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W.L.M. KING PAPERS

Memoranda and Notes

1940-1950

MG 26 J 4 Volume 352

Pages C243023-C243722

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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(4) Possible Alternative Courses.

The Combined Boards are technically agencies of the United States and the United Kingdom Governments alone, although they are charged with giving due weight to the interests of the other United Nations. Their members are Ministers and officials of these two governments, all of whom are charged as well with important national duties. The staffs attached to the Boards also consist of officers of the two governments most of whom perform other national duties. Other countries are represented only by members on some of the committees dependent on the Boards.

One course which might be followed would be to maintain and emphasize the two-power character of the Boards and perhaps to arrange for a clarifying statement to this effect to be issued in London and Washington. It could then be said that our entire concern in connection with them was to ensure that Canadian interests were borne in mind in framing their recommendations so that such of these recommendations as concerned Canada would be more readily adopted by us. This might be acceptable to the United Kingdom and the United States Governments, but it would not be a desirable solution of the problem. The more effective the Boards are, the more must their proposals carry the consent of all the United Nations concerned with them. To emphasize that they were agencies only of two governments would be to invite constant departures from their recommendations. One attraction of

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this solution would be that we could match the Combined Boards with our own joint arrangements with the United States, but this would be more a talking point than a reality.

Both in their terms of reference and in the proposals since advanced in Washington and London there are frequent expressions of a desire to ensure that the other United Nations are appropriately associated with the work of the Boards. This in practice seems to mean that there is some readiness to invite participation by representatives of other countries when the direct interests of these countries are involved in the particular matter under discussion. The intention seems to go no further than this. If we are satisfied with some machinery for bringing our direct interests to the notice of the Boards, this might be developed through arrangements for all the Boards similar in general to those which have been worked out for the Combined Chiefs of Staff. This method, however, inevitably reduces the role of the other United Nations to that of auxiliaries. It excludes them from participating in major decisions of policy and it would also leave it to the Boards themselves to decide when the direct interests of another country were at issue. In our contact with the organs for the direction of the war, should we be content merely with protecting our interests?

It seems desirable and important that the question should always be approached from the point

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of view of efficiency, and that considerations of national status and prestige should not be given undue weight. It is obvious that the Boards would lose all influence if they were to be made up of representatives from all the United Nations. We have been careful to seek membership only on the two Boards to the work of which we could make the greatest contribution. In each case the importance of Canada among the United Nations is so much greater than the importance of the next country in line that preferential treatment can justly be claimed. Our purpose should be to improve the efficiency of the Combined machinery, not to secure a better position for Canada as an end in itself.

There seems to be a growing feeling that the current arrangements for the direction of the war are altogether too much an Anglo-American monopoly. This feeling is to be found in several other of the United Nations, notably China, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands and Norway. If the Combined Boards grow in importance, this sense of exclusion from the inner circle of control may increase until it amounts to frustration and has serious effects on the war effort. When the Canadian Army is in action, public interest in our part in the high direction of the war will increase. Similarly as shortages in Canada grow more stringent, public interest will increase in our part in the international control of raw materials and food. A broader question therefore arises. Has the time come when an attempt should be made to embody in some type

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of international organization the principle expressed in the phrase "United Nations"? If this question is answered affirmatively, it would be appropriate for the Canadian Government to take the initiative in putting forward proposals. These proposals might have the double objective of recognizing through membership in some new body the partnership of all countries at war with the Axis, and of giving to the Combined Boards (and perhaps to other regional bodies concerned with the direction of the war effort) a mandate in the name of the United Nations.

One possible form of organization would be the creation of a Council of the United Nations on which all should be represented. The Council itself would be called to meet rarely and then principally for the performance of formal acts such as the issuance of declarations of purpose on the lines of the Declaration of January 1st, 1942. At its first meeting the Council might establish a series of bodies concerned with particular aspects of war organization. There might be, for instance, a Food Council of the United Nations composed of representatives of the six or eight most important countries either as producers or consumers of foodstuffs. The Combined Food Board might become the standing executive agency of the Food Council and thus be turned into an inter-Allied body. The Food Council could itself meet every two or three months, preferably in Washington, and between

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its meetings the Combined Food Board would have full power to carry on its work. Similar schemes could be developed in the spheres occupied by the other Combined Boards.

There are, of course, great difficulties in the way of the adoption of any such scheme. The special position of Russia would in itself be a serious obstacle. Undoubtedly the development of the scheme would require long negotiations. Even if it were expected that these were unlikely to come to fruition, it might still be worth while to put forward the idea. The advancement of so large a proposal might bring about the adoption of smaller measures which would yet be a considerable improvement on the present position. For Canada to take the initiative would also help to remove the constant misconceptions about the standing of Canada. Canada is still too often considered in some quarters as being a dependent part of the British Commonwealth, while in other quarters there is a tendency to treat us as being virtually a dependency of the United States. At times as well we figure awkwardly as a unit in the group lumped together as the Dominions.

In principle each of the United Nations should contribute to the direction of the general war effort in proportion to the value of its contribution to that effort. The principle is easy to state but difficult to apply. It has not been applied in the

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organization of the Combined Boards. Resentment, however, is not a useful emotion towards winning the war. Though we may have good cause for complaint over the manner in which the combined organizations have been built up, the aim must now be to improve the machinery even though we may not altogether like its pattern. If the view is not accepted that it is important to make the direction of the war more of a United Nations matter, then probably we ought to be satisfied with minor changes in the present arrangements, so that we may be assured of a constant flow of information on the work of the Combined Boards and of the right of easy approach to them when direct Canadian interests are involved.

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Copy sent to Mr. Turnbull

SR C243624 NAR/SR 26.8.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am enclosing copy of a letter I received today from Sir Robert Sinclair, the United Kingdom member of the Combined Production and Resources Board, who is to be in Ottawa from 4 o'clock Friday afternoon until 11.30 Saturday morning. I am also enclosing a copy of a telegram I have sent him tonight. We can get in touch with him at his Toronto address on Thursday if you are able to make more definite plans as to when you could see him.

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HHW/ET
31 August,1942

C242625

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: W.W.II Combined Production Resources Board

Mr.Heeney and I had a short talk this morning with Sir Robert Sinclair,who,as you know, represents Mr.Oliver Lyttleton on the Combined Production and Resources Board. We discussed with him the relationship of Canada to this Board. He had heard in Washington of the proposal made by Mr.Nelson that the United Kingdom - United States Board should be matched by a two-man United States - Canadian Board. He felt very strongly that this would not meet the case. It is necessary, in his view, to have as great a concentration of responsibility as possible,and a separate top level Board would be a delaying factor in reaching decisions.

He said that he was ready to propose to Mr.Lyttleton that a Canadian member(who would be Mr.Howe) should be added to the U.K. - U.S. Board. He remarked that this might be done if we thought it important for political reasons. Canadians were already working at the planning level with the U.S. and U.K.representatives, and it would be in fact comparatively easy to integrate with the machinery of the Combined Board the technical subcommittees of the Joint War Production Committee. He asked that we should make no move concerning Canadian membership on the Board itself until he had had an opportunity to make his recommendations to Mr.Lyttleton,which he proposed to do on his return to Washington.

I mentioned to him that I had been rather surprised to note from Dominions Office Circular telegram D.384 of August 29th how large was the territory which was being taken in by the Production and Resources Board,inasmuch as their functions were now envisaged as embracing the requirements in production of non-munition supplies both civilian and military. He answered that the situation had been reached in the producing countries in which the distinction between civilian and military supplies had largely broken down,and it was necessary for the Board to look at the whole production picture.

He was familiar with the position respecting the Munitions Assignments Board,and expressed the hope that we

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would accept the solution put forward by General Burns. This would not give us in theory as high a status as that which he himself proposed for the Production and Resources Board, but it would, in his view, meet the practical requirements. I agree with him on this. We pointed out to him that Canadian membership on his Board would parallel very closely the situation respecting the Food Board. He agreed that this was the case.

Sir Robert has been greatly impressed by what he has seen of Canadian production. His suggestion concerning the Production Board may well have been prompted by this. It was a relief to find such a frank, friendly and realistic approach to the Combined Board problem from a senior British official.

I expect that he will have covered the same ground in his talk with you, but I think you might like to have this note of my conversation with him for the record.

Incidentally, we have not previously made any proposal for Canadian representation on the Combined Production and Resources Board, but we have reserved our position in this respect. At one stage in the negotiations about the Munitions Assignments Board, Hopkins informed Mr. McCarthy that he thought Canada should belong to the Production Board, and he also wrote to Donald Nelson to this effect. Presumably therefore Hopkins would not now oppose Canadian membership on the Production Board.

H. H. WRONG.

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HHW/ET
4th September, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: re Combined War Boards

C243627

I mentioned to you on the telephone this morning that Colonel Ralston and Mr.Howe had agreed to recommend the rejection of General Burns' proposal for a limited Canadian membership on the Munitions Assignments Board. Colonel Ralston has sent me the attached draft letter. This would be the basis of a reply from General Pope to General Burns, that being the channel through which the offer was made.

I have doubts whether Mr.Ralston and Mr.Howe have reached the right conclusion. The Canadian representatives in Washington, except those from Munitions and Supply, seem to agree that the Burns proposal was satisfactory. The internal controversy here over who should table War Supplies orders seems to me to have affected consideration of the main question.

The matter was discussed briefly in War Committee this morning, but it was agreed to postpone a final decision until next week's meeting. I asked Colonel Ralston whether the last paragraph of his draft was intended to cancel our original and formal request in both London and Washington for full Canadian membership on the Board. He said that this was the case. I should think it undesirable to withdraw the request and consider that we, at most, should merely reject the proposed compromise. If the draft is accepted as it stands, we should presumably instruct Mr. McCarthy to withdraw his formal note to the State Department of last May, and issue similar instructions to Mr.Massey.

I find steadily growing concern over the long range effects on the Canadian war effort of the failure to give Canada a responsible voice in the Combined organizations. Malcolm MacDonald came in the other day to express privately his conviction that something ought to be done. I had several talks with Clark, Heeney, Robertson and others to the same effect. I hope to send you in the next day or two, for your consideration, a draft telegram to Mr.Churchill, setting forth the whole position. I think that if the Canadian public knew how our reasonable requests for participation in the work of certain of the Boards had been received, there would be a considerable outcry.

H. H. WRONG

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C243628

SUGGESTED DRAFT FROM SECRETARY, CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE
TO - MAJOR GENERAL M.A.POPE, WASHINGTON.

Munitions Assignment Board

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of the letter from Major-General J.H.Burns, of the United States Army, who is Executive of the Munitions Assignment Board, to Major-General M.A.Pope, Representative of the Canadian Joint Staff.

The matter has been under consideration by the Canadian Chiefs of Staff and it is regretted that it was not possible, due to the many factors which were involved, to make a reply sooner.

I am directed to say that the Chiefs of Staff have studied the correspondence which has passed in connection with this matter, and the offer contained in General Burns' letter which has emerged therefrom. The Chiefs of Staff, while fully appreciating the spirit and intent of the offer contained in General Burns' letter, feel that the limitations of that offer are such as to make it undesirable for Canada to accept membership under the conditions indicated and will so advise the War Committee of the Cabinet. They are sure that the United States authorities have good reasons for the limitations indicated and they feel that it would be better not to prolong uncertainty by further protracted discussions.

Their view is that in the practice under the conventional arrangements which have existed for some months there is effective pooling and that the interests of the common cause can be well served by the continuance of these arrangements.

3-9-42

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W.W.- Combined War Boards

HHW/SR
8.9.42

C243629

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

With regard to our conversation on Saturday on a possible approach to the United Kingdom Government on the question of our relationship to the combined machinery in Washington, I attach a rough first draft of a telegram that might eventually be sent to Mr. Churchill. There is a good deal in this that requires careful further consideration. In preparing it, I have drawn in part on a memorandum of my own entitled "Canada, the United Nations and the Combined Boards", of which Robertson sent you a copy on August 15th. I have also drawn on a letter from Clark to Robertson, commenting on this memorandum. As I think you might be interested in reading this letter, I also attach a copy of it.

HW
A. H. WRONG

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DRAFT TELEGRAM
FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OTTAWA
TO: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS LONDON.

MOST SECRET
CYPHER

Ottawa, September, 1942

C243630

Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister. Begins.

Part I.

1. My colleagues and I believe that it is urgently necessary to reconsider the place in the general direction of the war now accorded to those of the United Nations, other than the United Kingdom and the United States, which are contributing their full resources in substantial volume to the joint war effort. We have it in mind to take up this whole question with the United States Government at an early date, and we should be glad first to receive your comments. The general principle is clear - each of the United Nations should play a part in the direction of the war proportionate to the value of its contribution. The application of this principle is extremely difficult, but we are confident that it can be more fully applied than under the present arrangements.

2. We fear that the total effort will eventually suffer unless some steps are taken. Though we can only speak for Canada, we believe the same tendencies apply in certain other Allied countries. As the toll of casualties mounts and as the people are called upon to bear ever greater sacrifices, there will be increasing public questioning and concern over the methods by which decisions producing such grave consequences are reached. Unless the Governments of the countries suffering these consequences have

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played their due part in taking the decisions, frustration and dissension are likely to ensue.

3. The chief organs specially established for the joint direction of the war are the Combined Boards in Washington, composed of representatives of the United States and United Kingdom Governments. We realize that a principal purpose in creating them in their present form was to assist in securing rapid decisions from the United States Government. Has not the time arrived, however, for broadening their basis to accord more fully with the general principle enunciated above? The purpose must be to improve the efficiency of the Combined machinery; matters of national status and prestige should not in themselves be considered important. If the opinion grows, however, that the general direction of the war is becoming an Anglo-American monopoly (except of course for the special position of Russia), we shall have to face a public feeling in certain countries that they are auxiliaries and not full partners in the joint cause. Without full participation in vital decisions, the mass of the people cannot be stirred to the depths of effort and sacrifice behind any cause however noble.

4. We have hitherto been reluctant to advance general proposals and have confined ourselves to suggesting various methods of Canadian partnership in certain of the Combined organizations in which we had the greatest claim to participation. Little has been done to meet our views. We have refrained from public statements and the Canadian people are not now aware of the subordinate role of Canada. There is danger in this state of affairs. If it becomes a matter of common knowledge, there will be an outcry for immediate remedial measures.

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5. We recognize that the various aspects of the war effort should be coordinated by small responsible bodies able to reach quick decisions. We believe,however, that all these bodies should not consist only of representatives of two of the United Nations. It is not enough to develop means whereby other United Nations can have access to the Combined Boards when their direct interests are involved. Those most concerned in each aspect of the war effort should share responsibility and authority for important decisions. If the Combined machinery is to be effective, the proposals of the Boards must be readily accepted by all Governments concerned. Does it not follow that the Governments principally concerned should have a direct share in framing the proposals?

6. In my immediately following telegram I outline,mainly for purposes of illustration, a proposed general organization of the United Nations.

PART II.

7. The suggested United Nations organization might centre in a Council of the United Nations on which all would be represented. This Council would be a formal body meeting rarely and then principally for two purposes:

(a) to issue declarations of purpose and solidarity such as that of January 1,1942;

(b) to establish a series of inter-allied bodies concerned with particular aspects of war organization.

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8. In the case of food supplies, for example, the Council of the United Nations might set up a Food Council composed of representatives of the six or eight most important countries,either as producers or consumers of food stuffs. The Combined Food Board would become the standing executive agency of the Food Council; certain changes in its composition would be necessary,but these need not be fundamental. The Food Council might hold quarterly meetings,between which the Combined Food Board would exercise its powers.

9. Similar methods could be applied to the other Combined organizations,although the pattern would have to vary considerably,especially with respect to military bodies. The adoption of such a plan would turn the Combined Boards into agencies of the United Nations instead of agencies of the United States and United Kingdom Governments alone.

10. We fully realize the great difficulties in the way of the adoption of any such scheme. The special position of Russia among the United Nations might alone make it impossible of achievement. Should any general development in this direction be ruled out as too difficult and dangerous,we would press for more effective participation of Canada in the present Combined organizations on the lines set out in my immediately following telegram.

PART III.

11. On the assumption that our views can best be met by certain adjustments in the Combined organizations to meet the special position of Canada, we believe that the arrangements set forth below would be reasonable.

Combined Chiefs of Staff.

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Combined Chiefs of Staff.

12. Obviously it is essential to keep this group as small as possible. Arrangements have been developed for contact through the Canadian Joint Staff. These arrangements are working reasonably well, but there is still room for improvement, especially through participation of Canadian staff officers on the various committees dependent on the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

Munitions Assignments Boards.

13. Our proposal of last May to pool Canadian production in Washington on condition of full Canadian membership in the Washington Board is still outstanding, and the various alternative solutions which have been advanced are not satisfactory. We feel that our original proposal should be accepted. The United Kingdom, United States and Canada are the only members of the United Nations that produce munitions in volume for the forces of other members of the United Nations.

Combined Production and Resources Board.

14. It seems likely that this body will grow in influence and authority. In view of the important part played by Canadian production and our need for developing the Canadian programme in the closest accord with the programmes of the United States and the United Kingdom, we consider that a Canadian member should be added to the Board.

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Combined Raw Materials Board.

15. We also consider that a Canadian member should be added to this Board in view of the importance of Canada both as a producer of raw materials and as a consumer for the production of munitions. We have hitherto maintained contact with the Board largely through a Canadian - United States Committee created some months before the Board's establishment, the membership of which overlapped with that of the Board. We think it preferable that authority should be concentrated in a single body by providing for Canadian representation on the Board.

