healthy development of our Canadian nationality. I repeat here both as a statement of fact and as a promise some additional lines taken from the letter I wrote to Mr. Duplessis on the 9th July last and in which I used language from the Order in Council he had caused to be passed on the 3rd July and of which he had sent me a copy.

The Government of Canada did take the appropriate measures to meet "the desires of the Province of Quebec, that all the provinces, Quebec in particular, secure by proceedings carried out in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Canadian Constitution a just and fair Federal representation.

The Province of Quebec will always see due regard paid to "its irrevocable desire to safeguard fully the constitutional prerogatives to which it is entitled and to conserve intact the intangible and unalienable rights of the French language."

The Quebec Government has no reason to fear any lack of "integral respect for the Canadian federating pact."

D 64511

OKD by telephone to Allan McLean 16.x.46 JWP

THE LIBERAL PARTY
PERSONALITIES AND POLICIES

SPEECHES BY

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada

AND

The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent,
Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs

DELIVERED AT THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC, QUEBEC

NOVEMBER 29, 1946.

▼

On the Occasion of

The Complimentary Banquet in Honour of Mr. St. Laurent

OK K 14-XI-46

D 64512

THE LIBERAL PARTY—PERSONALITIES and POLICIES

Speech by The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

QUEBEC, NOVEMBER 29th, 1946

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I thank him most warmly for all his generous words of welcome which I shall long remember. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to have at my side the honourable Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal Party in this Province. Often in the past we have been deeply moved by his eloquence. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes much to Mr. Godbout.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, met here tonight not to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphal fashion. I speak, of course, of our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Tribute to a Truly Great Man

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal Party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.*

Let me say, at once, that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the Party's platform

* The Prime Minister's remarks up to this point were spoken in French.

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SPEECH BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. L. MacKENZIE KING

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I thank him most warmly for all his generous words of welcome which I shall long remember. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to have at my side the honourable Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal Party in this Province. Often in the past we have been deeply moved by his eloquence. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes much to Mr. Godbout.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, met here tonight not to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphant fashion. I speak, of course, of our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Tribute to a Truly Great Man

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal Party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.*

Let me say, at once, that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the Party's platform and policies, or to debate public issues. For me, for these purposes other occasions will be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay on behalf of the Party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and one who in the course of his comparatively few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to the Liberal Party and to our country.

* The Prime Minister's remarks up to this point were spoken in French.

The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government

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At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our Party has been in office for almost thirty-five years during the past half century.

A Record of Which to be Proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any Party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our Party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the Party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our Party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory. You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

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It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity:—Party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side, two such colleagues as the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government over many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the government in the Senate, he was its oldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the oldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French-speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in those very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been.

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the people of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of chivalry on the part of others. I understood, and he knew I understood, exactly how he felt. But I know, as he also knew, that we alike had to face the stern necessities of war, and that, if

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Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening.* The services rendered by all during the war are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their co-operation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St. Laurent as Minister of Justice

Mr. Lapointe's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

* The following, in addition to the four Ministers mentioned, were members of the Cabinet during all or most of the years of the war: Messrs. Crerar, Power, Michaud, McLarty, MacKinnon, Ralston, Mulock, Gibson, Angus Macdonald, Thorson, St. Laurent and Mitchell. Mr. Casgrain was also sworn as a member of the Ministry in May, 1940, but retired on appointment to the Bench in December 1941. Dr. King entered the Ministry in May 1942, and Messrs. Fournier, Bertrand and LaFleche in October, 1942; Mr. Claxton and General McNaughton in October and November, 1944, respectively; Messrs. Glen, Jean, Chevrier, Martin, Abbott, McCann, MacLaren in April, 1945; Mr. Bridges in August and Senator Wishart Robertson in September, 1945.

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As Minister of Justice, Mr. St. Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

One of the Finest Figures in Canadian Public Life

Mr. St. Laurent brought more than this. He brought a broad outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year. Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St. Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

Mr. St. Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St. Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred percent behind the Party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's Role in the Crisis of 1944

I have referred to what it meant to have Mr. St. Laurent a member of the Government in the difficult and moving months of 1942 at the time of the plebiscite. At that time there was the first resignation from the Ministry. I do not know that it has ever been

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I have referred to what it meant to have Mr. St. Laurent a member of the Government in the difficult and moving months of 1942 at the time of the plebiscite. At that time there was the first resignation from the Ministry. I do not know that it has ever been realized how near in November, 1944, we came to having no government at all in Canada, and no Party that could form a government, with any hope of being able to carry on in parliament while our armed forces were facing the last terrible ordeal of battle at the front. I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgment, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster.

I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the High public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years!

I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to express to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

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Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's Response to Many Calls

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the Party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the Party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such re-organization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament reassembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "The Duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a coloured regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo' po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of dė war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning".

Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the Party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the Party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all parts of the constituency been what it was over the greater part.

Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion

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Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the Party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the Party. I wish I could impress on every member of the Liberal Party how much the Party's future is dependent on individuals, dependent on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness—nay, possibly, the very lives—of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a Party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a Party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole Party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political Party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one what less sordid than service to a political Party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect. Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

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Old and New Political Parties

One hears from time to time a great deal about the old political parties, as though noble traditions and years of experience should count for nothing in politics, although they are expected to count for everything in other spheres of activity. There is no more reason why a political party should not be proud of its many years of existence and of office than why the members of any church, of any regiment, of any institution of learning, of any business concern, should not be proud of service these organizations have rendered over the years. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, arises not from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past, it arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

In this Province, there have appeared in recent times, the Union Nationale, the Bloc Populaire, the C.C.F., Social Credit, the Union des Electeurs, the Labour Progressive Party, and so-called Independents of every colour of the rainbow. What do any of them represent either of tradition or of a truly Canadian outlook? The so-called Union Nationale is not national, but narrowly provincial; the Bloc Populaire is certainly not popular; many people do not know what the initials C.C.F. stand for; one day, Social Credit is the same thing as the Union des Electeurs, the next day it is not; and the third day it is Social Credit again but worst of all no one seems to know at any time just what exactly in this province Social Credit means; Labour Progressive no longer serves to disguise the real nature of the Party which has assumed that name, and, most ludicrous of all, there was for a time one Member of Parliament who, all by himself, pretended to be the Canadian Party.

Many Parties a Source of Danger to the Nation

The very number of such parties and groups unfortunately brings discredit in the public mind on all political parties. If that were the worst effect, the consequences might not be so serious. Unfortunately, parties in names and numbers so considerable: unions, blocs, movements with all sorts of fancy names, while in the long run they get nowhere themselves, tend, meanwhile, to undermine and weaken the effectiveness of parties which have a nation-wide influence. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all now know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating that supreme folly in our own land. What we want in Canada are political parties that will serve to unite its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a Party we have in the Liberal Party in Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

Unity, Security and Freedom

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Unity, Security and Freedom

I opened my remarks this evening by speaking of the history and traditions of the Liberal Party. I spoke of the long procession in which, for more than a century, members of the Party, in generation following generation, had marched steadily forward under the banner of Freedom. I have, I hope, shown wherein the secret of its many victories is to be found in the emphasis the Party has placed upon unity:—a united Party; a united country; nations of the world united in the bonds of brotherhood and peace.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for Unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal Party stands for Security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for Freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which we stand; these are the banners under which, as members of the Liberal Party of Canada, we will continue to serve.

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Complimentary Banquet

IN HONOUR OF

The Right Honourable

LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, P.C., M.P.,

Minister of Justice

and

Secretary of State for External Affairs

CHATEAU FRONTENAC, QUEBEC CITY

NOVEMBER 29, 1946.

▼

SPEECHES BY

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
P.C., M.P.

Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal
Party in Canada

AND BY

The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent,
K.C., M.P.

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SPEECH BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. L. MacKENZIE KING

MR. CHAIRMAN, ~~LADIES~~ AND GENTLEMEN:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I thank him most warmly for all his generous words of welcome which I shall long remember. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to have at my side the honourable Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal Party in this Province. Often in the past we have been deeply moved by his eloquence. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes much to Mr. Godbout.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, met here tonight not to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphant fashion. I speak, of course, of our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Tribute to a Truly Great Man

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal Party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.*

Let me say, at once, that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the Party's platform and policies, or to debate public issues. For me, for these purposes other occasions will be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay on behalf of the Party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and one who in the course of his comparatively few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to the Liberal Party and to our country.

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The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a

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A Record of Which to be Proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any Party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our Party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the Party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our Party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory. You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

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It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity:—Party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side, two such colleagues as the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government over many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the government in the Senate, he was its oldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the oldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French-speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in those very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been.

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to the late Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the people of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of

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Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening.* The services rendered by all during the war are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their co-operation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St. Laurent as Minister of Justice

Mr. Lapointe's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

* The following, in addition to the four Ministers mentioned, were members of the Cabinet during all or most of the years of the war: Messrs. Crerar, Power, Michaud, McLarty, MacKinnon, Ralston, Mulock, Gibson, Angus Macdonald, Thorson, St. Laurent and Mitchell. Mr. Casgrain was also sworn as a member of the Ministry in May, 1940, but retired on appointment to the Bench in December 1941. ~~Dr. King entered the Ministry in May 1942, and~~ Messrs. Fournier, Bertrand and LaFleche in October, 1942; Mr. Claxton and General McNaughton in October and November, 1944, respectively; Messrs. Glen, Jean, Chevrier, Martin, Abbott, McCann, MacLaren in April, 1945; Mr. Bridges in August and Senator Wishart Robertson in September, 1945.

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As Minister of Justice, Mr. St. Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

One of the Finest Figures in Canadian Public Life

Mr. St. Laurent brought more than this. He brought a broad outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year. Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St. Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

Mr. St. Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St. Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred percent behind the Party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's Role in the Crisis of 1944

I have referred to what it meant to have Mr. St. Laurent a member of the Government in the difficult and moving months of 1942 at the time of the plebiscite. At that time there was the first resignation from the Ministry. I do not know that it has ever been realized how near in November, 1944, we came to having no government at all in Canada and no Party that could form a

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I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the high public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years!

I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to express to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

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Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's Response to Many Calls

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the Party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the Party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such re-organization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament reassembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "The Duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a coloured regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo' po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of de war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning".

Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the Party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the Party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all

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Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the Party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the Party. I wish I could impress on every member of the Liberal Party how much the Party's future is dependent on individuals, dependent on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness—nay, possibly, the very lives—of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a Party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a Party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole Party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political Party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one what less sordid than service to a political Party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect. Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

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Speech by Rt. Hon. Louis S. St. Laurent

I will not try to find any new formula to express to you my gratitude, that of my wife and that of all my family for this splendid tribute of esteem and friendship which you are giving me tonight. One would be quite devoid of any sensibility if one failed to be profoundly moved by it and it is from the very depth of my being, much more than from the lips that I say to you, to each one of you in particular, I thank you.