Combined Food Board.

16. We requested in July Canadian membership on this Board without as yet receiving an answer. We wish to renew this request. We have studied several suggested alternatives, none of which has been found satisfactory.

Shipping Adjustments Boards.

17. So long as we have adequate means of access by Canadian representatives to the Boards in Washington and London, we do not advance any claim for representation.

18. In each case in which we propose departure from the two-power basis on which the Boards have been created, we have done so because of the special importance of the Canadian contribution to these aspects of the war effort, which we believe in each case to be probably greater than that of any other of the United Nations except the United Kingdom and the United States.

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OFFICE OF THE
DEPUTY MINISTER

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
CANADA

C243636

OTTAWA, August 25, 1942.

Dear Mr. Robertson:

CONFIDENTIAL

Thanks very much for yours of the 18th enclosing copy of Mr. Wrong's memorandum reviewing the inter-allied machinery for the direction of the war, contacts with it already established by Canada, and the various courses which we might now pursue. This memorandum gives a very lucid presentation of the whole problem and should be very helpful in enabling a conclusion to be reached as to the attitude which Canada should now take.

Personally, I can see no sound alternative to equal representation for Canada on the Joint Boards in those fields where Canada has much to contribute and is endeavouring to make that contribution her maximum. This point of view is not based on mere emotional resentment nor on mere considerations of national status and prestige (far less than most people, I think, do I place emphasis on status and prestige); on the contrary, it is based solely on the desire to find ways and means of securing the most efficient prosecution of the war and of laying the basis for a post-war world structure that will have some chance of safeguarding international peace and world prosperity. Over the last few months there has been developing in my mind an ever deepening sense of alarm, not only at the military course of the war, but also at the organizational developments, the ever-growing development of an Anglo-American monopoly of the direction of all war activities (except those on the Russian front) and the ever-increasing evidences that Washington and London look to a future world authority based on two, three or four great masses of power. There is nothing in past experience to indicate that the few large powers possess all the intelligence and the foresight or that in running a world they will be solely guided by unselfish devotion to the general, rather than the national good. There is much in experience to demonstrate that without the full and equal participation in vital decisions of all interested nations, one cannot stir the mass of the people to the depths of effort and of sacrifice behind any cause however noble.

Canada in all conscience is a country difficult to govern. Our people have been making a great war effort - what they have regarded as a hundred percent war effort - but in my opinion morale is now at a rather low ebb throughout the country, and in the next four or five weeks the first real test of what the war will mean in reduced standard of living will be faced. As we well know, there are great risks inherent in the situation but we expect to surmount them - barely to

N.A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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- barely to surmount them. Thereafter we expect an ever-increasing measure of sacrifice from our people. If at any time in the near future they should become conscious of the subordinate role in decisions, though not in effort and sacrifice, which we are apparently supposed to play in the war, I for one would n not be prepared to answer for the consequences. I am certain that the effect on our effort would be immediate and substantial. I know also that in the post-war world we would not play the enlightened role which I am hoping we shall play.

As Mr. Wrong says, the principle is clear-- each of the United Nations should contribute to the direction of the general war effort in proportion to the value of its contribution to that effort. It is, of course, obvious that while the principle is easy to state, it is difficult to apply. I think we are probably guilty of not having thought through this problem long before this and of having clear-cut specific proposals which would represent the applica tion to Canada's case of the principle just referred to. We should then take a strong line, and if we fail in our representations, we fail -- but the responsibility is on other shoulders.

Yours very truly,

(sgd) W.C. Clark

An excellent statement

N.A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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HHW/ET
19 Sept.1942

C243033

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

W W II - Combined War Boards ✓

I attach the Minutes of the meeting held in your office on September 16th concerning the Combined Boards. Brand has furnished me with his report of the discussions at that meeting relating to the Combined Food Board, and I also enclose copies of two documents received from him. These are a note of the discussion and a telegram on it which he has sent to Lord Woolton.

Apart from details, this settles the Combined Board matters for the moment. I am arranging to secure official nominations of Canadian representatives on the committees of the Food Board. Mr.Ralston has, I think, already sent instructions to General Pope to refuse the so-called Burns offer regarding the Munitions Assignments Board. The next steps for the nomination of a Canadian member on the Production and Resources Board are to be taken by the United Kingdom, and they also are to prepare a draft public statement on the continued supply of food stuffs to the United Kingdom from Canada.

20-9-42

H.H. WRONG

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HHW/ET
19 Sept.1942

C243638

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

WWII - Combined War Boards

I attach the Minutes of the meeting held in your office on September 16th concerning the Combined Boards. Brand has furnished me with his report of the discussions at that meeting relating to the Combined Food Board, and I also enclose copies of two documents received from him. These are a note of the discussion and a telegram on it which he has sent to Lord Woolton.

Apart from details, this settles the Combined Board matters for the moment. I am arranging to secure official nominations of Canadian representatives on the committees of the Food Board. Mr.Ralston has, I think, already sent instructions to General Pope to refuse the so-called Burns offer regarding the Munitions Assignments Board. The next steps for the nomination of a Canadian member on the Production and Resources Board are to be taken by the United Kingdom, and they also are to prepare a draft public statement on the continued supply of food stuffs to the United Kingdom from Canada.

20-9-42

H. H. WRONG

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SECRET

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
AT 10.30 a.m., ON SEPTEMBER 16TH
TO DISCUSS THE RELATIONSHIP OF CANADA TO CERTAIN OF THE
COMBINED BOARDS IN WASHINGTON.

There were present the following:

The Prime Minister(Mr.King)
The Minister of National Defence(Mr.Ralston)
The Minister of Finance(Mr.Ilsley)
The Minister of Munitions and Supply(Mr.Howe)
The High Commissioner for the United Kingdom
(Mr.Malcolm MacDonald)
The Hon.R.H.Brand,Acting Chairman of the British
Supply Council in North America and
Chief of the British Food Mission
Sir Robert Sinclair,Representative in Washington
of the United Kingdom Minister of
Production
The Clerk of the Privy Council(Mr.Heeney)
The Acting Under-Secretary of State for External
Affairs(Mr.Wrong).

The Minister of Agriculture(Mr.Gardiner) was also present for the last part of the meeting.

Sir Robert Sinclair said that he had reported to Mr.Churchill the personal opinion expressed on his previous visit to Ottawa that a Canadian member should be added to the Combined Production and Resources Board. He wished to discuss the position now reached in view of the reply which he had received and of the consideration which had been given in London and Washington to the repercussions of this proposal on the other Combined Boards.

If the addition of a Canadian member to this Board were treated as an isolated question, the United States and United Kingdom authorities would agree to it. The primary task of the C.P.R.B. was to integrate the production programmes of the United States and the United Kingdom, and to adjust them to changing needs. This would be very difficult to do without including Canada in view of the close relationship between Canadian production and that of the United States. The existing Joint War Production Committee of Canada and the United States ensured through its subcommittees technical inter-development between the two countries, but did not bring about integration in a full sense.

He wished to make it clear that the addition of a Canadian member to the C.P.R.B. did not involve the appointment of a Canadian Executive Secretary to match the Executive Secretaries already appointed by the United States and the United Kingdom. If Canada were represented on the Board itself, on the Planning Committee and on other Committees of the Board,this,he thought,should be satisfactory.

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With regard to the Munitions Assignments Board, the offer of limited Canadian membership made by General Burns, with the approval of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, would, in his view, give Canada a full opportunity of stating her opinions and of participating in discussions when Canadian interests were affected. There was a difference in principle between the constitution of this Board and that of the C.P.R.B. The M.A.B. was directly dependent on the Combined Chiefs of Staff and acted in accordance with directives received from that body. It would be illogical for Canada to be represented on the Board without being represented on the Combined Chiefs of Staff. As the function of the M.A. B. was to allocate production on purely strategical grounds, membership in it should not be dependent on the volume of Production, to which the rightness of strategic decisions on allocation had no relationship.

He fully understood the desire of the Canadian Government to be more closely associated with the higher direction of the war. The Combined Boards differed very much in nature, and the Canadian relationship to them could not be on a uniform pattern. Canadian membership in the C.P.R.B. was desirable in itself, but the principle applicable to it did not apply to the other Boards.

Mr. R. H. Brand then outlined the position concerning the Combined Food Board. The difficulties over the Canadian request for membership on this Board arose, in his view, in part from a misunderstanding of the Board's functions. It had been created to assist in getting decisions on the allocation of food stuffs in short supply - a difficult matter in Washington - and also to regulate the distribution of foods so as to make the most economical use of available shipping space.

Although the Board's terms of reference were very wide, these were two big problems with which it was concerned. (Mr. Brand later said that another object had been to bring about restrictions on consumption or rationing in the United States of foods in short supply). The Board did not deal with the procurement programme of the United Kingdom. With few exceptions the food stuffs exported by Canada were not in short supply, and from the shipping point of view Canada was in a very favourable geographical position. The British Food Mission had recently presented to the United States Government their fourth Lend-Lease programme. This programme, which proposed the provision of food and tobacco to the value of $1,750,000,000, had not been lodged through the Food Board. The United Kingdom procurement programme, in short, was only indirectly a concern of the Board.

The Board had established in Washington committees on sugar, oils and fats, vitamins, agricultural seeds, meats and meat products, and fertilizers - all commodities in short supply. It had established in London committees on tea and on British agricultural policy; the last

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committee had been set up in order to ensure that the production programme in the United Kingdom was adjusted to the supplies available from the United States and elsewhere. The Board would shortly set up a Committee on Exports and Imports which would be charged mainly with making p roposals to save shipping. It could be seen from the nature of these committees that Canadian exports were not directly affected by the work of the Board and the main Canadian interest in the Board was that of a consumer. Canada in any case had been assured that the United Kingdom would accord priority to Canada in procuring food stuffs inside the North American area.

At one time there had been some intention of setting up a parallel Food Board in London. In place of this the London Food Committee had been established on which the United Kingdom, the Dominions(if they so desired), the Colonial Empire and certain foreign territories were represented. It was in a sense a parallel body to the Food Board,to which it made recommendations and for which it secured information.

Many of the United Nations were large producers of food. Lord Woolton felt strongly that Canadian membership on the Board would lead to a request for Australian membership and probably other requests. If these requests were granted, the London machinery would be dislocated and the Board would become a very difficult body to run. Canada might be providing more food than Australia, but Australia was suffering much more seriously from the shortage of shipping,and it was probable that a further large diversion of ships from the Pacific to the North Atlantic would eliminate or drastically reduce the exports of meat from Australia. The Australian interest in the Board's work was in fact greater than the Canadian.

Mr.Brand suggested that a Food Committee to deal with North American products might be established on the lines of the London Food Committee, on which Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom might be represented by senior officials. He also referred to a proposal for a Joint Agricultural Policy Committee of Canada and the United States.

Sir Robert Sinclair said that before any announcement was made of the addition of Canada to the Combined Production and Resources Board, it would be necessary to inform the other Dominion Governments and to make clear to them the principle on which Canada was joining the C.P.R.B.

Mr.Howe referred to the dependence of Canada on the United States for steel and components. Constant difficulties over the reduction of allocations to Canada had led Mr.Donald Nelson to propose a Production Board between Canada and the United States. The purpose of this would be to ensure as far as possible dependable supplies. Out of this suggestion had come Sir Robert Sinclair's proposal for Canadian membership on the C.P.R.B. He would be glad to accept this proposal,which had decided advantages.

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After discussion, this view was generally accepted. In further discussion it was made clear that the C.P.R.B. had nothing to do with allocation, but dealt only with the planning of production.

The discussion then turned to the Munitions Assignments Board. Mr. Howe stated that arrangements had now been developed which, in his view, amounted to effective pooling of Canadian production. These arrangements included consideration by an informal committee in Ottawa of the allocation of Canadian production, and provision of full information in Washington on the volume of production and on the allocations agreed to. Mr. Ralston and Mr. Howe both expressed the opinion that this informal system provided a satisfactory method of dealing with Canadian production. It was pointed out that it had been developed since the request for Canadian membership on the Board had been advanced. Mr. Ralston explained that the Ottawa Committee in effect was an informal Assignments Board between Canada and the United Kingdom. While the United States was not directly represented, full information was provided to the United States authorities. The point was raised that it would be desirable to formalize the present arrangements in Ottawa.

There was some discussion as to how much of the United States production was in fact pooled for assignment by the M.A.B., and also of the question whether the pooling Governments in practice permitted their own Forces to be a first charge on their production. It was recognized that the countries of production had unavoidable obligations towards their own forces, which they must equip at least to minimum standards.

The Prime Minister summed up the discussion of the Munitions Assignments Board by saying that the general opinion was that it was better to keep things as they were than to accept the proposal made by General Burns. The question of formalizing the current arrangements should be considered later.

The discussion then turned to the Combined Food Board. The Prime Minister said that Canadians took a great interest and pride in their achievements in the supply of food. The name of the Combined Food Board was perhaps not altogether happy in view of the limitation on its actual functions described by Mr. Brand. The possible post-war effects of any decision now taken respecting the wartime organization of food supplies must also be considered. Mr. Brand replied that he had been instructed to say that the question of the Food Board was entirely separate from that of the proposed Relief Administration, and that nothing that was decided respecting the Food Board would prejudice the position of Canada in this connection.

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Mr. Gardiner said that Canadian producers were nervous lest, under the Lease-Lend arrangements with the United States, they would be deprived of the opportunity to supply the United Kingdom, and lest a Food Board composed only of representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States would tend to arrange for the procurement in the United States under the Lease-Lend procedure of the commodities which Canada was ready and anxious to supply. If, however, the Canadian exports to the United Kingdom of such products as wheat, cheese and bacon were not the concern of the Board, in fact little would be lost by the lack of a Canadian representative at the highest level. Canada was much interested in questions affecting meat, which was in short supply, and would desire to be consulted on this subject. He would also like some assurance that the United Kingdom would continue after the war to draw on the expanded Canadian productive capacity for her supplies of food.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald suggested that the apprehensions of the Canadian producers concerning the Board might be met by the publication of a statement on the scope of the Board which would indicate its present limited functions and repeat the assurances previously given that the United Kingdom would draw needed supplies from Canada in preference to the United States when supplies from both countries were available.

Mr. Ilsley remarked that Mr. Brand had indicated a great many things that the Board did not do. He would be glad to learn what the Board did. Mr. Ralston drew attention to the broad terms of reference of the Board.

Mr. Brand in reply indicated the present functions of the Board by reading the agenda of the last meeting. He asked whether the Canadian position would be met if it were made clear by a public statement that Canadian exports to the United Kingdom would not be affected by the lack of a Canadian member on the Board and that the assurances referred to by Mr. MacDonald would continue in effect. In addition Canada would be fully represented on the Board's committees.

After further discussion these suggestions were accepted.

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The conclusions reached at the meeting may be summarized as follows:

1. That a Canadian member should be added to the Combined Production and Resources Board.

2. That the request for the addition of a Canadian member to the Combined Food Board should be dropped on the understanding that a public statement would be issued on the procurement by the United Kingdom of food supplies from Canada.

3. That there should be official Canadian representatives on all the committees of the Combined Food Board in which Canada was interested.

4. That in view of the difficulties over full Canadian representation on the Munitions Assignments Board, the request for such representation should not be pressed and the offer of partial representation should not be accepted.

5. That consideration should be given to developing and formalizing the recent informal arrangements for the allocation in Ottawa of Canadian munitions production.

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C243645

1. At a meeting held on Sept.16 1942, between the Canadian Ministers chiefly concerned (there being present the Prime Minister, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Ralston, Mr. Howe, Mr. Gardiner) and Mr. R.H. Brand, Sir Robert Sinclair and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, at which the relationship between Canada and the various Combined Boards in Washington was discussed, Mr. Brand made a statement on the functions and scope of the Combined Food Board.

2. Mr. Brand explained that while the document of the President and Prime Minister in creating the Board gave it wide terms of reference, its main functions were (i) to make recommendations with regard to the supply and allocation between all the countries concerned of foodstuffs in short supply as well as of other commodities also in short supply, e.g. fertilisers, seeds, etc. (ii) to make recommendations directed to saving wherever possible throughout the world shipping space in the movement of foodstuffs whether for import or export.

3. Mr. Brand explained also that the procurement of food supplies for the U.K. and other countries, whether from the U.S., Canada or elsewhere, was not directly a function of the C.F.B., though its recommendations might of course affect procurement programmes.

4. Mr. Brand also explained that the constitution of the C.F.B. had not in any way affected the existing arrangements for the direct procurement whenever possible of Canadian foodstuffs for the U.K.

These arrangements therefore protected Canadian exports of foodstuffs, while the presence of Canadian representatives on the committees of the C.F.B. created to make recommendations to the Board for the allocation of imports in which Canada was interested would protect Canadian interests in respect of such imports.

5. Mr. Brand was authorised also to give the Canadian Government an anssurance that any decision reached with regard to the

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Combined Boards would not prejudice consideration by H.M.G. of Canadian views regarding Relief Organisation.

6. After hearing Mr. Brand's explanation, the Ministers present agreed that the Canadian Government might accept the present constitution and membership of the Combined Food Board and appoint members to to those committees of the C.F.B. in which Canada was interested. This agreement was subject to a proviso that His Majesty's Government would supply the Canadian Government with a statement for publication to the effect that the creation of the C.F.B. did not change the direct procurement of foodstuffs as between Canada and the U.K. and that existing arrangements by which in cases where Canadian supplies were available a preference within the North American area was accorded for their purchase were maintained.

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Combined Boards would not prejudice consideration by H.M.G. of Canadian views regarding Relief Organisation.

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From Brand to Woolton.

Your Ration X 5107 Combined Boards (Canadian membership). C243647

1. I attended with Sinclair and High Commissioner meeting with Canadian Cabinet Ministers interested (Prime Minister, Ilsley, Howe, Ralston, Gardiner) to discuss above question. C.S.A.B. and C.R.M.B. did not come into question. Sinclair dealt with cases of C.P.R.B. and C.M.A.B.

2. In order to remove possible misconceptions I felt it necessary to make full statement both as to genesis as well as scope and functions of C.F.B. I also gave assurance referred to in paragraph 5 Ration X 5107.

3. I pointed out that while terms of reference of Board were wide, its main functions were (i) to make recommendations with regard to supply and allocation between all countries concerned of foodstuffs in short supply as well as other commodities in short supply, e.g. fertiliser, seeds, etc. (ii) to make recommendations directed to saving wherever possible throughout the world shipping space in the movement of foodstuffs whether for import or export.

4. I explained that procurement of food supplies for the U.K. and other countries whether from the U.S., Canada or elsewhere was not directly a function of the C.F.B. though its recommendations might of course affect procurement programmes.

5. I also explained that constitution C.F.B. had not in any way affected existing arrangements for the direct procurement wherever possible of Canadian foodstuffs for the U.K. These arrangements therefore protected Canadian food exports while the presence of Canadian representatives on the committees of C.F.B. would protect Canadian interest in respect to imports in short supply in which Canada was interested.

6. After hearing my explanation the Ministers present agreed that the Canadian Government might accept the present constitution and membership of the C.F.B. and might at once appoint members to such committees as Canada was interested in. This agreement however was subject to proviso that H.M.G. would supply Canadian Government with a

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statement for publication to the effect that the creation of the C.F.B. did not change the direct procurement of foodstuffs as between Canada and the U.K. and that existing arrangements by which, where Canadian supplies were available, a preference within the North American area was accorded for their purchase, were to be maintained.

6. I have since examined with Canadian officials telegrams exchanged on this matter between H.M.G. and Canadian Government between February and May, 1941. See cables 31, 46 and 79 exchanged between Dominions Office and Department of External Affairs between February and May 1941. Such purchases would of course be subject to questions of price and finance. I propose on my return to Washington to draft statement for your consideration. It would be necessary to show it to Wickard and get his concurrence.

7. I mentioned U.S. Canadian Committee on Agricultural Policy proposed by Wickard, but said this was not a matter with which we were concerned.

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N.A. ROBERTSON TO WLMK

W.W.II - Combined Production & Resources Bd.

September 21st, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

C243649

Sir Robert Sinclair has sent to Wrong a copy of his telegram to Mr. Lyttelton following the meeting in your Office on September 16th. I attach a copy for your information. This seems to be a concise and accurate report of the conclusions which were reached.

On one point I should like your views. Sinclair states in his telegram that there appears much to be said for formalizing and clarifying the present arrangements developed in Ottawa for allocating Canadian munitions production. Now that we are not pressing our request for membership on the Munitions Assignments Board, it seems important that we should be able to say something publicly about means whereby Canadian production is assigned. It is widely known that we sought full membership on the Board and expected to get it. This has been referred to in the press and also in Parliament on several occasions during the last five or six months. Now we are dropping this request and that for membership on the Food Board but are getting full membership on the Production and Resources Board. When the addition of a Canadian member to this Board is announced we ought to be able to explain publicly our relationship to the other Boards; otherwise there is bound to be a good deal of public questioning and conjecture.

Perhaps you would consider bringing this up in the War

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Committee and proposing that the recently developed informal arrangements (on the exact nature of which I am not very clear) should be formalized in time for a public announcement to be made when the Canadian member is added to the Canadian Production and Resources Board.

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h: Hume Wrong

From Viscount Halifax

To Mr. Eden

Dated 17th September, 1942.

C243651

[redacted]

[redacted]

No. 4686

For Lyttelton from Sinclair.

1. Following upon our approach to Howe, High Commissioner, Bruce and I had informal discussion yesterday in Ottawa with Prime Minister and certain of his ministerial colleagues mainly concerned. Those present were Prime Minister, Howe, Ralston, Ilsley, Gardiner and Hume Wrong and Heeney. Provisional conclusions reached are set out in following paragraphs:-

2. No question appeared likely to arise as regards Shipping and Raw Materials Boards and these were not discussed in detail.

3. Proposal as regards membership of C.P.R.B. agreed. The point was made that the justification in principle for this proposal is the practical necessity to integrate the production programmes of U.K., U.S., and Canada into one and adjust that programme according to changing strategical needs and is not the volume of production. This point was appreciated. Canada does not suggest membership of London Committee C.P.R.B.

4. As regards Assignments Board Canada will not now press for full membership. She sees some objections to the latest proposal from the Assignments Board which is known here as the Burns offer and is referred to in Para. 6 of Telegram 4440. She would be satisfied to have things remain on present lines which have been developed since request for full membership was made. There appears much to be said for formalising and clarifying present arrangements but this of course is subject to consideration by those concerned. Present arrangements are understood to cover full disclosure of how Canada's production is disposed of and the surplus over and above the needs of her own forces is put into the common pool by the parties on whose account that production is arranged.

5. Food Board. In view of full explanation of way in which this Board works there seems every likelihood of situation being met by Canada's membership of Committees of the Board. Bruce remained Ottawa last night to discuss details and will cable fully later.

6./

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6. Understood by all concerned that provisional arrangements arising out of this discussion are subject to confirmation and will be discussed with you when here in London.

7. This telegram has been agreed by High Commissioner, Hume, Hume Wrong and Heeney.

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✓ WW II - Combined Food Board
✓ WW II - Combined Production & Resources Board

October 1st, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

C243653

A part of the agreement concerning the Combined Food Board reached on September 16th during the meeting in your Office was that the United Kingdom Government would provide a statement which could be made public indicating that the creation of the Combined Food Board would not directly affect their procurement of food in Canada or alter the existing arrangements whereby supplies from Canada receive some degree of preference when similar supplies are available in the United States. After that meeting Mr. Brand prepared a draft statement which was cabled to England and we have now received it through Earnscliffe. I attach a copy of a letter from Sir Patrick Duff covering the statement in question. This is still in draft form and we can suggest amendments.

I am consulting the Minister of Agriculture to see whether the statement covers the points he has in mind. I am also pointing out that it should not be made public at present since it may be best to keep it in reserve for use when the Canadian relationship to all the Combined Boards has to be explained. This may have to be done when agreement is reached as to the Canadian Member to be added to the Combined Production and Resources Board.

I think myself that the statement includes some points better left out (such as the reference to the appointment of Canadian members to the Board's Committees). It may be best not to issue it separately but to incorporate most of it in a press statement of our own to be issued at the appropriate time.

N.A. ROBERTSON

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C243654

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,

Earnscliffe,

OTTAWA.

516B/190 30th September, 1942.

Dear Mr. Wrong:

With reference to the discussions that have been taking place between our respective Governments concerning the Combined Food Board, I am now enclosing a draft statement on the lines agreed upon at those discussions and which I think you have been expecting from us. As the statement is intended to be available for publication, if desired, I am sending it to you informally at this stage for any comments you may wish to make before the final draft is prepared. I should add that the statement as at present drafted already has the approval of our people at home.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) Patrick Duff.

H.H. Wrong, Esq.,
Acting Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
OTTAWA

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UK Government are glad to respond to request of Canadian Government which has been conveyed to her through High Commissioner in Ottawa for an assurance that the establishment of the Combined Food Board will not alter the arrangements which have existed between them since the early part of 1941 and which had for their purpose inter alia the protection of Canadian interests as regards the export of foodstuffs The UK Government wish to assure the Canadian Government that no change is contemplated in these arrangements, the general purport of which was that the UK Government would not for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of L/L divert to the USA orders for foodstuffs which would otherwise have been placed in Canada.

2. So far as the actual procurement of foodstuffs for the UK is concerned this will continue to be effected between the UK Ministry of Food on the one hand and Canadian Government Departments (or private concerns) on the other. The programmes for foodstuffs to be obtained from Canada will also continue to be arranged as before between the two governments though these programmes may of course be affected, in so far as the Canadian and UK Governments may agree to particular recommendations of the Combined Food Board.

3. The UK Government believe that the results of the above mentioned understanding in regard to the export of Canadian foodstuffs have been satisfactory to Canada - as they have been to the UK. They see no reason to suppose that the same satisfactory results will not be attained in the future.

4. The UK Government are glad to learn that the Canadian Government have decided to accept the Combined Food Board's invitation to allow Canadian experts to serve on the Board's Committees. This in itself is an assurance that no vital Canadian interest can by oversight be adversely affected by any recommendations of the Board since in the consideration of problems prior to the Board's recommendations, the Canadian Government will have had the opportunity fully to disclose their views.

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October 13th, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

C243656

I attach a letter, dated October 12th, to Wrong from Sir Patrick Duff covering a proposed press announcement and revised directive for the addition of Mr. Howe as Canadian member to the Combined Production and Resources Board. I also attach a copy of a telegram sent to Mr. Massey raising some points for discussion with Mr. Howe in London. Apart from some minor changes, to which there should be no objection, the announcement seems to be in order. We shall, however, have to consider the timing carefully as if this announcement is made in isolation there is likely to be a good deal of public questioning about our position respecting the other Boards. Mr. Power has brought again to the War Committee the question of our relationship to the Munitions Assignments Board. We should perhaps make this clear at the time of the announcement regarding the Production and Resources Board. Furthermore, the United Kingdom have now produced a draft statement on their procurement of food in Canada, the chief purpose of which is to justify our failing to press for complete membership on the Food Board. We have not yet sent to London our comments on this draft as I have not heard from Mr. Gardiner to whom it was referred.

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C243657

Office of the High Commissioner
for the United Kingdom,
Earnscliffe,
O T T A W A.

12th October, 1942.

My dear Mr. Wrong,

I have had a telegram from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs saying that Mr. Howe has had a preliminary discussion with the Minister of Production in London, and that as a result the way is now clear for the preparation of the text of a revised Directive to be issued regarding Canada's membership of the Combined Production and Resources Board. Mr. Howe is seeing Mr. Oliver Lyttelton again this week; and in view of the press references which have been made already about Canadian participation in the C.P.R.B. it would seem desirable that an official announcement should be made as early .... as possible. I have been asked therefore to send you the accompanying draft for consideration by the Canadian authorities. If they are in agreement with its terms the draft would then be put to Mr. Donald Nelson for his agreement, and thereafter to the President and to Mr. Winston Churchill: and the announcement could be released simultaneously in London, Ottawa and Washington at a date and time to be agreed.

Would you let me know if this text is approved?

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Patrick Duff.

H. Wrong, Esq.,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa.

BC.

P.S. There would be one further stage of procedure: before the announcement was released, Dominion High Commissioners in London would be informed.

RD.

C O P Y

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DRAFT PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT.

In view of very close relations in the field of production already existing between Canada and the United Kingdom and Canada and the United States, the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Prime Minister of Canada have jointly agreed that the Dominion of Canada shall become a full member of the Combined Production and Resources Board. The necessary arrangements have been made and Mr. C. Howe, Canadian Minister of Munitions and Supply has become a member of the Board jointly with Mr. Donald Nelson Chairman of the War Production Board, representing the United States and Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, British Minister of Production, representing the United Kingdom.

Mr. Howe has appointed as his deputy to represent him on the Board (name and qualifications etcetera of Mr. Howe's deputy to be inserted when available.)

As is already known, Mr. Lyttleton's deputy on the Board is Sir Robert Sinclair.

The text of the joint statement issued by the President and Prime Minister on June 9th, announcing the setting up of the Combined Production and Resources Board has now therefore been revised to read as follows:-

1. "In order to complete the organization needed for most effective use of the combined resources of North America and the United Kingdom for the prosecution of the war, there is hereby established a Combined Production and Resources Board.

The Board shall consist of the chairman of the War Production Board representing the United States, the Minister of Production representing the United Kingdom and the Minister of Munitions and Supply representing the Dominion of Canada.

2. The Board shall:-

(a) Combine production programme of the United States and the United Kingdom into a single integrated programme adjusted to strategic requirements of the war as indicated to the Board of Combined Chiefs of Staff and to all relevant production factors. In this connection the Board shall take account of need for maximum utilization of productive resources available to the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations, the need to reduce demands on shipping to a minimum, and essential needs of civilian population.

(b) In close collaboration with Combined Chiefs of Staff, assure continuous adjustment of combined production programme to meet changing military requirements.

3. To this end Combined Chiefs of Staff and Combined Munitions Assignment Boards shall keep Combined Production and Resources Board currently informed concerning military requirements, and Combined Production and Resources Board shall keep Combined Chiefs of Staff and Combined Munitions Assignment Board currently informed concerning facts and possibilities of production.

4. To facilitate continuous operation, members of the Board shall each appoint a Deputy and Board shall form a Combined Staff. The Board shall arrange for such conferences amongst United States and United Kingdom personnel as it may from time to time deem necessary or appropriate to study particular production needs and utilize Joint War Production Staff in London, the Combined Raw Materials Board, the Joint Aircraft Committee and other existing combined or national agencies of war production in such a manner and to such execution as it shall deem necessary."

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C243670

FROM: THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA

TO: THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN LONDON.

NO. 1877

CYPHER

Ottawa, October 13th, 1942.

Please inform Mr. Howe that we have received from the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom a draft of a revised directive and press statement covering his addition to the Combined Production and Resources Board as a full member. You can doubtless secure the text from the Dominions Office.

Apart from some minor changes of language the chief point requiring correction in the draft seems to be the alteration of the opening sentence of paragraph 2(a) of the directive to read "Combined Production programmes of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada."

Does Mr. Howe wish to have his deputy named in the press statement as proposed [redacted] and, if so, whom will he nominate? We assume he will himself frequently attend meetings of the Board.

It may be necessary to time the public announcement to coincide with a statement of Canadian relationship to other Combined Boards, even at risk of further premature publicity about our membership on this Board.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE
PRIME MINISTER:

NAR/ET
24 Oct.1942
C243660

W.W.4 - Combined Production & Resources Bd.

I am enclosing copy of a letter of October 22nd from Colonel Ralston, objecting to Canadian membership in the Combined Production and Resources Board. I have sent a copy of this letter to Mr.Howe, and enclose copy of his reply of October 23rd. I am also enclosing copy of my letter of today's date to Colonel Ralston, which I hope will help to meet his objections to our proceeding with plans for Canadian membership on the C.P.R.B.

N.A ROBERTSON

(Enclosures filed separately)
JC

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C243661

NAR/SR
15.12.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I am enclosing copy of an interesting digest of mail received from Canadians taken prisoner at Dieppe. The summary, in the first paragraph, of the men's feelings about the operation as shown in their letters home is, I think, worth noting.

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C243662

MEMORANDUM

Dec. 7, 1942.

Letters from prisoners of war in Germany as to Dieppe raid

A large number of letters from Canadian soldiers taken prisoner in the course of the raid on Dieppe on 19th August, 1942, has now been received. The general impression made by these letters is that of an operation which completely lacked the element of surprise. The Germans seemed to have had ample warning of the coming raid and to have made thorough preparations for dealing with it. Under these circumstances it looks as though the raid was a hopeless task from the outset. There is no indication whatever that any substantial progress away from the beaches was achieved or that the men on the beaches ever had a chance of coming to close grips with the enemy or achieving any useful purpose at all. This impression may be a mistaken one but it is almost the only impression left by these letters.

On the other hand there is ample evidence of fine courage and endurance under most trying conditions. There are hardly any complaints about any other units or forces having failed to do their part. The only instances of such complaints are one or two letters which suggest that the Air Force did not give the support that was expected of it. The spirit of the men in hospital is excellent. There is in almost every letter to relatives a cheerfulness and an anxiety to save those relatives from undue worry that is wholly creditable, especially as some of those who are writing cannot conceal the fact that they must have been through an immense amount of suffering. There is constant repetition of praise for the treatment that they have received in hospital both from the Germans and from the British staff which seems to have run for the most part at least one of the hospitals to which many of these prisoners were taken. There is a hint in perhaps two of the letters that these reports of the good treatment from the Germans are not genuine. On the other hand, some of the phrases which praise the German behaviour have a ring of truth about them. It is overwhelmingly clear that the food supplied by the Germans is not sufficient and that without the Red Cross parcels the prisoners would have suffered severely from hunger. With these parcels, however, they seem to be faring tolerably. There is no suggestion of ill-treatment by guards or any other Germans. There is some indication that the conditions of train travel from the scene of action to the hospitals were rough but this may have been inevitable especially in view of the condition of the railroads in the coast areas which have been more subject to Allied Air Force attacks.

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C243663

N-305-22
1942
N-305-32
1942
N-305-63-1
1942
H-150
V-144

Ottawa, December 16th, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

With reference to Robertson's note to you of December the 14th, suggesting that consideration be given to the advisability of the War Committee receiving reports on the progress of munitions and aeroplane production in Canada, it might also be interesting for the War Committee to have reports from Mr. Howe on meetings of the Combined Production and Resources Board in Washington. If you agree, and would be willing to suggest both to Mr. Howe, I would be glad to draft a note for your signature, or write to Mr. Howe myself, on your behalf.