One would also have to be devoid of any sentiment of pride, be modest to a degree which few men can achieve, especially men in politics, not to feel as proud inside as one must appear embarrassed outside, at hearing about oneself such praise as has been spoken by the Right Honourable Mackenzie King and Honourable Adélard Godbout. Oh, I know how large a part of it must be attributed to the friendship with which they honour me. I also know how large a part of the cordial plaudits with which you have greeted this praise should be attributed to a similar sentiment of generous friendship. But it is none the less very flattering for me and for all those who are close to me to be given this demonstration that I have been able to win and to keep their friendship and yours.

This is the second time in my life that I am feasted in a banquet. The first one was far from being as brilliant as this. It was tendered to me in my native village of Compton, 41 years ago, when I was admitted to the Bar of the Province of Quebec. I was the first from my parish to become a lawyer and the friends in whose midst I had grown up came together to rejoice over such successes as I had won at school and at University and to wish me others in the career upon which I was embarking.

This first banquet, modest as it was compared to this one, nevertheless had the same essential characteristic. It was a tribute of congratulations, of esteem and of friendship which I have never forgotten. And the moving memory which it left with me is an earnest to you that I shall no more forget this evening's feast and the generous participation of each one of you which has made it such a grand success.

It is true that it was five years ago that Mr. King invited me to take part in the administration of the Government of Canada and it is almost five years ago that the electors of Quebec East chose me to succeed Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe as their representative in the House of Commons.

To have one's name bracketed with that of Wilfrid Laurier and Ernest Lapointe constitutes in itself a title to fame in the political history of the Canadians of my province. No one has equalled them in winning the admiration of their fellow-citizens of the two last generations from one end to the other of our broad country. To succeed them, to be called upon to continue their work, is fame if you will, but also what dangerous fame! There had to be a war to make me dare to have Compton thus brought into contact with St-Lin and St-Eloi. I felt, however, that the state of war and your own traditional generosity would prevent comparisons and that if I did my best, I might continue to stand on my own feet and perhaps even some day be able to assert without the swagger of Rostand's hero: My own glass is a small one but it is the one from which I am accustomed to drink.

I have recalled that we were then at war. I wonder if you all remember as I do what was the phase of the war when I was invited by Mr. King to become a member of his Cabinet. The day on which I took my oaths of office was the day when the papers told us about the attack on Pearl Harbor and the sinking of the Repulse and of the Prince of Wales. Japan was thus asserting by its simultaneous attacks on the United States and on the British Commonwealth its firm belief that with the Axis powers it would triumph over the Allied Nations and would impose upon them the conditions of serfdom intended by their war lords.

The following weeks and even months were weeks and months of constant repulses and increasing anxiety for the military chiefs of the Allied Forces. They were also weeks and months of anxiety for our own public and especially for those who were members of the government. The public was aware of the agitation of the two hundred in Toronto. It was aware of the stormy debate in the House of Commons on the plebiscite act. It was aware of the no less stormy campaign which preceded the vote on the plebiscite. It was aware of the subsequent debate in the House on the amendment of the Mobilisation Act. But it was perhaps less aware of the danger

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To have one's name bracketed with that of Wilfrid Laurier and Ernest Lapointe constitutes in itself a title to fame in the political history of the Canadians of my province. No one has equalled them in winning the admiration of their fellow-citizens of the two last generations from one end to the other of our broad country. To succeed them, to be called upon to continue their work, is fame if you will, but also what dangerous fame! There had to be a war to make me dare to have Compton thus brought into contact with St-Lin and St-Eloi. I felt, however, that the state of war and your own traditional generosity would prevent comparisons and that if I did my best, I might continue to stand on my own feet and perhaps even some day be able to assert without the swagger of Rostand's hero: My own glass is a small one but it is the one from which I am accustomed to drink.

I have recalled that we were then at war. I wonder if you all remember as I do what was the phase of the war when I was invited by Mr. King to become a member of his Cabinet. The day on which I took my oaths of office was the day when the papers told us about the attack on Pearl Harbor and the sinking of the Repulse and of the Prince of Wales. Japan was thus asserting by its simultaneous attacks on the United States and on the British Commonwealth its firm belief that with the Axis powers it would triumph over the Allied Nations and would impose upon them the conditions of serfdom intended by their war lords.

The following weeks and even months were weeks and months of constant repulses and increasing anxiety for the military chiefs of the Allied Forces. They were also weeks and months of anxiety for our own public and especially for those who were members of the government. The public was aware of the agitation of the two hundred in Toronto. It was aware of the stormy debate in the House of Commons on the plebiscite act. It was aware of the no less stormy campaign which preceded the vote on the plebiscite. It was aware of the subsequent debate in the House on the amendment of the Mobilisation Act. But it was perhaps less aware of the danger which threatened during all those weeks and months of a dissolution of Parliament and of a general election where the question of total and immediate conscription would have brought about a profound and lasting division in our population, a division all the more lasting and profound because it would have been based on sincere and honest convictions on both sides.

That would have been a misfortune, a great misfortune, a misfortune which would have impeded our war effort, which would have lessened the contribution which we were able to make to the cause of the Allied Nations, and which if it had not made final victory uncertain might have retarded it and resulted in the loss of many more masses of human lives during the period thus added to the terrible conflict. It would have been a misfortune which would have poisoned Canadian national life for many long years with social and economical consequences that it is not easy to assess exactly but the importance of which it is not easy to exaggerate.