A. D. P. H.

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C243664

NAR/SR
19.12.42

DEC 19, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

I sent you, some days ago, a first summary of letters received from Canadian prisoners of war captured during the Dieppe operation. I am now attaching a short analysis of a further batch of similar letters. It does not alter the impression, left by the first letters examined, that the soldiers who were taken prisoner at Dieppe felt that they had taken part in a pretty hopeless military operation.

I am sending copies of this digest to the Minister of National Defence and the Minister of National Defence for Air.

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COPY

Dec. 7, 1942.

C243665

MEMORANDUM

Letters from prisoners of war in Germany as to Dieppe Raid

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On the other hand there is ample evidence of fine courage and endurance under most trying conditions. There are hardly any complaints about any other units or forces having failed to do their part. The only instances of such complaints are one or two letters which suggest that the Air Force did not give the support that was expected of it. The spirit of the men in hospital is excellent. There is in almost every letter to relatives a cheerfulness and an anxiety to save those relatives from undue worry that is wholly creditable, especially as some of those who are writing cannot conceal the fact that they must have been through an immense amount of suffering. There is constant reptition of praise

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C243667

Letters subsequently received rather modify the impression conveyed in the foregoing paragraphs. These later letters indicate serious shortage of food amongst prisoners. They go so far as to suggest that without the Red Cross parcels our prisoners would be virtually starving. Again and again the letters express profound gratitude to the Red Cross for these parcels. Some letters even suggest that a small piece of bread was at times regarded as something of a Godsend. This may have been the case chiefly during the early days after capture, when the prisoners were either travelling or the organization of the camps had not been completed. Nevertheless, the dominant impression left is that the Germans are not feeding our prisoners on a scale even remotely resembling that which is given to the German prisoners in Canada. There is not enough evidence as to the general state of food supplies in Germany to make it certain that this standard of feeding prisoners is due to inhumanity or to shortage of supplies, but on the whole it rather seems that in this respect, as in others, the German Government is behaving with the combination of inhumanity and contempt for its treaty obligations which has become characteristic of it. On the other hand, most of the letters from men who are in hospital speak highly of the treatment received from the German hospital staff, though not so highly as they do of the British staff in those hospitals where such staff is in charge. It also seems that the food in the hospitals is considerably better than that in the camps.

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Letters from officers rather indicate that the treatment of officers is considerably better than that of the rank and file.

These later letters do not alter the impression created by the first ones as to the hopeless character of the Dieppe raid as a military operation.

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(3) CR/CWB

SFR
8.2.43.

Combined Food Board

C243669

U.K. & Combined Food Board

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Question No. 55 listed in Routine Proceedings and Orders of the Day No, 8 was raised by Mr. Senn, and dealt with the Combined Food Board. In replying to the question "Who are the Canadian representatives on the Board?" the following reply was given:

> "The United Kingdom and the United States of America. Other countries are represented on the sub-committees of the Board when their interests are concerned."

It may be useful to have a list of the Canadian representatives on the various sub-committees of the Combined Food Board, and a copy of this list is attached for your information.

N. A. ROBERTSON

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COPY C243670

LIST OF CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ON COMMITTEES OF THE COMBINED FOOD BOARD

Committee	Canadian Representative
Sugar:	Mr. H. J. Hobbins, Deputy Sugar Administrator, Wartime Prices & Trade Board, 360 St. James Street, Montreal, Que.
Oils and fats:	Mrs. Phyllis G. Turner, Oils and Fats Administrator, Mines Building, Sussex Street, Ottawa.
Vitamins:	Dr. L. B. Pett, Director of Nutrition Service, Department of Pensions & National Health, Daly Building, Ottawa.
Seeds:	Mr. Nelson Young, Seeds Administrator, Department of Agriculture, Confederation Building, Ottawa.
Meats and Meat Products:	Mr. L. W. Pearsall, Assistant Director of Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, Confederation Building, Ottawa. Also attending: Dr. G.E. Britnell, Economic Adviser, Foods Administration, Wartime Prices and Trade Board, Royal Bank Chambers, Ottawa.
Fertilizers:	Mr. G. S. Peart, Administrator of Fertilizers, Confederation Building, Ottawa.
Fruits and Vegetables:	Col. R. L. Wheeler, Assistant Director of Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, Confederation Building, Ottawa. Also attending: Mr. F. J. Kemlo, Commodity Prices Stabilization Corporation, 69 Rideau Street, Ottawa.
Spices, Coffee and Cocoa:	Mr. F. J. Kemlo, Commodity Prices Stabilization Corporation, 69 Rideau Street, Ottawa.

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Dairy and Poultry Products:	Mr. J. F. Singleton, Associate Director of Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, Confederation Building, Ottawa. Also attending: Mr. W. A. Brown, Chief, Poultry Marketing & Production, Department of Agriculture, Confederation Building, Ottawa.
Dehydration:	Mr. M. B. Davis, Dominion Horticulturist, Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa.
Fish and Fish Products:	Dr. D. B. Finn, Deputy Minister of Fisheries, West Block, Ottawa. Also attending: Dr. Stewart Bates, Department of Fisheries, West Block, Ottawa.

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March 16th,1943.

M.M.R.R.Q. ✓
W.W.II - Combined Food Board ✓

COMBINED FOOD BOARD

C243672

There was a discussion of the Canadian relationship to the Combined Food Board today following a luncheon given by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald for Mr. R.H.Brand. There were present, in addition to Mr. Brand and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Mr. Pinsent, Sir Patrick Duff, Mr. Monro, Dr. Barton, Mr. Heeney, Mr. N.A.Robertson and Mr. Wrong.

Mr.Robertson told Mr. Brand that the development of the work of the Combined Food Board had led the Canadian Government to review the decision reached last September not to press the request for membership. The Government had decided that the question of Canadian membership should be revived and that the British and United States Governments should be asked to meet it. The main reasons which had led to this position were discussed as follows.

First. The area of operations of the Board had extended to many new products, several of which were produced in some volume in Canada. The Board was, therefore, no longer dealing only with products in short supply in which the Canadian interest was that of a consumer. Fish and fertilizers were two examples. Mr. Brand answered that the Board was still interested almost entirely in commodities in short supply but that the number of these commodities had so increased that cereals alone had not yet been taken into account. He thought that the Board would have to study the supply of practically all other foods, as well as of ancillary goods such as fertilizers and agricultural machinery.

Secondly. Mr.Robertson pointed out that Canada was participating fully in nearly all the sub-committees of the Board and was the only country to do so. The Board was in effect operating on a tripartite basis except at the top level. After over five months experience of this system it did not seem to be so difficult a matter to add a Canadian member to the Board. Mr. Brand repeated the old argument that if Canada were added to the Board other countries would present their claims but he did not press this very far. He said that it was the desire of the United Kingdom Government to keep questions of Commonwealth allocations centered in the London Food Committee except in the case of Canada. He thought that there would be no inherent difficulty in having a Canadian member on the Board if it were not for the claims of other countries to equal representation. This change in itself would not upset the existing working arrangements.

Read

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CANADA

March 16th, 1943.

M.M.R.R.G. ✓
WW1 - Combined Food Board ✓

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C243672

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Brand

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Thirdly. Mr. Wrong drew attention to indications that the Board was getting itself more concerned in problems of relief and that this process seemed likely to grow. Mr. Brand said that this was true to some extent as it was most important that there should not be competing agencies and that supplies provided for relief should be allocated through the Board's machinery. He was concerned over the suggestion to add a committee on supplies to the proposed United Nations Relief Administration as he thought that this would create confusion. It was not possible to do much to establish relief stock piles at present because of the general shortages. He could not, however, say how the relief problem would be handled as the situation was obscure and difficult.

Fourthly. Mr.Robertson drew the moral that as shortages grew greater and the necessity for restricting consumption increased,it became more important to bring about a comparable equality of restrictions, especially in the producing countries and,among the producing countries, especially as between Canada and the United States. There was inevitably comparison between rations in the two countries. As the Canadian public were asked to tighten their belts, they would want to know that their own Government had participated directly in the decisions. Mr. Brand appeared to appreciate the force of this argument. He said that Mr. Wickard was sending to England at his request a group of experts to report on the British diet and to establish a basis of comparison with the supplies available to the American consumer. As conditions grew more difficult - and perhaps especially when severe rationing had to be continued after the war for relief purposes - it would undoubtedly become necessary to convince public opinion in each country that they were getting a square deal. He was impressed by the particular need of keeping opinion in parallel in Canada and the United States.

The discussion led to no definite conclusion. Mr. Brand,however, seemed to be less vigorously opposed than before to the addition of a Canadian member to the Board and he recognized more readily the serious political difficulties in what Mr. MacDonald termed "rationing without representation".

23.3.43

H.H.WRONG

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Combined Food Board
C243674

April 13th, 1943.

WWII - Combined War Boards.
United Nations - U.N.R.R.A.
United Nations Organization

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

I have today given to Malcolm MacDonald a memorandum about our relationship to the Combined Food Board. I attach a copy of this. In it we have attempted to deal justly both with the special problems arising from the activities of the Food Board and with their connection with the general principles of international organization that we have been presenting in the negotiations about the Relief Administration. I think it inadvisable for us to approach the United States Government along these lines for the present. Unless we can persuade the British to adopt a different attitude, we shall have small chance of making progress in Washington. My feeling is, therefore, that we should await a further reply from London before taking up the matter in Washington.

MacDonald, I think, intends to telegraph briefly about the receipt of the memorandum and forward its full text to London by air mail.

N.A. ROBERTSON

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DHR Pls make note in dict card of this item for me to put in my book file Thx

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C243675

SECRET

M E M O R A N D U M

The decision to renew the request for full membership on the Combined Food Board was taken up informally in the middle of March with Mr. R.H.Brand and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. Mr. MacDonald later made representations on behalf of the United Kingdom Government urging that the matter should not be pressed at this time. These representations have been further considered by the Government which has decided to continue to press for membership on the Board.

The principal reasons which have led to this decision are as follows:

1. The area of operations of the Board has been constantly expanding and it is now dealing with a number of commodities of great interest to Canada as a producer; indeed, the Board has found it is necessary to concern itself with nearly all foodstuffs except wheat and some other cereals, and also with fertilizers and agricultural machinery. When, last September, the Government agreed not to press their request for Canadian membership a different situation existed and the operations of the Board were confined almost entirely to commodities in which Canada was interested only as an importer.

2. Canada is directly represented on nearly all the commodity sub-committees of the Board and is the only country to be widely represented in addition to the United States and the United Kingdom. There are informal arrangements for close Canadian liaison with the Board's Secretariat. Indeed, except at the top level, the Board is in fact operating on a tripartite basis. The special position of Canada has thus already been recognized and the addition of a full Canadian member to the Board is the logical completion of what has already been done.

3. It is apparent that the Board will have to concern itself intimately both with the provision of foodstuffs for relief purposes and with the allocation of foodstuffs in the immediate post-war period to countries not in receipt of relief supplies. It is difficult to conceive that when the pressures of war are relaxed and public attention is no longer concentrated on the attainment of victory a body representing only the United States and the United Kingdom can continue to discharge effectively functions of this nature. Unless, indeed, the basis of responsibility for the Board's operations is broadened, the machinery will be likely to break down or to be superseded by some new agency.

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4. We are now in an era of constantly growing restrictions on public consumption and as restrictions increase the public in each country reasonably wish to be assured that they are not being asked to make disproportionate sacrifices, and that their own Government has participated in the decisions from which the sacrifices result. To meet public criticism, such participation should be patent and formal. These tendencies are already strong and will become stronger as the restrictions increase and as victory draws nearer. After the war they will be very strong indeed. It is especially important that restrictions in the United States and in Canada should be closely related. The Food Board seems to be destined to play a growing part in determining the necessity for rationing various products. It is hard to conceive of this being done effectively by an agency representing only the United States and the United Kingdom.

5. It is intended that foodstuffs should be included in the war supplies which may be allocated to other United Nations under the Mutual Aid Bill which will shortly be introduced in Parliament. While it is not yet possible to determine how large a proportion of Canadian exports of foodstuffs will be allocated under this measure, the adoption of the Bill will serve further to differentiate the position of Canada as a supplier of food to the United Nations from that of food exporting countries other than the United States. It will also make necessary close contact between the operations of the Mutual Aid scheme and the Combined Food Board.

The objections to the addition of a Canadian member to the Board which have been advanced by the British Government through Mr. MacDonald center on the argument that this would lead to demands for full membership from Australia, New Zealand and perhaps other countries; if these demands were refused serious friction within the Commonwealth would result; if they were accepted the Board would very probably break down in operation and this might involve the breakdown of other combined boards. This is the same argument that has been advanced from the first against Canadian membership. It has been carefully weighed, but for the reasons already set forth it has not been accepted as justifying a continuation of the present situation. On the other side it can be urged that if the present situation continues, the Food Board will gradually lose its influence and authority because it is constituted on too narrow a base. Certainly it is unlikely to be able to operate effectively in the post-war period. It has been felt here that the Canadian contribution in foodstuffs is so great as to justify an invitation to Canada alone to be represented on the Board; but the Canadian Government has never adopted the position that the alteration

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of the Board to a tripartite form would in itself solve all the problems. They have been dissatisfied from the first over the manner in which the Boards were set up without prior consultation to act in practice if not in form as agencies of the United Nations. If the Board were to be constituted on the functional principle which the Canadian Government has advocated in connection with the Relief Administration, it would not be difficult to resist claims for membership from other countries which, by reason of their smaller production of foodstuffs or their remoteness, are not able to approach the Canadian contribution.

The following points of minor importance in the representations made by Mr. MacDonald may be mentioned briefly:

1. While it is true that in the operations of the Board Canadian interests have been taken into consideration and that the representation of Canada on sub-committees has helped to ensure this, the number of problems affecting Canada which will have to be decided by the Board itself will be bound to increase. There is no formal representation of Canada on the Secretariat but an informal arrangement is in effect whereby the Commercial Attaché of the Canadian Legation keeps in close touch with Messrs. Hutton and Wheeler.

2. It was suggested that an appropriate means of ensuring close cooperation between the United States and Canada in rationing and related matters would be to make use of the newly established Joint Agricultural Committee. This body, however, is mainly concerned with the discussion of agricultural production planning in the two countries and would not be a suitable medium for joint consideration of general rationing problems. It is, indeed, impossible to separate the questions affecting Canada and the United States in this respect from the world picture.

3. As to the effect on Canada's position in the Relief Administration of renewed pressure for membership on the Food Board, the Canadian Government has agreed to accept a compromise which falls short of their wishes and is disposed to regard the two questions as distinct. It has not recently approached the United States Government with regard to the Food Board but an approach will probably be made in the near future.

In general it is felt in Ottawa that this question should be faced now, difficult though this may be, and that postponement will only serve to increase the difficulties; the simplest solution - the

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addition of a Canadian member to the Board - should not be ruled out, unless other means of broadening the authority of the Board by alterations in its constitution have been considered and found to be preferable.

Ottawa,
April 13th,1943.

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C243679

Prime Minister

Re: Canada's relations with the United Nations and representation on Combined Boards:

The material in the attached cover was gotten ready at the time of Mr Eden's visit to Ottawa. I think it may be of service to you in giving further consideration to questions of organization and representation.

May 4, 1943

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C243680

Chiefs of
Combined Chiefs of Staff
Liaison - Canadian Joint
Staff at Washington

Production & Economics Board
(Howe - member)

Pacific Council
Member of Delegation

Food Board -
Jordan & others
- Glen to member

Chiefs - Combined Chiefs of Staff
Munitions Assignment Board
Soon in Canada.

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W L M. KING JULY 9/1943

Flow II - Combined War Boards

Extract from Unvrevised Hansard - July 9, 1943 - pages 4656-4719:

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King (Secretary of State for External Affairs):

C243681

.....

The supreme direction of the war, the co-ordination of the war effort of the United Nations, and the planning of certain aspects of the post-war period and the peace, are all matters which are engaging the attention of appropriate boards or committees representing the United Nations.

.....

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, in order to secure more rapid cooperation between the war efforts of the United States and the United Kingdom, a group of combined agencies was established.

With one exception these bodies are composed of representatives only of the United States and the United Kingdom and their chief duty is to make recommendations to these two governments in the light of the joint study of the problems before them. They are war bodies formed for special purposes to facilitate the rpid taking of decisions on matters vital to the conduct of the war.

It is essential that the high strategy of the war should be discussed by a small group in conditions of the most absolute secrecy. To avoid giving aid to our enemies, a degree of secrecy, which would be intolerable in times of peace, must surround the taking of decisions, not only on strategy but on almost every aspect of war direction. The recommendations of the combined boards frequently concern governments other than the United States and the United Kingdom. When Canadian action is required to give effect to their recommendations, these recommendations are referred to Canada for approval. The government has sought, with a considerable measure of success, to ensure that in framing their recommendations the combined boards should give the fullest consideration to the position and resources of Canada.

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CFBC243682

July 22nd, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

U.N.R.R.A.
Wtn- Combined Food Board

The attached telegram from Massey indicates that we shall probably be invited very shortly to appoint a full member to the Combined Food Board in Washington. The intention is that a joint invitation to join the Board should be addressed to Canada by the United States and the United Kingdom. I understand that the question has been informally canvassed in Washington by Mr. Brand and members of his staff with the American officials chiefly concerned and that there is agreement that full Canadian membership in the Board would materially increase its usefulness. The Board has not been operating very satisfactorily lately, largely because of the divided authority in the United States on questions of food supply. The U.S. member is Mr. Wickard but he no longer controls the most important governmental activities connected with food supply as these were transferred first to Mr. Chester Davis and on his resignation to Mr. Marvin Jones, the present Foods Administrator. It is hoped that by enlarging the Board it will be strengthened and will secure greater authority.