Gentlemen, in spite of my 64 years and more, I am still young enough, especially in politics, to have retained some illusions. I confess in retaining the illusion that I was able to play a not inconsiderable part in warding off that misfortune. Now if I were to have no other satisfaction than that illusion to compensate for the years I have spent in Ottawa instead of continuing the peaceful but rather satisfactory practice of my profession in Quebec, I would have no regrets. And this satisfaction comes not only from the feeling of having contributed to the performance of a public service which I deem to have been of major importance; during those weeks and months I had the satisfaction of becoming convinced that the enlightened patriotism of Canadian public men was real and was fruitful. It was given to me to see, as a fact, that the devotion to public duty and the patriotic selfiessness of those with whom I had to collaborate could revive memories of the devotion to public duty and the selflessness of the great figures of all histories and of all centuries.

There were diverging views prgfoundly, sincerely and almost gassionately held as to the best way to safeguard effectively the vital interests of the Canadian nation, the very existence of the Canadian nation.

But in every one without any exception, those views were inspired by the most lofty patriotism. And yet they were none the less diverging, very diverging and, for weeks and months, those divergencies constituted serious and agonizing conscientious problems for each one. Should he, could he sacrifice his personal convictions to continue to collaborate in carrying out policies which were yielding some results but which he could not bring himself to believe were the best?

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won at school and at University and to wish me others in the career upon which I was embarking.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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Was it really inevitable that his refusal to do so would provoke a crisis and would paralyze efforts which were important and even indispensable without a serious prospect of seeing them resumed soon enough and with increased vigour. And while the pros and cons are being weighed and re-weighed there is the haunting and constant spectre of the war which is going relentlessly on, the spectre of the war where men are being wounded and killed each day and where men will continue to be wounded and killed each day that it shall last.

I was the newest arrival in this company of some twenty Ministers who were carrying and who knew they were carrying this heavy responsibility. Several had been my friends before I became their colleague and as to the others, friendship, and even intimacy, comes quickly in the presence of heavy responsibilities which have to be borne in commom. We gave each other enlightenment, moral support, example and encouragement and the danger passed. Our war effort continued with a constantly increasing tempo and with, in fact, a very general, almost unanimous support from our population.

Oh, there were discordant notes from time to time and here and there but these discordant notes took the form of speeches and writings and did not prevent the population generally from giving a very satisfactory response to the directives which we sought to formulate.

And then, in the Fall of 1944, there was another critical period for consciences and convictions.

To say that it was more agonizing than the first one as far as I am concerned would not be wholly true because not for a moment was I able to hesitate as to the line of conduct that I was in duty bound to follow. But that line of conduct was indicated to me by facts known to me and that I could not communicate to my friends. I therefore found myself in the painful necessity of following a line of conduct which many of you, my friends, sincerely and honestly felt to be wrong. It was all the more painful because I could not but recognize your good faith and because I was convinced that if I had been able to reveal to you the motives which made me act, you would have approved them unanimously as in fact they were approved in the election of June 1945.

By that time, the security reasons which prevented me from speaking in November 1944, no longer existed and happenings which had occurred in the interval constituted a complete demonstration that we had been right.

It was hard, however, to have to disappoint one's friends, to have to appear even momentarily to have betrayed their confidence, to do things which seemed to them to be wrong, and to feel that one had to keep inviolate the secret of facts which had it been possible to reveal them would have cleared away all these appearances and made everything acceptable.

It was hard but it was inevitable and it is partly because I had to do it that you are giving me this tribute tonight.

It was hard but it was not nearly as hard as that which was accepted by the hundreds of thousands of young Canadians who joined the colours, who underwent long periods of training under conditions so different from those of the normal life of the citizens of our country, who surrendered almost completely their own individual wills to accept the commands of their superior officers, who volunteered to go and fight, to be wounded, to be crippled, perhaps even to die so that we might live and so that the Canadian nation might continue to live.

What was done by those who were engaged in war activities on the home-front is little compared to that which was done by those who went to the battle front and this banquet which you have tendered me, and of which I am so proud, I accepted it and I now accept it as a tribute to all those who tried to serve their country during the years we have just gone through.

This is a tribute to me but it is also a tribute to the Prime Minister of Canada, one whose whole career has been that of a man of peace but who revealed himself a war leader whose contribution

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It is also a tribute to all his colleagues, the Mackenzies, the Ralstons, the Chubby Powers, the Ilsleys, the Howes, Angus MacDonald, McNaughton, Gardiner, MacKinnon, Gibson, Mitchell, Fournier, Bertrand, LaFlèche, to name only a few of those who are still with us and whose names, with those of the great departed Lapointe, Rogers, Cardin, will head the different chapters of the history to be written of the universal mobilisation of the human and the material resources which our country contributed to the defence of christian civilization against the forces of evil.

But it is also a tribute and it is especially a tribute to the lads of the 22e Regiment, of the Royal Rifles, of the Régiment de la Chaudière, of the Régiment de Maisonneuve, and of all our other regiments, to the lads of the Canadian Navy, to those of the Air Force, to all those who carried our participation on to the fields of battle, on to the oceans and in the skies.