It is expected that the Board will have to undertake increasingly heavy responsibilities in the allocation of food supplies for relief purposes and that it will have to be connected closely with the supply side of the International Relief Organization when that body is created. There is a good deal to be said for the appointment as Canadian Member of the Board of a person who could also act as the chairman of the Committee on Supplies should the Relief Administration be established according to plan. This would mean that the Canadian representative would have to spend most of his time in Washington in all probability. The Canadian Departments most intimately concerned are, of course, the Department of Finance through the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and the Department of Agriculture; the Departments of Fisheries, Trade and Commerce and External Affairs are also interested. We shall need to find a capable representative with knowledge of the Canadian situation from the point of view of both food consumption and production, preferably with some experience in international negotiation. The latter qualification will be especially important if he is to be the chairman of the Committee on Supplies in the Relief Administration.

N.A. ROBERTSON

(Enclosure not attached)
jc.

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WWII-Combined Food Board
United Nations-UNRRA

NAR/ET
30 Sept.1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C243683

Canadian representation on the Combined Food Board is on the agenda of the War Committee for consideration this afternoon.

Pearson has reported, after discussion with Acheson and Brand, that a telegram from the President was sent to London on September 27th, embodying the terms of a joint invitation from the President and Mr. Churchill to Canada to appoint a full representative to the Board. This invitation may reach us at any moment, and Pearson says that it is very much hoped in Washington that our reply will be given at once, giving the names of the Canadian representative or representatives.

The arrangement is that the Board would be put on a tri-partite basis, with Mr.Wickard as Chairman, Mr.Marvin Jones(War Food Administrator) as United States member, with a deputy nominated to act for him, and Mr.Brand as United Kingdom member, acting as representative of Lord Woolton.

I think that our representation on the Food Board should be considered in connection with what we shall have to do about representation in Washington on Relief matters when the International Relief Administration is established. I attach a copy of a note from Atherton on the latter point. The position is that the United States hope that the Agreement setting up the Administration will be signed in Washington on November 9th, and will be followed immediately by the first meeting of the United Nations Relief Council. We are now studying the terms of the revised draft and its acceptability need not be decided for the moment. We shall, however, in all probability have to nominate our delegation for the first meeting of the Council in the near future, and we shall have to select some suitable person to act as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies if the arrangements made with the four large Powers are carried out, as we have every reason to expect they will be.

23 Sept.

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C243684

It seems to Robertson and myself and others whom we have consulted, to be desirable that the active Canadian member of the Food Board should be a person who could also become Chairman of the Committee on Supplies. Much the same qualities - someone with a good deal of knowledge and experience of Canadian food production and administration, together, if possible, with experience of international negotiation - are required to perform both these functions.

In the work of the Food Board three Departments are intimately concerned. The same Departments will be concerned in the work of the Relief Administration, and other Departments will be involved in addition. Those chiefly interested are Agriculture on the production side, the Wartime Prices and Trade Board on the distribution side, and Trade and Commerce in connection with cereals as well as long-term questions of food exports. Whoever is appointed should therefore be thoroughly acceptable to these three Departments as well as to External Affairs.

The appointment to the Food Board will have to be made first. We could either follow the American pattern and appoint a Ministerial representative, with an active deputy in Washington, or we could do as the United Kingdom are doing, and name as a full member the official sent to Washington. If the first course is adopted, both the member and his deputy should be appointed simultaneously and named in the announcement. If a Minister is named, the Minister of Agriculture is the most logical choice. In either case the selection of the person to be sent to Washington is important and difficult, especially if it is assumed that this person will also become Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Relief Administration.

Robertson and I feel that Mr. George McIvor, if he can possibly be spared from the Wheat Board, may be the best person to select. He has had a great deal of experience and works harmoniously with the Departments chiefly concerned. He will probably have to retain some connection with the Wheat Board, but obviously could not serve as its active Chairman.

IDW.

HUME WRONG

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ottawa, September 23, 1943.

No. 29.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the note of July 5, 1943, to the Secretary of State from the Canadian Minister in Washington concerning the draft agreement for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration presented to you on June 10th, 1943, and to inform you that the Government of the United States was gratified to learn that the Canadian Government was prepared to collaborate fully with the Governments of the United States and of the other United Nations in developing plans for joint action for the relief and rehabilitation of territories ravaged by the war. The Secretary of State made no effort at that time to reply in detail to the suggestions offered by your government, for it was believed that the most effective response to those suggestions would be modification of the draft agreement in line with your government's wishes so far as that might prove to be possible. Your government's suggestions were given special consideration, therefore, in connection with re-study of the provisions of the draft agreement. Acting on the instructions of my government, I am pleased to present herewith a revised text of that agreement.

Since the draft agreement was first presented my government has received a number of suggestions from the governments concerned with respect to modification of the draft, and all of these suggestions have been studied with care. As a result the draft agreement

/has been

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

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has been modified to a considerable degree in an effort to improve the plan and to clarify the language. It is the hope of my government that your government will share the opinion that the text submitted herewith is now in the form in which it will be most acceptable to all of the governments which have been giving consideration to this matter. Many governments have stressed the urgent need of prompt action on the lines proposed. The Government of the United States fully shares this sense of urgency and is taking the initiative therefore in placing before each of the governments concerned the following specific proposals:

1. That each government inform the government of the United States at the earliest possible moment whether it is prepared to sign the draft agreement in the form in which it is now presented.

2. That each government also inform the Government of the United States as to whether it is prepared to sign the Agreement without any reservation under Article IX. It is hoped that all governments can take this action so that the Agreement may enter into force immediately after signature with respect to all signing governments.

3. That each government appoint a representative with full power and authority to join with the representatives of the other governments in signing the Agreement at the White House in Washington on or about November 9.

4. That each government select in advance its representative on the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which will be brought into existence by signature of the Agreement, and such alternates, advisers and assistants to this representative as it shall wish to have present at the first session of the council.

/ 5. ...

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5. That the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration be convened in its first session at a place within the United States but outside of Washington a day or two after signature of the Agreement.

It will be appreciated if your government will transmit its views with respect to these proposals to my government as promptly as possible. The Government of the United States is prepared to make specific arrangements for signature of the Agreement and for the first session of the Council and it will transmit information regarding such arrangements to each government planning to sign the Agreement. If it would be helpful to other governments in reaching a decision as to the size and character of the delegations to be chosen to attend the first session of the Council, my government also will transmit to such governments information regarding the general character of the delegation which will represent the Government of the United States. In order to expedite action by the Council, my government will be prepared also, as the host government, to lay before the Council for its consideration drafts covering its temporary organization and rules of procedure, and the agenda for its first session. It is the hope of the Government of the United States that the Government of Canada and the governments of all of the other United Nations and of the nations associated with them in this war will be prepared to take the action suggested above so that an effective organization may be established promptly to act for all of these governments in providing the greatest possible assistance to the victims of the war.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Lewis Clark,
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

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CFB

NAR/SR
26.10.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER C243688

Herewith, for your approval, are draft replies to the telegrams you received from President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, inviting you to name a Canadian representative to the Combined Food Board. There is also a draft answer to the supplementary personal message from Mr. Churchill on the subject.

I am enclosing text of the press statements which have been prepared for release in Washington and London as soon as Canadian acceptance is received. These press releases will contain the text of the message addressed to you by Churchill and Roosevelt, together with the text of your reply. We will arrange for simultaneous release of the Washington statement in Ottawa.

We have cleared with the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and with the Department of Trade and Commerce the nomination of Mr. Gardiner as member, Dr. Barton as working representative on the Board, and of Mr. Paterson as Chief Executive Officer on the Board staff. Dr. Barton felt that his own nomination should be temporary, with the position reviewed at the end of three months, as he was not sure whether he would be able to combine attendance at fortnightly meetings in Washington with his Departmental duties here. If the plans for establishing a direct Washington-Ottawa air service materialize, his difficulties on this score should be

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reduced. As it is now, a trip to Washington wastes a day coming and a day going.

Mack

N. A. ROBERTSON

approved by me
with the change
in the second message
to Churchill
(this has been retyped)

Aug 24/10

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NAR/ET
C243690 9 Jan.1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

W.W.II - Combined War Boards

Attached is a release on the position of the Combined Boards to be issued on January 19th in Washington, London and Ottawa. It will be given out jointly in your name and that of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. The text has been agreed in discussions between the Embassies and the Supply Missions in Washington and cleared with the Minister of Munitions and Supply and the Minister of Agriculture.

Aground [illegible] how? Urgent
12-1-45
Noted

N.A. ROBERTSON

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WLB

C243691

PRESS RELEASE

The President of the United States and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Canada today announced their decision to maintain the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board and the Combined Food Board until the end of the Japanese war. This announcement followed a review by the member governments of the past work of these Boards and of their future operations. It was the official view that there will be a large field of usefulness for these Boards for the rest of the war even though many materials and products may be in easier supply as the war progresses. It will be their continuing function further to coordinate the war effort of their member countries, and as appropriate, of the other United Nations,in the production, allocation and supply of those products, raw materials and foodstuffs which continue to require combined planning in order to meet military and essential civilian requirements. In many cases it will be desirable for the Boards to consult, as hitherto, with other of the United Nations and with UNRRA before making recommendations.

In making this announcement concerning the future of the Combined Boards, the following statement on behalf of the President and the two Prime Ministers was released:

1. "We have followed with close interest the excellent work which the Combined Boards have done in coordinating our production and supply. These Boards were created for the purpose of combining our economic and industrial power during a period of increasingly intensive military preparation. Despite the fact that as the war progresses there will be a substantial diminution in demand for certain military items, studies indicate that there will be continuing global shortages of a limited number of products and materials which are necessary to military operations and to the maintenance of essential civilian economies. We expect

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the Boards, in the future as in the past, to continue to play their part in facilitating the prompt and adequate use of our economic resources for the common war effort.

2. "In addition new economic and industrial problems which may require common action are sure to develop before the end of hostilities. The power to act and make decisions in the economic sphere on behalf of our respective nations will remain in the duly constituted national agencies. However, the Boards can perform a very valuable additional service by providing a forum or focal point for consultation and the interchange of information and ideas on such common economic and industrial problems.

3. "In their activities we shall expect the members of these Boards and the agencies of our governments which work with them to collaborate increasingly with representatives of other United Nations in the common interest."

? answer you got rid of
Mr Rasmussen?
IC
12-1-45

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C243[illegible] C.F.B. NAR/SR 15.8.45

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Dr Gibson - for file

At the beginning of this year, the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, agreed to continue the tripartite Combined Boards for the duration of the war against Japan. The Combined Raw Materials Board and the Combined Production and Resources Board will probably be wound up fairly quickly. They cannot, however, be conveniently terminated from the moment the President of the United States proclaims V-J Day. The Combined Food Board, on the other hand, is likely to be very necessary for joint intergovernmental cooperation for the next year or two.

At a preliminary meeting in Washington today between the British and Canadian Embassies and the United States State Department, it was decided to recommend to their Governments, for approval and immediate issue, the following joint press announcement:

> "On January 19th, 1945, the President of the United States and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Canada announced their decision to maintain the C.P.R.B., the C.R.M.B. and the C.F.B. until the end of the Japanese war. The three Governments have now decided that these three Boards will continue, for the time being, to operate on the existing basis. They will arrange without delay for a review of the work of each Board with the object of determining the necessity for continuing its operation".

I assume you will have no objection to being associated with this announcement.

Now mother herself 19-8-45

N.A. Robertson

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W.W.II - Combined War Boards

C243694

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

....

For your information I am attaching copy of the announcement on the future of Combined Boards which is to be released in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada at 10.00 a.m. on December 7.

You will recall that this matter was discussed earlier and that at that time you agreed in principle to the statement.

N. A. ROBERTSON

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

Ottawa, December 6, 1945.

Note: This release was held back by request

F/X11/45

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(not for publication before 10.00 a.m. E.S.T., December 7, 1945)

PRESS RELEASE C243695

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

No 101 Ottawa, December 7, 1945.

The President of the United States and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Canada issue the following statement:-

We announced on August 29th that the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board and the Combined Food Board would continue to operate on their existing basis for the time being. As then proposed, however, the situation has been further examined with a view to theearliest possible removal of all wartime controls of international trade.

We take this opportunity of paying tribute to the outstanding achievements of the Boards in the full and equitable utilization of resources for the effective prosecution of the war. This novel experiment in economic collaboration unquestionably hastened the moment of victory.

It is, however, our view that with the completion of the main adjustments consequent upon the termination of the war programmes the work of the C.P.R.B. and C.R.M.B. on its existing basis comes to an end. It has accordingly been agreed that these two Boards terminate on 31st December, 1945.

There remain, however, a few commodities which call for continued attention inasmuch as they are in global short supply in relation to the needs in consuming countries. For cotton textiles, ti tin, rubber and hides and leather it is proposed that the Committees set up under the Boards which are concerned with these supplies should be continued during such period as the shortage of supply in relation to needs renders necessary. It is also proposed that in all cases representation on the Committees should be on an appropriate international basis having regard to their independent status following the dissolution of the Boards. In most cases Committees in Washington and London now under the Boards continue in their present form. As regards some additional commodities in uncertain supply, the Boards may make suitable distribution arrangements before the end of the year to extend into 1946.

It has been concluded that conditions do not yet permit the dissolution of the Combined Food Board. Because many foodstuffs are still in world short supply and because of their close interrelationship, it is believed desirable to retain the Board as a supervisory and co-ordinating mechanism. The Commodity Committees of the Board will be abandoned as soon as the foodstuffs with which they deal cease to requite international allocation. It is anticipated that the Combined Food Board itself will be dissolved on June 30th, 1946, or sooner if conditions permit. However, a few date of the commodity Committees may have to be retained beyond the termination/ to recommend allocations of materials which continue to be in serious short supply. Arrangements were made last summer to associate other major exporting and importing countries with the work of the commodity Committees. These Committees will continue to operate on this principle.

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O.D. SKELTON TO WLMK

ODS/ET
5 November,1940

C243696

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

WWII - Conference of Allied Govts.
Canadians - Foreign Born
WWII - War aims
WWII - Reconstruction
United Nations & Canada
WWII - Imperial War Council

Attached is a draft telegram regarding an Allied Supreme War Council. I tried to include most of the points referred to in your memorandum, together with a few others.

Your two memoranda on Supreme War Council and Empire War Cabinet are most searching and decisive. I shall ask one of our men to do some work on details of the Empire War Cabinet memorandum.

O.D.S.
O.D. SKELTON

(Telegram filed separately - see WLMIC to Lord CMNBORNE, NOV. 5, 1940)

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FILE:

WAR ORGANIZATION

Nov 1940

C243697

Proposed Meetings
of
Allied Governments
in
United Kingdom

This group of papers X relates to the earliest proposal for which the name "Allied Supreme War Council" had been contemplated.

It was later replaced by the term "Conference of Allied Governments".

X These are all either duplicates or duplicated.
See Ring Binder War Organization, Section 2

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C243698

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM

April 2nd, 1941.

For the Prime Minister:

I am attaching copies of letters and enclosures from Mr. Gardiner with respect to certain other subjects which he wishes to have discussed at tomorrow's meeting of the Cabinet War Committee.

A. D. P. H.

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Copy

C/O

Office of the Minister

C243699

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

Ottawa, March 31st, 1941.

A.D.P. Heeney, Esq.,
Secretary to the
Cabinet War Committee,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Heeney:

Attached is a proposal which has been submitted to me by Associate Deputy Minister, T.C. Davis, providing alternative service for Mennonites, Dukhobors and Conscientious Objectors.

I may say that I think this plan one which might be worked out to the satisfaction of all concerned but I personally take some exception to paying these men the same rate of pay as is paid to soldiers. With that reservation, I would like to see the matter discussed by War Committee at its first meeting.

Yours sincerely,

(SGD.) J.G. Gardiner.

Enclosure

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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C243700

Office of the
Deputy Minister

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

Ottawa, Canada
March 26, 1941.

MEMORANDUM TO

Hon. Jas. G. Gardiner,
Minister of National War Services.

Re: Alternative Service for Mennonites,
Dukhobors and Conscientious Objectors

Pursuant to your instructions, I have been canvassing with the National Parks Bureau of the Department of Mines and Resources the question of the utilisation of the services of Mennonites, Doukhobors and Conscientious Objectors in some constructive work, which, otherwise, would not be done.

I think it is essential that if anything is to be done the work imposed upon these people must be of a type that would otherwise not be done, because if they were used on some job that was going to be done, there would be a tremendous outcry about taking away jobs from available local men.

It is estimated that there is in the above mentioned three classes, the following number of persons, who would, except for the exemption clause in the Compulsory Military Training Plan, be subject to training. These figures include only those who have reached the age of 21 years since the First day of July, 1940, or, who, at the time of national registration, had reached the age of 21, but not the age of 22:

Ontario	100
Saskatchewan) Manitoba)	300
Alberta	100
British Columbia	200

.....