It is at the same time a tribute to the millions of Canadian men and women who, in the forests, on the farms, in the mines, in the plants and in the factories, in the banking and in the financial houses, everywhere, came together and with such ardour put forth the national effort that this world crisis forced upon us.

Let me remind you now of some of the peacetime realizations with which I had something to do since I went to Ottawa. The first I wish to mention is the Family Allowance Act. I will not go so far as to say that that Act was perfect in all its details, but it is a good Act. It is the best social Act the Canadian Parliament ever enacted. It takes care in some important degree of the anomaly under which 80% of the Canadian children—80% of the Canadian citizens of the next generation—were supported by 15% of the present generation. And there was no other efficient cure for that anomaly. It is all very well to talk about the family wage, but in a country like ours whose economy is so dependent on international trade, on our capacity to produce and to sell in competition with other countries, it must be admitted that wages and salaries have to be kept in a direct relationship with the exchange value of that which is produced through the work for which the wages and salaries are paid. To fix them at the level required by the householder maintaining the largest number of children would put a load on our industries that competition makes it impossible for them to carry. On the other hand, any attempt to proportion wages and salaries to the domestic requirements of those to whom they are paid would necessarily prevent the hiring of precisely the persons the system would be designed to favour. Equal pay for equal work is an unavoidable consequence of the system under which we live. But the system under which we live is one by which we all profit and it was only fair to distribute on the whole community a part of the burden which bore too heavily on the fathers of large families.

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The Act which came into operation on the 1st July, 1945, provides for the distribution of about $250,000,000 a year to that end. Not only does it help the fathers of those families whose wealth consists principally of future Canadian citizens, but it places at their disposal a purchasing power of $250,000,000 a year, which is currently expended and creates a stable and continuing market for a corresponding volume of consumer goods.

Certain details of this Act have been criticised. For example, it has been said that allocations should not start before the 3rd child. This objection fails to take into account the fact that the allocations are paid periodically for all children of less than 16 years at the time they are paid, and that statistics show that at the time time of each payment in almost half the families with young children there are not more than two of that age. That does not mean that the families which are beginning will not become more numerous, nor does it mean that in those where the youngest have reached the ages of 14 and 15 they have not been more numerous. What it does mean is that in every family from the beginning to its full development the allocations are paid each month according to the number of children of the age required to receive them during that month.

The law has also been criticised because it provides for a decreasing rate when there are more than four children entitled to receive allocations at the same time in the same family. It may be that experience will show that the rate of decrease has not been properly adjusted, but I do not think it can be seriously contended that it is unfair to give some consideration to the fact that the monthly expenditures required in a family where there are seven or eight children under 16 years of age are not exactly twice as high as those which have to be made in a family where there are three or four.

And, after all gentlemen, what are the human realizations which can be said to be absolutely perfect from the start. It may be that this one is, but even if it is not it is still a good Act, a very good Act and the Party I belong to is proud to have written it into our Statutes.

Another reform our Party is proud of and in which I am proud of having taken a part is the re-adjustment of the representation of the population of our provinces in our national parliament. We started out in 1867 with a representation based on the population of each province. Sixty-five members were allotted to the Province of Quebec and the unit representation for the other provinces was fixed at 1/65 of the population of Quebec.

There was to be a re-adjustment of representation after each decennial census, but there was a clause in the Constitutional Act to the effect that no province would have its representation diminished unless the proportion of its population compared to that of the whole nation showed a decrease of 1/20th since the last re-adjustment.

Apparently the writers of this clause agreed that there might be some departure from the principle of proportionate representation, but they expected that it would be corrected from decade to decade, or at least as soon as it had become as much as 1/20th. But the Privy Council called up to construe that clause in 1904 reached the conclusion that there was a re-adjustment of representation each time that representation was compared to the last cencus and the result was that there had to be a dimunition of 1/20th between two consecutive censuses to bring about a reduction in representation.

That made possible departures of much more than 1/20th between the representation of Quebec and that of other provinces in the event the decrease in the proportion of the population thereof, though progressive and cumulative, did not amount to 1/20th in a single decade. Now, after the census of 1941, the people of Ontario had 8 members more than their true proportionate representation and that departure might have increased indefinitely if its progress had been the same as during the three last decades. When the

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At the time there were some who mocked at my naive confidence. It was even felt in certain quarters that the public could be persuaded I was making a cowardly concession to satisfy others at the expense of the people of my own province. To lay oneself open so naively to the criticism of opponents is perhaps one reason for the opinion so often expressed about me—

"St. Laurent—he may have been a good enough lawyer but he knows nothing about politics".

I confess that I know nothing about a certain kind of politics. Not only do I confess it, but I glory in it. What little experience I have about men and the manner in which they react I acquired by appearing before Judges whose intelligence and good faith I always respected. In seeking judgments from them I felt I had to submit to their appreciation all the pertinent facts and nothing but the pertinent facts; in other words, the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Now during more than 36 years at the Bar I found that a pretty successful system and when I had to go to another forum and plead my cases before the public at large, which is our judge in political affairs, I had become too old to change to any other system. I continued to respect the intelligence and the good faith of my new judges and, quite frankly, I am under the impression that if is a system which they do not dislike.

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But let us get back to re-distribution. The confidence I expressed in 1943 does not now appear to have been so naive. You know that during the last session we secured another amendment to the Constitution to re-establish the principle of proportionate representation in all the provinces. From now on it will not take more to entitle people in Quebec to a member in the Commons than it takes in any other province. There were only three members who openly opposed the principle—so just in fact—of the same unit of representation for everybody. But our opponents tried to hide their real opposition under the argument that we had no right to proceed without obtaining the prior consent of provincial governments.