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The Director of this Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources has considered this problem and his recommendation is that these men be utilised as follows:

"The above figures are apparently only considered by the Department of National War Services as tentative and it is possible that there might be a slight increase in the number to be taken care of in our Western Parks. I am therefore proposing that the total of 700 men be distributed as follows in the Western Parks:

Banff National Park.....	150
Jasper National Park.....	150
Elk Island National Park.....	50
Kootenay National Park.....	50
Riding Mountain National Park..	150
Prince Albert National Park....	150."

Since the above list was prepared Mr. Gibson has telephoned me and says he has had an interview with the Chairman of the Ottawa District Improvement Committee and that his Committee is doing certain work up the Gatineau in the beautification of some lands and forests which the government has acquired there and which are under control of the Commission. He is told by the Commission that 100 men could advantageously be used on that work, which would otherwise not be done.

The estimated cost is as follows:

"The following is a summary of the costs covering Head Office supervision and the operations to be carried out in each Park to absorb the number of men suggested above:

Head Office supervision costs....$	4,500.00
Banff National Park.....	63,385.00
Jasper National Park.....	63,385.00
Elk Island National Park.....	20,355.00
Kootenay National Park.....	21,025.00
Riding Mountain National Park....	61,565.00
Prince Albert National Park.....	61,565.00
TOTAL.....$	295,780.00

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"These are based on the information that the conscientious objectors will be paid at the regular army rate of a private and at regular prevailing rates for the number of key men required for the general supervision of the camps, and for four months employment."

If 100 men were to be used in the Ottawa area I presume that another $50,000.00 would have to be added.

Some years ago, under The Youth Training Plan, camps were set up in the National Parks where young men spent the summer in working on forestry projects, such as thinning out timber, underbrushing and other works of this kind. It is proposed that these men be used on similar projects.

They would also be used in the construction of trails, roads, etc., within the parks and on other useful work which otherwise would not be done.

In British Columbia it is suggested that we enter into an arrangement with the British Columbia Government to construct a piece of road south of Nelson, in lieu of sending men from that province to the National Parks, and this might be a more useful piece of work. This work would otherwise not be done.

If we can get a decision on the following facts, we can work out the details:

1. Is the government prepared to authorize the expenditure of approximately $350,000.00 to provide four months alternative service for the Mennonites, Doukhobors and Conscientious Objectors in the 21 year old class, who are exempt from military service, and to continue this same policy with a further appropriate expenditure as other classes are called out?

2. Should we confine work to be done to work which would otherwise not be done and should we, in the main, restrict our activities to work in National Parks, deviating therefrom in such provinces where the provincial government desires to co-operate in some road construction project?

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I have a full and detailed report from the Parks Branch of the actual work which would be done by these men in every park but you will not be concerned with this detail. The decision on the policy principle will be sufficient for us to proceed.

(Sgd.) T.C.D.

T.C. Davis,
Associate Deputy Minister.

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Mobilization

Office of the
Deputy Minister

C243704

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

OTTAWA, May 19, 1941.

MEMORANDUM TO CABINET WAR COMMITTEE

Subject: Alternative Service by Conscientious Objectors, Mennonites & Doukhobors in lieu of Compulsory Military Training

The undersigned submit for consideration by the Cabinet War Committee, with the approval of the Honourable Minister of National War Services, the following:-

1. Some weeks ago, the War Committee decided, in principle, that persons exempted from military service, in either of the three above categories, should be required to render alternative work, but left for further review the exact type of projects upon which they were to be engaged, and the compensation they were to be allowed.

2. This Department has been investigating the exact projects upon which they could be engaged. As will be noted hereafter, the bulk of those involved are either Mennonites or Doukhobors, and they are located mainly in Western Canada, except for the Mennonites in Western Ontario. This Department has been in touch with leaders of the Mennonite and Doukhobor populations, trying to work out plans for such alternative service which would have the co-operation and the support of the men to be called out. In the case of the Mennonites, excellent progress has been made, and it is expected that they will respond to a call for this work without difficulty, and that action against defaulters will only have to be taken in a few cases. In the case of the Doukhobors, some progress along this line has been made, and several of the younger leaders of this group have stated that the attitude of the Government in demanding alternative service is reasonable, and that they will support the Government in its demands in this regard. The older Doukhobor population is not prepared to co-operate, and in fact, will try and prevent the young men responding to notices to report for work. It is evident, therefore, that some type of penalty will have to be applied to a considerable number of the young single Doukhobors who fail to report for alternative work as they may be directed to do.

3. The original training plan was for 30 days, and this Department proceeded to work on plans for alternative service for this period. For a short period like this, the men could have been sent to military camps for non-combatant training and service. The military authorities do not look with favour upon having these men in their camps under any condition. The change of training period to four months necessitated the complete review of the question of alternative service.

4. The decision reached by the Cabinet War Committee was based upon a four months training period. Since that decision was arrived at, the Government has decided to draft into the regular army and maintain there for the duration of the war, for service within Canada, the men who go to the four month training camps. This injects a new factor into the matter of alternative service. Is it to be continuous or restricted to a definite period, and if so, what period?

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5. Since the matter was considered by the Cabinet War Committee, we have received from the various National War Services Boards across Canada, a statement of the number of men postponed from military service in each of the three categories, and in each of the four age groups, namely, 21, 22, 23 and 24. A list of the same is attached hereto.

6. It is the intention to call out for alternative work or service, the same age groups as they are called out for military training. The 21 year class has been called out for military training, and the first call to be made for alternative service will be made in this age group.

7. The following is a list of the number of Conscientious Objectors, Mennonites and Doukhobors in all Provinces broken down into those who were 21 on July 1, 1940, and those who have reached that age since that date. This is the group who would have to be provided with alternative service during 1941. The list is as follows:-

MENNONITES
21 after July 1, 1940

Ontario	40	
Manitoba	331	
Saskatchewan	171	
Alberta	39	
British Columbia	46	Total 627

MENNONITES
21 before July 1, 1940

Ontario	125	
Manitoba	321	
Saskatchewan	120	
Alberta	61	
B. C.	23	650

DOUKHOBORS
21 after July 1, 1940

Manitoba	1	
British Columbia	47	
Saskatchewan	76	
Alberta	9	133

DOUKHOBORS
21 before July 1, 1940

British Columbia	84	
Saskatchewan	49	
Alberta	3	136

ALL OTHER CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
21 after July 1, 1940

Ontario	31	
Nova Scotia	3	
P.E.I.	1	
Manitoba	19	
Saskatchewan	114	
Alberta	29	
B. C.	23	220

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ALL OTHER CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
21 before July 1, 1940

Ontario	50	
Quebec	3	
Nova Scotia	3	
New Brunswick	7	
Manitoba	12	
Saskatchewan	53	
Alberta	51	
British Columbia	29	Total 208 - Grand Total 1974

It is felt that Mennonites and Conscientious Objectors should be kept in one group and Doukhobors in another, and that so far as possible, we do not mix Mennonites and Conscientious Objectors in the same camps.

8. It was proposed that alternative service by Doukhobors be carried out under the Highways Department of Provincial Governments, and that alternative service by Mennonites and Conscientious Objectors be carried out under the Federal Department of Mines and Resources, Parks Branch.

The projects suggested for Doukhobors are as follows:-

(a) The Doukhobors of Saskatchewan and the one Doukhobor from Manitoba be put to work on the Lac la Ronge Highway which was being jointly constructed by the Dominion and Provincial Governments as a mining road, and in respect of which construction has ceased due to the war.

(b) For the Doukhobors of British Columbia, and the dozen men from Alberta, work on a stretch of Provincial Highway between Nelson and the American border, known as the Nelson Nelway Highway.

It will be noted that we have 125 Doukhobors in the 21 year class in Saskatchewan, and one in Manitoba, and that we have 131 Doukhobors in the 21 year class in British Columbia, and 12 Doukhobors in this class in Alberta.

9. Both the Governments of British Columbia and Saskatchewan have offered to direct and superintend the work and arrange for the equipment necessary.

10. Camps proposed for Conscientious Objectors and Mennonites in the rest of Canada are as follows:-

Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba

In summer camps	200
In winter camps	100

Prince Albert National Park in Saskatchewan

In summer camps	200
In winter camps	100

Jasper National Park in British Columbia - Alberta

In summer camps	180
In winter camps	None

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Banff National Park, in British Columbia

In summer camps	150
In winter camps	None

Kootenay National Park, in British Columbia

In summer camps	None
In winter camps	100

Gatineau Park which is under control of Ottawa District Commission. There is no National Park in Ontario. Officers of Commission urge that they could advantageously use a number of men. If carried out, they would operate under Dominion Dept. of Mines and Resources.

In summer camps	150	
In winter camps	None	
Summer Capacity	880	
Winter Capacity	300	Total per year 1180

11. Of the 165 Mennonites in Ontario, in the 21 year class, some will be weeded out through medical examination, and the Gatineau camp could handle them, and also Conscientious Objectors from Ontario. The three Conscientious Objectors from Quebec could go to the Gatineau camp.

12. There are 652 Mennonites in the 21 year class in Manitoba and of this number, the Board has only directed that 225 are to render alternative service by work. Only descendants of Mennonites who came to Canada in 1873 are postponed as Mennonites. Those who have come to Canada since, and known as the Russian Mennonites, are heard as Conscientious Objectors. In Manitoba, the Board has ruled against most of this class. Hence the above numbers. Manitoba camps can take care of Manitoba Mennonites and Conscientious Objectors.

13. The Prince Albert Park can take care of the Saskatchewan Mennonites and Conscientious Objectors in this age class. Jasper can look after Alberta, and Banff after British Columbia. Kootenay can be used in the winter time for the surplus.

14. The Cape Breton Park can take the fourteen from the Maritimes.

15. If this plan is approved, it will take care of the men in these three categories in the 21 year class, if and when they are called out for military training. We would only call them up for alternative service from time to time in numbers equivalent to camp capacity.

16. Based on these facts, the following recommendations are made:

(a) That alternative work service be required of Conscientious Objectors, Mennonites and Doukhobors who are postponed from military training for such period of time, not to exceed four months, as can best be arranged for, bearing in mind that work of this kind is seasonal.

(b) That because service is not continuous, these men be paid only 50¢ per man per day and be required to furnish their own clothing, Government to supply transportation to and from the job, board, lodging and equipment.

(c) That work to be done be type of work which otherwise would not be done, and thus not take jobs from men seeking same.

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(d) That all men including Doukhobors who fail to respond to call for work be penalized in some way, either by prosecution for failure, or in the alternative, internment.

(e) In the case of Doukhobors, attention is drawn to Section 14, subsection (j) of the Dominion Election Act, 1938, which reads as follows:

> "The following persons are disqualified from voting at an election and incapable of being registered as electors and shall not vote nor be so registered, that is to say:
>
> (j) In any Province, every person exempted or entitled to claim exemption or who on production of any certificate might have become or would now be entitled to claim exemption from military service by reason of the Order in Council of December 6, 1898, because the doctrines of his religion make him averse to bearing arms and who by the law of that Province is disqualified from voting at an election of a Member of the Legislative Assembly of that Province."

The Election Act of British Columbia being Chapter 16, Revised Statutes of British Columbia, 1939, Section 6, Subsection (2), reads as follows:-

> "The following persons shall be disqualified from voting at any election (b) every man who has been granted a certificate of exemption from military service of from combatant service pursuant to Section 11 of the Military Service Act of 1917, being Chapter 19 of the Statutes of Canada for 1917, or in part, on conscientious grounds within the meaning of that Section, or who while on active service, has obtained exemption from combatant service on like grounds (but the provision of this Subsection shall not apply to any person who performed military duty on active service in the Great War in any theatre of actual war and is held on the strength of any unit or has been honorably discharged from service)."

It is therefore recommended in the case of the Doukhobors, that provision be made by our Regulations, under the War Measures Act, to take away from any Conscientious Objector, Mennonite or Doukhobor who fails to report for alternative work as directed by the Board, the right to vote in any Dominion Election, and that those from whom this privilege is withdrawn, should be those who have been certified by a National War Services Board to have been called out to render alternative service and who have failed to answer that call. We could suggest to the Provinces that they enact supplementary legislation, withdrawing the Provincial franchise in these cases.

If this is to be the penalty for failure to render alternative work on the part of the Doukhobor, then we would recommend that, as the Doukhobor has already had his franchise, both in the Dominion and Provincial field, taken away from him in the Province of British Columbia, that the Doukhobor in that Province be not asked to render any alternative service.

The Doukhobors of Saskatchewan are now operating on an individual basis as the Doukhobor community has been disorganized there. In British Columbia, they are still operating on a community basis. In Saskatchewan, they are much more amenable to regulation than they are in British Columbia, and if we have any trouble with the Doukhobors, it will be in British Columbia. If we adopt this criterion of penalty, then it will justify us in

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doing nothing with the Doukhobors in British Columbia and avoiding trouble there.

In British Columbia, by Federal and Provincial law, it has been provided that the rights of citizenship of the Doukhobor who claims postponement from military service, have been taken away, and having created this condition, it is doubtful if the Government would be justified in asking a Doukhobor to do alternative service who has been already penalized by withholding his rights of citizenship.

(f) That the funds necessary to carry out these schemes, be forthwith appropriated under the War Appropriation Act. The estimated cost for 1941, in respect to the 21 year class, would be from $450,000. to $500,000.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

L. R. LaFlèche,
Associate Deputy Minister.

T.C. Davis,
Associate Deputy Minister.

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C243718

MENNONITES, DOUKHOBORS AND OTHER CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

21 to 24 year-old age groups (as recorded to date)

Administrative Division	Ontario "A"				Ontario "B"				Ontario "C"				Ontario "D"				Quebec "E"				Quebec "F"			
	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24
Mennonites	138	82	64	27	26	39	19	10	1					1	1			0				0		
Doukhobors		0			1		1			0				0				0				0		
Other Conscientious Objectors	2	1				162			6	3		1		5			5	6	12	5		4		
Sub-Total		314				258				11				7				28				4		

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C243711

MENNONITES, DOUKHOBORS AND OTHER CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

21 to 24 year-old age groups (as recorded to date)

Administrative Division	Nova Scotia "G"				New Brunswick "H"				P.E. I. "I"				Manitoba "J"				B. C. "K"				Saskatchewan "M"				Alberta "N"				TOTAL
	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	
Mennonites	0				0				0				652	267	204	159	69	22	16	15	291	51	2	68	100	63	35	28	2450
Doukhobors	0				0				0				3				131	57	33	30	125	66	53	35	12	5	3	3	558
Other C. Objectors	12				7				2				310				96				167				216				1022
Sub-Total	12				7				2				1595				469				858				465				4030

TOTAL: 4030

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C243711

MENNONITES, DOUKHOBORS AND OTHER CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

21 to 24 year-old age groups (as recorded to date)

Administrative Division	Nova Scotia "G"				New Brunswick "H"				P.E. I. "I"				Manitoba "J"				B. C. "K"				Saskatchewan "M"				Alberta "N"				TOTAL
	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	21	22	23	24	
Mennonites	0				0				0				652	267	204	159	69	22	16	15	291	51	2	68	100	63	35	28	2450
Doukhobors	0				0				0				3				131	57	33	30	125	66	53	35	12	5	3	3	558
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Sub-Total	12				7				2				1595				469				858				465				4030

TOTAL: 4030

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NRMA 2

WJT/MDS/MS
24.11.41

C243712

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Mr. Winkler visited me before leaving Ottawa to discuss the Mennonite question.

He states that there is by no means a unanimity of opinion among the Mennonites in regard to the degree of participation in war work. The more conservative element do not wish to carry on any activity which could be construed as directly assisting the war effort, but the majority, and especially the younger people, simply draw the line at bearing arms. At the present time about 100 of them have been either sent to jail for failure to report to camps or, on reporting to military camps, are subjected to increasingly severe disciplinary action on each occasion when they refused to actually bear arms.

Mr. Winkler feels that increasing ill-feeling is likely to develop between the Mennonites and Non-Mennonites in the community, and suggests that the government should establish labour battalions for these people and other conscientious objectors, these labour battalions to be kept in camps under discipline as rigid as that of military units, and to be given fairly arduous work, such as, road building or other essential work from which men have been drawn for military service or war industry. Mr. Winkler feels that while there will be some objection to this on the part of a few Mennonites, the majority would favour it and in the long run it would allay rising ill-feeling which is contributing to the demand for conscription. The practice of sending Mennonites to do work in National Parks during the summer months is considered to be worse than useless because they return to their homes in the Fall and the communities generally regard such a venture as in the nature of a summer holiday for the men concerned.

W. J. T.

agricultural "stock troops" is worth suggesting.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER WJT/MDS

MEMORANDUM for Laurier House: C243713

Mr. King has written on one or two occasions to a W. T. House of 98 Scarboro Beach Boulevard, Toronto. This man has been connected with the outlawed organization "Technocracy, Inc." and simply uses the Prime Minister's letter as ammunition for a campaign to reinstate these people. He addresses his letters to Laurier House. I would suggest that any further ones which come be sent to me at the East Block.

Letters also reach Mr. King at Laurier House from a Warren Prosser of Toronto, usually written in a long envelope of the Royal York Hotel in Toronto, typewritten addressed to Laurier House. These, too, should be diverted. The man is a crank, and while Mr. King thinks the police should be asked to check up on his activities I think he is a mental case.

Read ~~2nd~~ 17.3. M.C.

March 13th, 1942. W. J. T.

Sec. D.M.R.

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C243714 N·505-4-M (Confl) 1942

Confidential

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re Conscientious objectors to military service.