They said that we should have requested prior leave at least from certain provincial governments, notably that of Mr. Duplessis and that of his friend Mr. George Drew. And because we did not do so, those who seem to know so much about the political strategies about which I am so ignorant, now think they can convince the people of Quebec that we have imperilled the use of the French language in our country.

This is a report published in Le Devoir of the 19th August and what Mr. Duplessis said at a big public meeting at St. Rose on the preceding Sunday:

"During the whole period of almost 80 years that we have had Confederation there have never been such fanatics as in 1946—fanatics who have gone so far as to say that the French language has no longer any rights in the Province of Quebec. And that was said by a French-speaking Liberal Minister".

Mr. Ivan Sabourin, the chief organizer in our Province of the Progressive-Conservative party has several times said almost the same thing. Now, all that was prepared during the debate in the House of Commons on our draft amendment. Mr. Arthur Smith, Progressive-Conservative Member for Calgary West, had defied me, as Minister of Justice, to answer the following objection: if Parliament can, without the consent of provincial governments, secure an amendment of the Constitution to change the proportion of the members for each province, would it not have the same right to secure an amendment to section 133, concerning the use of the French language?

One of those experts in political strategy might have avoided giving a clear answer to such a question. He might have been content with saying that what we were doing was to remove an injustice and that the right to remove an injustice did not imply the right to commit another one. But we were discussing the true effect of the Constitution from a strictly legal angle and I answered him that from this strictly legal angle that provincial governments had nothing to do with the use of the French language in the Federal Parliament.

I was able to add in all confidence that we, Canadians of my race and my religion, have a much more effective guarantee than anything to be found in section 133 of the Constitution to protect our essential rights: it is the fact that it is not the custom of those who had been nurtured in the traditional principles of liberty and British fair-play to do things which the conscience of amnkind would brand as dishonourable.

I am not responsible for the drafting of the Constitution of 1867 and when I am called upon to construe it as a lawyer I have to construe it as it is and not as some might wish it to be. As a matter of fact, until we shall have adopted a system to amend it at home, it can be amended only by statutes enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Now since the Statute of Westminster, the Parliament of the United Kingdom legislates for us only when we ask that it be done and in the manner in which we ask that it be done and provided that the request be made by those who, under the Constitution have jurisdiction in the matter to which the amendment is to apply.

Certain matters are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures. With respect to them, no request for an amendment coming from the Federal Parliament could be entertained. As to the other matters, those which are not expressly allotted to the Provincial Legislatures by the terms of the Constitution, requests for amendments must come from the Federal Parliament and it is that Parliament alone which is responsible to the citizens of Canada for the content of such requests. Now it must not be forgotten that the Federal Parliament is our Parliament just as much as it is that of Canadians of other provinces. The juris-

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I am not responsible for the drafting of the Constitution of 1867 and when I am called upon to construe it as a lawyer I have to construe it as it is and not as some might wish it to be. As a matter of fact, until we shall have adopted a system to amend it at home, it can be amended only by statutes enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Now since the Statute of Westminster, the Parliament of the United Kingdom legislates for us only when we ask that it be done and in the manner in which we ask that it be done and provided that the request be made by those who, under the Constitution have jurisdiction in the matter to which the amendment is to apply.

Certain matters are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures. With respect to them, no request for an amendment coming from the Federal Parliament could be entertained. As to the other matters, those which are not expressly allotted to the Provincial Legislatures by the terms of the Constitution, requests for amendments must come from the Federal Parliament and it is that Parliament alone which is responsible to the citizens of Canada for the content of such requests. Now it must not be forgotten that the Federal Parliament is our Parliament just as much as it is that of Canadians of other provinces. The jurisdition exercised by it is exercised by you through the representatives you send there and those representatives are responsible to you for the integrity of your rights in federal matters, just as your representatives in the Legislature are responsible to you for their integrity in the provincial field. Our rights to the use of the French language in the Federal field are in no greater danger because of the fact that the Provincial Legislatures have no competence in that respect than are your bank accounts, your rights to vote in Federal elections and your rights to enjoy the protecion of the criminal code against assassins and thieves. Mr. Duplessis was all the less entitled to make about me an assertion like that which I cited to you a few momengs ago, because I had written to him five or six weeks before—to be exact on the 9th July, 1946—a letter from which I will cite a few extracts. They are these:

"Article 133 of the Constitution deals with the use of the two languages, English and French, in the Federal Parliament and in the Legislature of Quebec, as well as before certain courts.

"It is clear that the Federal Parliament would be impinging on the rights of the Quebec Legislature if it attempted to decide anything with respect to the use of these languages in the proceedings of the Houses of the Quebec Legislature or of the courts of our province. But as to the use of these languages in the Federal Parliament, or before the Federal courts, that is a matter which concerns the Canadian population represented, otherwise, in my view, than by the members elected to the Quebec Legislature. When a mandator has two mandatories to whom he has delegated powers for specific purposes as to each, the fact that one of them fails to discharge the responsibilities of his mandate, does not transfer his powers to the other mandatory. Moreover in this case the Federal mandatory of the Canadian population has not failed to discharge his mandate, shows no intention of doing so and personally I am convinced that he will never do so".

I would have liked to say something about Dominion-Provincial relations, but I have already spoken too long. And, in fact, you are not the ones who have to be warned against the speeches made by Mr. Duplessis or by those who are seeking with him to create the impression that the Ottawa Government is seeking to encroach upon Provincial autonomy.

The Ottawa Government made to the provinces certain financial proposals which it felt would be apt to facilitate the fulfilling as well by the Provincial Governments as by the Federal Government of their respective responsibilities under the Constitution and it did so to the end that the Constitution might be fully respected.

The Quebec Government has not seen fit to accept those proposals, but in spite of all the wordy declarations of its present leader as to his desire to collaborate with the Federal authorities, it has never been possible to obtain from him the slightest precise indication as to what conditions he might find acceptable. I will mention only one item of his objections as an example of his method of expounding the controversy.

4-E-19

2 of/de 2

In order to meet the enormous expenditures imposes upon us by the war, the Federal Parliament had to make important increases in respect of income taxes. It was also compelled to exercise its uncontestable right to impose succession duties. Now in administering these two Acts it was found that the collection of succession duties brought to light many evasions under the Income Tax Act. The scrutiny of the list of assets in an estate makes it possible to determine what proportion of those assets represents the capitalization of previous income and often makes it possible to collect taxes on income which had not been declared.

In general when the rate of taxation is high and everyone is hoping, as we are now, that it may be lowered, an indispensable condition to any possible decrease is that everyone pay without any evasion whatsoever what becomes due under existing rates. When a taxpayer fails to remit the amount he owes under the existing rate, it is not the government that suffers thereby but all the other taxpayers. The government will always succeed in raising the aggregate sum it requires and if it does not get from each taxpayer the portion he should pay, it will still get the aggregate sum by raising the rate or by maintaining at a high level the rate at which the others are required to pay.

The Federal Government, therefore, felt that for the time being, at least, it was in the general interest of the whole body of Canadian tax payers that it continue to collect succession duties. It even proposed that the provinces abstain temporarily from imposing such duties in return for certain payments it would make to each. But that did not appear acceptable to certain provinces and as the rate of taxation has to be the same everywhere and as it had to be fixed for the provinces accepting the federal proposal at a rate high enough to cover both the federal rate and the provincial rate heretofore prevailing and thus enable the agreed refunds to be made, the government was constrained to recommend, and Parliament enacted the Act establishing the same new rate for all the provinces. But in order to avoid injustices in those which did not accept the Federal proposal, the government recommended and Parliament enacted that each taxpayer would be entitled to a credit against his Federal tax equal to the amount he would have to pay as succession tax to the government of his own province, not exceeding 50 percent of the Federal tax.

If, under the new Federal rate the tax is 100 and the taxpayer has to pay 50 to the government of his own province, he has only 50 to pay to the Federal Treasury.

Now you are hearing the present Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec complaining in his speeches of the provocative attitude of the Federal Government; not only did it refuse at the Conference to retire from the field of succession duties, but under the law enacted at the last session the rate of those duties was doubled!

Gentlemen, that is not the way I think the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth should be told. It may be evidence of certain experience in political strategy, but I still believe it is preferable to respect the intelligence and the good faith of those who have the responsibilities of passing judgment on the doing of men in politics.

Now we are all citizens of a country which is still young but whose inhabitants have already become a nation. I am taking part just now in a Conference of 54 nations and I can assure you that the rank and roll of ours in not among the least important.

We are the ones who, under providence and the stress of events, which it is sometimes difficult for men to control, are the sole masters of our own destiny. The Constitution under which we live has made a judicious distribution of the prerogatives and responsibilities of sovereignty between the central authority and the provincial institutions. The system may not be perfect but I know of none which would be better fitted to the situation which

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> " . . . . Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality. Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationality means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being; without them, it cannot survive."

Canadian nationhood is also based on the fundamental principle of the distribution of sovereign powers to a Parliament which deals with and determines the problems which all Canadians have in common and to Legislatures who have exclusive competence to deal with and determine those which concern separately the residents of each province.

The Party to which I belong has always been and will continue to be the firm supporter of that distribution so just, so logical and so indispensable to the healthy development of our Canadian nationality. I repeat here both as a statement of fact and as a promise some additional lines taken from the letter I wrote to Mr. Duplessis on the 9th July last and in which I used language from the Order in Council he had caused to be passed on the 3rd July and of which he had sent me a copy.

The Government of Canada did take the appropriate measures to meet "the desires of the Province of Quebec, that all the provinces, Quebec in particular, secure by proceedings carried out in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Canadian Constitution a just and fair Federal representation.

The Province of Quebec will always see due regard paid to "its irrevocable desire to safeguard fully the constitutional prerogatives to which it is entitled and to conserve intact the intangible and unalienable rights of the French language."

The Quebec Government has no reason to fear any lack of "integral respect for the Canadian federating pact."

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

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MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister

D 64528

Re Quebec Speech,

Nov. 29, 1946.

-- Attached is a first rough draft outline of a speech. It would be most helpful if you could find time to indicate where it seems on the right lines and where not; also any other avenues to explore.

It is meant only as a beginning.

J.W.P.

November 11, 1946.

JWP:rb

Draft outline of P.M.'s speech

D 64523

Liberal Banquet to honour

Rt. Hon. Louis S. St. Laurent, M. P.

Quebec city, November 29, 1946

Theme: FREEDOM AND PEACE

Purpose of dinner:

Recognition of Mr. St. Laurent's public service by his political friends and supporters.