Attached are petitions from the students at the Universities of Manitoba and Saskatchewan regarding the status of students who are conscientious objectors. The petitions allege that, in order to be recognized as "students" under the war services regulations, Mennonites, Doukhobors, etc. are obliged to waive their rights as conscientious objectors.

If true, this would appear to be a serious breach of faith. Alternative service is provided for C.O's under the regulations. It would seem only fair to give postponements of alternative service to students on the same basis and conditions as students are given postponement of military service.

The third letter asks for recognition of the Plymouth Brethren as conscientious objectors liable for alternative service.

The good name of Canada and the reputation of the government for good faith are involved in a strict adherence to the high principles set forth by the Prime Minister when the Mobilization Act was introduced and frequently since. (see attached copy of letter to Mr. Robert Gardiner).

The petitions from the university students at least suggest that there may be a departure from these principles in actual practice.

These communications might provide an occasion for a review by the War Committee of the whole question of conscientious objectors and alternative service. It is at least questionable whether the present form of alternative service constitutes the best way of using the available manpower from this source.

Alternatively a letter might be drafted to Mr. Mitchell transmitting the petitions and asking for a report on the whole question for consideration by the War Committee or the Cabinet.

J.W.P.

Send on to Min. Hemp for War Committee

12th December, 1942. 19-XII-42 (J. W. Pedneaud)

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ADPH for Council

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C243715

N-3 05-11-M1
194-
Chief)

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The attached letter from Mr. Howard Winkler, M.P., regarding conscientious objectors and alternative service, makes the same suggestion as was made in the memorandum I sent you on December 12th. From a number of sources I have heard that this whole question stands in need of careful review.

If you approve, a letter could be drafted to Mr. Mitchell, asking him to have the officers of his department prepare a report on the situation, for consideration by the War Committee.

J. W. P.
(J. W. Pickersgill)

December 17, 1942.

Please
Send this memo
on & this memo
(Letter) to Council
19-XII-42

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C243716

House of Commons
Canada

Norden. Manitoba
December 10. 1942

Rt. Honorable W.L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister.
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. King:

I think the situation of conscientious objectors in the forestry camps in British Columbia deserves to be brought to your attention. Such men as Judge Adamson and Hon. J.L. Bowman have told me it is wasted and misdirected effort. There may have been a time when placing these men in these camps was important. But on all sides I am told this importance has disappeared.

Amongst other things the fuel and the lumbering situation in our own province could be considered as alternative suggestions. Agriculture in Manitoba is already short-handed.

The men in the camps themselves though physically content feel that they are wasting their time so far as a national effort is concerned.

I believe the matter should be reviewed.

Yours truly
H. Ed. Seaborn

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N1305-4-M
1943 (Long.)

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

JWP/PM
19.12.42

C243717

For the Prime Minister

Re: Conscientious Objectors

-- Attached is a draft letter to Mr. Mitchell. The original letter from Mr. Winkler has been sent to Mr. Heeney for the War Committee, in accordance with directions.

J. W. P

Letter to Mr. Mitchell signed by PM

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C243713

N·305-4-11

1942

(Box 1)

Ottawa, December 19, 1942

Honourable Humphrey Mitchell, M. P.,
Minister of Labour,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Mitchell: Re: Conscientious Objectors to Military Service.

I have recently received a number of communications on various aspects of the problem of conscientious objectors to military service, including a letter from Mr. Howard Winkler, of which a copy is attached, together with my reply.

You will observe that I have undertaken to see that the whole question is reviewed by the War Committee of the Cabinet. Before going into the matter, I think it would be desirable to have a report from the officers of your department on the following points:

1. What the existing regulations are;

2. Whether the present form of alternative service for conscientious objectors is the most satisfactory method of using the available manpower;

3. What proposals, if any, should be considered for improving alternative service;

4. Whether conscientious objectors are granted postponemtns from alternative service on precisely the same basis as others are granted postponements from military service, and, if not, why not.
(This point has been raised particularly in connection with university students who claim to have been discriminated against in the matter of postponements because of being conscientious objectors).

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5. Whether there is any possibility of economic advantage to conscientious objectors arising out of a recognition of their status;

6. Whether, in practice, the regulations are uniformly applied by all National War Services Boards.

There may well be other aspects of the matter which you or the officers of your department may wish to bring to the attention of the War Committee when the matter is being reviewed.

I should be obliged if the report could be prepared at as early a date as possible so that there may be no undue delay in reviewing the whole problem.

Yours sincerely,

W. L. Mackenzie King

JWP/PM

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C243720

W.304-1
1943

JWP/PM
11.2.43

(Feb 11/43.)

Confidential

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Re: Conscientious Objectors

The proposals in the memorandum of the Director of Selective Service for improving alternative service of conscientious objectors appear to open the way to a marked improvement in this form of service.

Mr. Mitchell's letter indicates that there is definite discrimination against students in the universities who are conscientious objectors. It would seem that if higher education will fit students for greater national service, some form of alternative service might be devised for conscientious objectors which could be carried on at the Universities in place of military training. Moreover, it is clear that there is not at present uniformity of treatment in the different provinces.

As this report was requested for the War Committee, it might be considered desirable to raise the question of having the discrimination removed if the matter is deemed to have sufficient importance.

J. W. P.

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Mr Ickersgill

Confidential

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

Mr. Winkler spoke to me about the attached letter. He said he had seen you about its representations, but felt it might strengthen your hand to have his views in writing.

I am sure there is no one in Western Canada who understands the Mennonite situation more thoroughly than Mr. Winkler. Moreover, he is a veteran of the last war and his support of the war effort is above question. I doubt if anyone else is as well qualified to advise the Department of Labour on amendments to the regulations. Unless this matter is carefully handled it is certain to lead to social and racial difficulties which cannot fail to have the most unfortunate political repercussions.

J.W.P.

17th March, 1943.

Letter sent to Mr Greene.
Seen to Minister of Labour.
March 20/43. 11.30 am.

Letter Returned

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Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re Doukhobors called up for military service.

Attached is the latest of a series of representations from the Named Doukhobors of Canada, at Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

It seems that this particular sect of Doukhobors object to taking the medical examination which is part of the mobilization process. The procedure under the Regulations is that when a call is sent out, the man who receives it must first take a medical examination, and then apply for postponement if he wishes to do so. No doubt this procedure has the advantage in ordinary cases of saving the Boards from considering applications for postponements from medically unfit men, who would not be taken into the armed forces in any case.

However, as Doukhobors and other conscientious objectors are entitled to postponement under the Regulations, it is hard to see why the Regulations could not be made flexible enough to permit them to apply for postponement without having to take the medical examination. Not only would this procedure remove a source of irritation and of non-compliance with the law, but it would presumably save the time of medical men who are in short supply, particularly in rural areas where practically all Doukhobors and the great majority of conscientious objectors reside.

If you approve, I could draft a letter to the Minister of Labour for your signature, suggesting that immediate consideration be given to amending the Regulations in this sense.

J

7th September, 1943.

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C243723

CONSCRIPTION

Topical Summary of Arguments
raised in the Press and in Correspondence

1. Essential to an "All-out" War Effort.

2. Emphasis on Army Should be Avoided.

3. Farm Labour and Conscription.

4. Why Should Overseas Service Alone Be Voluntary?

5. "Overseas Conscription" not Essential to Selective Service.

6. Voluntary System a Failure.

7. Volunteers are Better Soldiers.

8. Equality of Sacrifice.

9. Compulsory Recruitment is More Efficient.

10. The Only "Democratic" System.

11. National Unity.

12. A Political Issue.

13. A Referendum.

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14. The Imperialist Campaign.

15. Local Option for Quebec.

16. Hon. Adelard Godbout's Position.

17. C.C.F. Policy.

18. Lack of Conscription Helps U.S. Isolationists.

19. Preparation Necessary for Conscription.

20. Analogy with Compulsory Payment of Taxes.

21. Pledges re Declaration of War and Conscription.

22. Compulsory Service for Home Defence Unrealistic.

23. Conscription Essential to National Prestige.

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Essential to an "All-out" War Effort

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C243726

ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT

"Without conscription we cannot have true national service, without national service we cannot have an all-out war effort and without an all-out war effort we cannot pull our full weight in the war. That is why conscription must come and is coming."

(Western Producer quoted by Ottawa Morning Citizen, November 11, 1941)

Compulsory service overseas is another matter. Those who urge it in the interests of our war effort and not for political ends, do so, no doubt, in the belief that it is the only way to secure an all-out war effort. The spirit and the purpose may be commendable, but the advocacy, at the present time, of immediate conscription for overseas service is ill-advised. It assumes that there is clear, unquestionable need now at the fighting front for every possible man that Canada can put in uniform. No decisions have yet been made by authorities who are responsible for the war effort that would justify that assumption."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November ~~4~~ 19, 1941)

"Army volunteers are not coming forward, and that is the reason why some system of selective compulsory service must be adopted at once. Our slender resources in man power must be fully utilized for the war effort, both industrial and armed, if we are to win and to win quickly."

(Financial Post, December 6, 1941)

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ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT

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ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT (Cont'd)

"The issue to be faced by the Dominion Government is right in front of it. There is little time to decide whether it will participate in the war on the same basis as the other nations, or continue as a limited partner, with its own political hide a chief concern. Its anomalous position is not hidden from any one, foe or friend. It protests that it is making an all-out effort, but leaves it to the individual to volunteer for active service where this will count for victory."

(Toronto Globe & Mail, Dec. 23, 1941)

"The vital question is not, of course, whether or not overseas conscription should be adopted but how Canada can most effectively achieve and maintain maximum striking strength. If it can be shown that this can best be done by extension of our present system of compulsory service, then there should be no hesitancy about doing it. But if on the other hand it appears likely that such a move would involve dislocation to the extent that our general effort would be retarded rather than accelerated, weakened rather than strengthened, then obviously we should proceed with great care."

.....

"To make a false step at this crucial stage of our war effort would be disastrous. We must first of all make sure that we are right and then proceed to carry out whatever decisions are reached in the way best calculated to bring about the desired result."

(Regina Leader-Post, Dec. 3, 1941)

"If I were convinced that conscription of men for overseas service was the best contribution Canada could make to win the war, I would be for it, as I was for it in 1917. But I do not believe that it is.

"It was wrong to try to judge the size of a country's war effort by the number of men it had in uniform. It was recalled that in the conference with British and American

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ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT (Cont'd)

representatives, Joseph Stalin made an urgent appeal not for men, but for tanks and planes. Only this week there was criticism in Australia because Britain had not provided Singapore with sufficient aircraft and as a result lost the Prince of Wales and Repulse.

"The Canadian Legion had asked for an army of 40 divisions. With this he disagreed. It is no use putting a huge army in Britain for some future war on the continent if it means that in the meantime we cannot give Britain the supplies that are as vital to the winning of the war as men in uniform.

"Whatever you do, don't overlook the supreme importance of equipment. I don't care if I am driven from public office tomorrow, I am going to say this emphatically tonight.

"To put 40 divisions inthe field would take 1,000,000 or more men out of production. The greatest need in Canada today was for more and still more metals of all kinds. He recalled that in 1914 Canada produced no metal. Today it was producing enormous quantities and was expanding production in all directions."

(Hon. T. A. Crerar as reported in Winnipeg Free Press, Dec. 20, 1941)

"The University of Chicago Round Table which is so widely listened to, dealt yesterday with the question of selective service for war purposes which has become as urgent a question in the United States as it is in Canada. General Hershey, who is the head of the Government Board which directs the selective draft for the United States, made some statements that had considerable bearing upon the discussion that is going on in Canada. He dealt for instance with the much-debated question of the number of non-combatant workers and administrators who, in war as it is waged today, have to serve the fighters in the field. The General said that in the American civil war one civilian to one soldier was the ratio; in the First Great War this rose to five to one; in the war of today the ratio, at the minimum calculation was fourteen to one. That is to say, there could not be a fewer number than fourteen; it might be necessary to have more.

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ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT (Cont'd)

"These are figures that cannot be ignored in fact, but they can apparently be overlooked in argument. What do they do to the orators and the newspapers that demand, often in accents of hysteria, a fighting army for Canada of a million men? They make the whole contention meaningless.

"These figures are limited to the civilian support which a country must give to its own army in the field. They take no cognizance of the manpower that is required for the production of weapons and war supplies that a country may produce, not for its own army, but for the armies of it allies. If fourteen to one is the ratio in Canada and the United States for their own armies, what addition to the fourteen suppliers must be added to provide for the production of the war material that these countries are supplying to the British countries, to Russia and to China? Plainly the proportion has to be raised to provide for the production of airplanes, metals, ships, tanks, lumber, motorized vehicles, guns, not to mention such an essential article as food which also calls for manpower on a large scale for its production.

Honest consideration of these facts of course disposes of the hysterical outcry which is raised that anyone who is not in favor of an overseas army, which is far beyond the possibilities of the ratio, is seeking to prevent Canada from making her maximum effort. That is why there is a resort to abuse, denunciations, insinuations and mendacities whenever the attention of the public is directed towards these facts and consideration of them is suggested."

(Winnipeg Free Press, Dec. 22, 1941)

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C243730

Emphasis on Army Should be Avoided

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EMPHASIS ON ARMY SHOULD BE AVOIDED

C243731

"There are too many advocates of conscription in this country who are living the last war over again, when all that Canada needed was to reinforce its infantry divisions on the western front. Today the scene has greatly changed. We not only need an army, our navy grows rapidly, the demands of the air force will prove to be insatiable as the projected expansion of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan shows. There is in addition the extreme need of men in war industry, in our munitions plants, in our shipbuilding yards, and in agriculture.

"If we need conscription we need it to be applied all down the line, applied as scientifically as possible in the light of a broad plan which will take all our manpower needs into account."

(Winnipeg Free Press, July 22, 1941)

"What is needed much more than the conscription of men now being blindly advocated in many quarters in Canada is the immediate establishment of priorities in the use of our now rapidly dwindling unemployed resources in both men and material for war. Already, as was pointed out in this column yesterday, more than 40 per cent of the national income is being applied to the war effort. The remaining margin that can be harnessed to war is an additional 10 or 15 per cent at the very most. But it is likely that more organization will be needed to employ that margin than has been needed up to now and that more difficulties will be encountered in making that margin effective.

"If, as a result of public pressure, conscription becomes politically essential, there is a good chance that our additional effort may not be directed into the channels that are most valuable for victory. It is much easier in war to do unwise things than to be wise. Hence we should have with as little delay as possible the lay-down of some kind of plan which would direct our still unemployed resources to the most effective ends.

"A good part of the present agitation in Canada, the visible token of which is the conscription drive, is due to the belief that our resources in men and material are limitless. This is not so. There are only so many men and so many machines and so much material available to us for immediate use. Those totals can be increased in time, but only if certain resources now employed in current production are diverted to capital expenditure; and in war it is always

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EMPHASIS ON ARMY SHOULD BE AVOIDED (Cont'd) C243732

a nice question whether the urgencies of the present should be to some extent sacrificed to the needs of the future."

(Winnipeg Free Press, August 5, 1941)

""Therefore we, the Manitoba Federation of Agriculture, ask the Dominion Government that in the event of conscription of manpower, we also have national conscription in Canada of wealth and natural resources."

"Therefore be it resolved that the Government of Canada should forthwith seek to strike a balance between enlistments in the armed forces, movement of men from agricultural to industrial areas, and employment of men in unessential industries."

(Extracts from Resolutions of the Directors, Manitoba Federation of Agriculture, November, 1941)

"So great is the demand for labor and materials that two men must go into war industries for every man who goes into the armed forces. And on top of our own armament requirements we are committed to the manufacture of enormous supplies for Britain and are even going to ship some armaments to Russia.

"The question posed by these facts is simply this: How many men can we afford to put into our armed forces and how many must we reserve for our war industries? It is the basic question in our whole war program. It is the question which most Canadians refuse to face when they talk about conscription for war service as if our problem could be solved by building up a few more infantry divisions. It is the question which the government itself has not yet faced. But soon it must draw a line.

(Vancouver,Sun, November 24, 1941)

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EMPHASIS ON ARMY SHOULD BE AVOIDED (CONT'D)

"Serious, but not necessarily alarming, is the situation outlined by Prime Minister Churchill, which has led to the decision in Great Britain to widen the basis of compulsory service.

.....

"It is well to study carefully what the Prime Minister proposes. There will be those in this country who will seize on it as a prop for the argument in favor of conscription. They will glibly talk of Britain's dire need for soldiers, while we continue to depend on voluntary enlistment.

"Mr. Churchill, however, was not simply telling the people that more men are needed in the Army.

.....

"Some of them, it is true, are to go into the Army. The needs which Mr. Churchill mentioned, however, also included the staffing of new factories, particularly for the supplying of material to Russia, and the maintenance of the civilian defence of Britain. To say that the Old Land has been brought to the desperate pass of putting her "old men" into uniform would be to draw an entirely distorted picture of the situation."

(Windsor Star, Dec. 3, 1941)

"Compulsory war service within Canada is likely to be supplemented by compulsory war industry service and agricultural service. Expanding production calls for augmented staffs in war factories. Agriculture, which is also a war industry, has suffered through the enlistment of agricultural labour in military forces and industrial forces, and must be provided with additional manpower and womanpower."

"Direction must be given to manpower, by some means or other if industry, including agriculture, is to meet the requirements of this war."

"Whatever the cost may be, Canada must devote her industrial strength to the production of war mechanisms. There will be smaller supplies of consumer goods, but the price of them will be under government control."