Why Mr. St. Laurent entered public life:

To help in the task of defending freedom at the hour of the world's greatest danger Dec. 10, 1941--three days after Pearl Harbour.

Why we want to keep Mr. St. Laurent in public life:

To help in securing peace: task at which he is labouring as Secretary of State for External Affairs at United Nations General Assembly in New York.

The defence of Freedom and the securing of Peace: those are the noble ends which Mr. St. Laurent has sought--and continues to seek--in public life.

D 64530

Freedom and Peace: it is of the pursuit of these two aims that I desire especially to speak on this occasion.

First, however, I wish to pay a tribute to the quality--unique quality-- of the service Mr. St. Laurent has given to Canada.

(Here make personal tribute)

Public Service - Relationship of political party to country

In speaking of Mr. St. Laurent's service, it is of his service to Canada--to his country--that I have spoken.

We are here, as Liberals, to do him honour: NOT for party service
BUT for national service.

Do not mean that Mr. St. Laurent is not a good Liberal and a loyal party man: none better on both counts.

Mr. St. Laurent has true understanding of purpose of political parties: to serve the whole community.

Surest road to death for a political party is to become an end in itself: a mere machine for gaining and holding office.

D 64531

To live and to flourish, a political party must have principles to which it is true and policies which unite like-minded men in a desire to serve their province or their country.

Mr. St. Laurent is a good Liberal, loyal to the party, because he believes the application of Liberal principles is beneficial to Canada.

We live today in a bewilderment of parties with all kinds of fancy names: but we should ask ourselves which of these parties has a nation-wide outlook; which has a world-wide outlook; and which are merely instruments of men's personal ambitions, and lust for notoriety or power.

Need to examine anew the principles and policies of all parties--no apology, therefore, speaking of basic Liberal principles.

Liberal principles summed up in two words:

FREEDOM & PEACE

FREEDOM:

Definition: The very word Liberal is derived from liberty which means freedom.

But definition of freedom, I prefer, is the definition of freedom as the absence of fear.

(see p. 4 of printed copy of Labour and the War, P.M.'s A.F. of L. speech, Toronto, Oct. 9, 1942)

We, in Canada, happily free from many of the fears which hang over the heads of men and women in other lands.

Some of the freedoms we possess, are:

freedom of worship;

freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment;

freedom of speech and of the press;

D 64533

freedom to choose and to change
our governments;
freedom to speak and write our mother
tongue.

All of these are <u>freedoms</u> Liberals have fought, in the past, to gain and to retain.

Too easy to take such <u>freedoms</u> for granted.
(Here refer to visit to Normandy
and joy of those who had these
freedoms restored after four years
without them)

Other fears still to be banished--plenty of scope for extending <u>frontiers of freedom within our own coùntry</u>:

Fear of unemployment
of sickness and disability
of destitution in old age
of death of breadwinner
of poverty resulting from large families.

Complete freedom will not be won until these fears are removed.

For Liberals, therefore, social security is essential to Freedom.

In the world at large

Fear of aggression and of war: greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of freedom for mankind.

Put, in another way, this means that: complete freedom is not possible without PEACE.

P E AC E

Until recent times, many thought peace could be found--especially for small nations--by keeping out of other nations' wars.

Two world wars have taught us that neutrality is a delusion and isolation a myth.

D 64535

Peace must be much more than mere absence of war. We are members one of another--we must learn to bear one another's burdens--co-operation--mutual help--interdependence--these are the keys to a positive P E A C E.

How to attain Peace:

Work at once along two parallel lines:

1) Through United Nations and other organizations, through freeing of trade and intercourse between nations, etc., create understanding and goodwill.

2) through organized strength of peace-loving nations provide utmost insurance against aggression.

Within each nation, the reign of law is essential to ensure the freedom of all;

In the world at large, the reign of law is equally essential to a genuine and lasting peace.

(Suggest repeating statement re limited surrender of sovereignty to establish world government)

C O N C L U S I O N

Have spoken of PEACE and FREEDOM
as two great aims of Liberal party.

Aims alone not enough to ensure success
of political party--must also have
practical and workable policies;
and also able and public-spirited
men to translate policies into action.

Liberal party has:

principles;

policies;

and, in Mr. St. Laurent, one of the
ablest and most public-spirited men
who ever served in the government
of Canada.

(Health)

D 64537

Not to be released until time of delivery.

Complimentary Banquet
in honour of
The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, P.C., M.P.,
Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs
Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City November 29, 1946.

Speech by the Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,M.P.,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada,
in proposing the Health of the Guest of Honour.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to see, ~~and to have heard again,~~ Mr. Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal

Opposition in this Province. ~~We have all, I am sure, been deeply moved by his eloquent words tonight~~. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes very much to him.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, not met here tonight to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphant fashion. I mean, of course, our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free

D 64539

to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.

Let me say at once that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the party's platform and policies, or to debate public issues. For these purposes other occasions will, for me, be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay, on behalf of the party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and who in the course of his few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to our party and to our country.

The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our party has been in office almost thirty five years out of the past half century.

D 64541

A record of which to be proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

D 64542

Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory! You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great, of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

D 64543

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity: - party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side two such colleagues as the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose

D 64544

political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government over many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the

D. 64545

government in the Senate, he was its eldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the eldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in these very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been!

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

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LE DOSSIER CONTINUE SUR LA BOBINE SUIVANTE

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