(Toronto Star, December 5, 1941)

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EMPHASIS ON ARMY SHOULD BE AVOIDED (Cont'd)

"There is so much hypocrisy about the conscription cry, it is laughable. The Globe thinks it was proper to delete the references to industry, wealth and natural resources. (That might have been a hint to the Dominion Government to take over the gold mines and operate them.)

If this war goes on, we will have conscription in Canada. That is an accepted fact and the Dominion Government will have to bring in conscription legislation, if men can be secured in no other way.

But, let's be sensible about it. If the Government is going to go to a young man and tell him he must don a uniform and go and fight, then surely that young man has a right to expect that the Government will also go to each individual and each industry and say these services are also needed. The hypocrisy of conscription is that so many think the only thing the Government should do is conscript men to send them to battle."

(Windsor Star, December 19, 1941)

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C243735

Farm Labour and Conscription

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FARM LABOUR AND CONSCRIPTION

C243736

"The common sense method would be to exempt from military training those young men who are really needed on farms and in other occupations similarly important in relation to war production. Even under conscription for overseas, as in the last war, that exemption would be provided for as long as feasible. In this war, we have so far no conscription for overseas, yet we have one of the most illogical and distasteful features of conscription in that young farmers are being taken from their work with precisely the same effect."

(Woodstock Sentinel-Review, July 8, 1941)

Adoption of a national selective service plan under which agriculture would be recognized as a war industry was generally approved by a farm labour conference at Queens Park, according to the Globe and Mail of November 29, 1941.

"A large number of men have already left the farms for the war industries or to enlist in the armed forces, and one of the things the Government must determine is the number of men to be retained in agriculture in different parts of the country to maintain food production for our own and Britain's needs."

"The Government will no doubt obtain the facts as nearly as possible in regard to all the men who have left the land, and the effect in different parts of the country, as a guide to the retention of the necessary manpower in food production."

(Winnipeg Free Press, December 5, 1941)

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C243707

FARM LABOUR AND CONSCRIPTION (Cont'd)

"The government must see that labor is available to the farmer even if it has to provide that labor by compulsion. If able-bodied boys are taken from the farms for the army they must be replaced by men of non-military age or by women. It may well be that the first need of conscription is not in overseas service, for which thousands of men are volunteering, but on the farm, where most men do not wish to go. By conscription or otherwise we must mobilize the soldiers of the soil before spring."

(Vancouver Sun, December 12, 1941)

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C243738

Why Should Overseas Service
Alone Be Voluntary?

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WHY SHOULD OVERSEAS SERVICE ALONE BE VOLUNTARY C243739

"The principle of conscription has been recognized by our Government in the mobilization of our economic resources, in the control of our industrial structure, in the levying of high taxation on income, in the control of our currency, in the limitation of our travel to the confines of our own frontiers, and, more recently, in the freezing of price and wage levels. Why should this principle not be extended to the most vital of all our assets, to the greatest contributing factor in this war--our manpower?"

(J. S. Duncan quoted in Ottawa Morning Journal, November 3, 1941)

"Recognizing the dangers to national unity involved due to the record of the past quarter-century, I am convinced there are better ways of approaching the problem than in parliamentary debate and on the political hustings.

"Latest news advices from Ottawa indicate that early, vigorous steps will be taken to mobilize manpower and womanpower of the nation in the war effort. This implies compulsory selective service, and the Government is well advised to press this policy without delay. If recruiting of voluntary enlistment for active service in the armed forces is pressed forward at the same time leading military authorities are agreed that there will be no shortage of men coming forward to fill the ranks of the fighting forces."

(Letter by E. S. Bates in Montreal Herald, November 18, 1941)

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"Overseas Conscription" not Essential to Selective Service.

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"OVERSEAS CONSCRIPTION" NOT ESSENTIAL TO SELECTIVE SERVICE

"The demand for national selective service which is being made in some quarters is a disguised demand for compulsory service overseas, since the Government is already fully authorized to establish selective service within Canada by the National Resources Mobilization Act of last year. This is a fact of which the public does not seem to be fully aware. There is no basis whatever for the assertion being constantly made that there can be no selective control over available manpower in Canada until Canada takes power to conscript men for overseas service. This is a falsehood which is being widely spread for the purpose of misleading the public."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 19, 1941)

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Voluntary System a Failure

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VOLUNTARY SYSTEM A FAILURE

"So far, Mr. Ralston has not faced the issue as to how the growing and imperious need for manpower is to be met; how the proper division is to be made between the three services, and of equal importance, between those services and the war factories.

"Mr. King has been wholly silent.

"From an increasing number of Canadians of all classes comes the demand for 'compulsory selective service.'

"What does that phrase mean?

"The implication, over and over again, by those who use it, is that the government must accept responsibility for allocation of the nation's manpower for whatever tasks are necessary to win the war. It is not just a case of telling a man he must shoulder a rifle. Actually, the authorities must decide how the services of every man, and woman too, must best be utilized in winning the war. It may be in the armed services at home or overseas, it may be in the factory, it may be serving in some humble capacity at home.

"This clearly is the issue that must be faced and faced without delay. Instead of meeting the challenge, too many of our leaders have remained silent or have tried to confuse the issue. Party leaders, both in government and opposition, have raised the bogey of 'conscription,' have nurtured and coddled the old feeling of 1917.

"There are those both in and out of parliament who have urged time and again the responsibility of political leaders to prepare Canadians for the day when inevitable compulsory service might be necessary. This has not been done. As a result the nation today faces a crisis and one that may grow desperate overnight, with a sudden change in the international situation.

"After more than two years of war we are still not fully mobilized; still not prepared to take full advantage of any new opportunities; still not prepared to combat any sudden onslaught."

(Financial Post, November 15, 1941)

"The possibilities of voluntary enlistment are not by any means exhausted, as some seem to think, and the opinion that we should provide the largest possible force that can be drawn from our available manpower for overseas forthwith is not supported by declaration as to need from responsible quarters."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 17, 1941)

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VOLUNTARY SYSTEM A FAILURE (Cont'd) C243744

"Permit me to assure you once more that the desires outlined above are not the thoughts of political enemies. So far as the war is concerned you have no political enemies. There is nevertheless a profound conviction among men and women throughout the land that Canada is not doing her full duty in this struggle for freedom. They want you to know that they will back you to the point of any sacrifice. They agree with you that there is no nobler cause than a "call to arms" for one's country. It is a simple truth, however, that if the soldiers of the Empire were all permitted to man the second line of defence they would but await their doom. We want fighting soldiers, Mr. King, and if there are those who do not see the path of duty we Canadians look to you to show them the path."

(Open Letter from Brig.-Gen. J.A. Clark, Vancouver, July 2, 1941)

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Volunteers are Better Soldiers

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VOLUNTEERS ARE BETTER SOLDIERS

C243746

"When we meet the Germans we will need a good army, the best we can create. At least this much can be said for our voluntary system, man for man Germany will have nothing to compare with our force comprised of men who have offered their services without compulsion in the fight for freedom."

(Prince Albert Herald, November 15, 1941)

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Equality of Sacrifice

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EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE

C243748

"To veterans of the first Great War conscription is the only way the problem of manpower can be satisfactorily solved, and it is the only democratic way because, properly administered, it gives that equality of sacrifice which is completely missing from our present system.

"And when the Legion talks about conscription it means for service at ... the front line of the British commonwealth, wherever it may be."

(Alex. Walker, Dom. President, Canadian Legion at Wetaskiwin, Alta., Calgary Herald, October 14, 1941)

"This matter of conscription raises the question of equality of sacrifice and we know that in conscription those fit to go overseas would go while the unfit would stay home and make their ninety cents an hour, so there you have the question of equality of sacrifice. Even selective conscription does not mean equality of sacrifice. The problem is how to provide enough men and at the same time have this equality."

(W. A. Fraser, M.P., at Cobourg, reported in Toronto Telegram, November 13, 1941.)

"Selective compulsory service, if it means anything at all, means that everybody has to do the job for which he or she is best suited in an economic structure entirely designed for efficiency in war. In such a system it is impossible to think of compelling one man to risk his life for $1.25 a day and another man to work in a well ventilated and comfortable factory for, say, $5 a day or whatever better rate his union may have managed to extract from a harassed management."

(Saturday Night, November 22, 1941)

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EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE (Cont'd)

"We view with alarm the policy of begging man by man for recruits regardless of whether they are married, with children and business responsibilities, while young men without responsibilities are encouraged in the belief that their duty takes them no further than a second line of defence in Canada. Nor do we lose sight of the fact that there are those less worthy citizens who will not do their duty except through compulsion and who will be glad of the opportunity of establishing themselves in Canada at the expense of those who give their services voluntarily."

(Open Letter from Brig.-Gen. J.A. Clark, Vancouver, July 2, 1941)

"... As long as Canada retains compulsory service for her own shores and limits service abroad to volunteers there cannot be the equality of sacrifice with other nations.

This acceptance of limited liability is discreditable to the country in so many respects that it must be removed. The Government has built up its own case and should be the authority to tear it down. But will it?"

(Toronto Globe & Mail, Dec. 20, 1941)

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Compulsory Recruitment is More Efficient

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C243751

COMPULSORY RECRUITMENT IS MORE EFFICIENT

"As for conscription, there is a good deal of confusion. Because recruiting is slow there are many who seem to believe that that is the one and only reason for supporting compulsory military service in some form. The lack of sufficient men would, of course, be the one unanswerable argument for conscription. But it is not by any means the only one. Even if men were coming forward in ample volume by the voluntary method conscription would still be the only efficient, fair and democratic method of recruiting the fighting services in an all-out war for survival."

(Western Producer, reprinted by
Ottawa Citizen, November 11, 1941)

"In theory, the case for conscription, is perhaps unanswerable, but we do not live in a world of theory, but in a very practical one where the best policy to adopt by any government is the one which works best and not the one that works best on paper."

(Huron Expositor, July 18, 1941)

"Amid all the clamor for an immediate resort to conscription, whatever that term may mean to its proponents, the discussion of the question by Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services, should clear the air considerably. He demonstrates that he has been thinking about the matter, and presumably the Government has also been giving the subject consideration, but from the thoughtful, practical viewpoint, and not swayed by emotionalism.

.....

"Those who want the Government to plunge into this method of raising men will find it difficult to answer Mr. Thorson's argument, for instance, that men cannot be drafted as fliers.

.....

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COMPULSORY RECRUITMENT IS MORE EFFICIENT (Cont'd.)

"As to the Navy, Mr. Thorson says the number of volunteers exceeds the requirements, so the matter is settled in respect to that service.

"What, then, of the Army? More and more, it is becoming an Army of specialists. The call for highly trained technical men, or those with special capabilities for training, is constantly being intensified. It is simply beyond reason to suggest that men be picked up haphazardly and attempts made to fit them, regardless of their qualifications, for such specialized employment.

"The conscriptionists, of course, will say that they advocate "selective" service. If that term means anything, it means that the best of our men shall be pressed into the armed services. In other words, the men best fitted for highly technical jobs are to be shoveled into the Army, leaving the misfits and the untrained to staff our vital industries.

"The time for that may come, but not until we are in much more desperate straits than at present."

(Windsor Star, Dec. 3, 1941)

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The Only "Democratic" System

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THE ONLY"DEMOCRATIC" SYSTEM C243754

Conscription, said Mr. Baxter, has been the biggest democratic influence in Britain in a decade, because "the duke's son and the butcher's son stand side by side in the ranks."
.....It is by no means uncommon for Canadians who have chosen to live in Britain to find that they cannot understand the complex social organization of that country ... Is Mr. Baxter a victim of the same complaint? Why else should he talk about duke's sons and butcher's sons to Canadians who are unlikely to be the former, and experience no sense of unworthiness if they are the latter?

(Toronto Saturday Night, Sept. 27, 1941)

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C243755

National Unity

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C243756

NATIONAL UNITY

"Conscription may have to come, may actually come, but it would be a mistake to bring it into effect until the nation as a whole is ready for it without harming the existing national unity. In wartime a balanced judgment is often lacking in our consideration of war issues; public opinion is easily stampeded. We oftentimes fail to think seriously whether the end in view is justified by the policies we advocate. In our view we would suffer more than benefit by introducing conscription at this moment. The break-up in national unity would provide fodder for the enemy. As the war progresses, events may develop to convert those now violently opposed to conscription. In the meantime it is best to leave well enough alone. We have Mr. Churchill's attitude in respect to Ireland, and the example of Australia to satisfy us that unity is preferable to policies that would create dissension and bitterness."

(Lethbridge Herald, July 8, 1941)

"If the voluntary system can raise the necessary forces everyone will be delighted, but there is a growing belief that this is not possible even if the present recruiting campaign has been successful. What then? Will Canada slacken her efforts?

"To argue that Canada is for making war resolutely and to the end with all her power and resources, and then to argue that conscription - if it should be the only way to keep our forces in the field at full force - would destroy national unity does not make sense. It is very evident that Mr. King, remembering the last war, fears Quebec. However, the people of Quebec have shown in this war that they are just as whole-heartedly behind the war effort as Ontario or any other part of Canada. If conscription is the only way that the war can be won, we believe that Quebec would support it just as loyally and just as patriotically as Ontario."

(London Free Press, July 15, 1941)

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NATIONAL UNITY (Continued) C243757

"Conscription, an issue fraught with the greatest degree of danger of any of the domestic issues that have faced us since war broke out, should not be faced until we know that the Allied plan of victory involves a drain upon our manpower which the voluntary system of recruiting fails to produce.

"Let us not have conscription of men until we know that they will be needed to spend usefully that additional 10 per cent of the national income that at present stands between our present war effort and what represents the theoretical maximum."

(Winnipeg Free Press, August 4, 1941)

"But the fact that Britain and New Zealand are the only empire countries with conscription for overseas service is hardly the determining factor in Canada. Each nation has its separate problems. For those who believe in the fairness of conscription, as The Star does, the question is whether the net effect of conscription upon Canada's war effort would be favorable or otherwise; whether conscription with a degree of national disunity would be greater than voluntary service plus the degree of national unity which now exists. This involves the question of how many more men voluntary service can raise, the question of how many conscription could raise, the question of how many can be drawn from agriculture and war industry, the question of how great the demand for manpower is likely to be in comparison with the demand for machine power, and finally the question of how widespread and dangerous the disunity consequent upon conscription would be."

(Toronto Star, September 25, 1941)

"There is nothing to be gained by minimizing the disunity it would create. On the other hand, if circumstances should arise in which a gain in desperately needed fighting manpower would more than offset the loss in national unity, and if it seemed likely that men could be secured more rapidly and in greater numbers by compulsion than by voluntary enlistment, conscription, always the fairest method, would become the most desirable method as well."

(Toronto Star, November 28, 1941)

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NATIONAL UNITY (Cont'd)

The New York Times of November 22, 1941, reported the Prime Minister of Australia as warning Parliament that no issue could be so ill-timed and detrimental to the unity of Australia as the demand for conscription for overseas service.

"When Mr. Menzies was directing Australia's war effort there was no suggestion that conscription was desirable; and the present Prime Minister, John Curtin, has made an explicit statement that removes all possibility of the issue of conscription arising at any time in the immediate future. The ground upon which Mr. Curtin based this issue was plainly stated; it would weaken the war effort by "splitting the country." To this view apparently all the political leaders in Australia are agreed."

(Winnipeg Free Press,
November 29, 1941)

"The peremptory demand which is being made in some quarters for immediate compulsion for overseas service is resulting in a serious division of opinion; and this division is not, as some appear to claim, limited to any particular section, either of the country or of the people. There is danger that the controversy will get out of hand and do serious injury to the national unity that has made possible those Canadian war activities that have attracted favorable attention throughout the non-Nazi world.

"When the situation is made clear and the needs are known, Canada will send overseas all the men that should be sent--preferably by voluntary action; but if necessary by compulsion. Let there be no mistake about that. This is Canada's war and the issue is life or death. Nothing will be allowed to stand in the way of the effort that is necessary to ensure victory."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 19, 1941)

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"If the urgency of an unmet need for more men overseas were at any time to outweigh the ill effects of compulsory service, such men as could be spared from war industry might have to be obtained by that means. It is the fair means, but those who suggest that it would not involve serious consequences are unfamiliar with what happened last time. There is no reason to think that the result would be otherwise today."

(Toronto Star, December 4, 1941)

"The question of whether or not Canada is ready for compulsory selective service for overseas duty is answered in the negative in today's release of the Gallup Poll of Canada, which appears elsewhere in this issue of The Herald.

.....

Had the vote on conscription for overseas service cut across provincial boundaries with each section of Canada voting approximately as the nation as a whole voted, the logical conclusion would have been that the time for conscription for overseas service was ripening, if it was not quite ripe yet. As it has turned out, the conclusion is that Canada is not yet ready for compulsory overseas service.

Canada is ready for the conscription of manpower for industry, farming and home defence, which is a long step--most of the way, in fact--toward the goal set by the advocates of all-out conscription. The Federal government has the nation behind it in its proposal to utilize the nation's human resources at home for the maximum effort possible of achievement by selective compulsory home service.

We must be content to creep before we can walk, and walk before we can run. We are now emerging from the creeping into the walking stage and could not be ready for the final one for at least two years."

(Prince Albert Herald, December 27, 1941)

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A Political Issue

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A POLITICAL ISSUE

C243761

"Political opponents of Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King think they have discovered a way to get him out of office. They are clamoring for immediate conscription."

(Windsor Star, July 4, 1941)

"Noting that The Star 'believes that conscription is the fairest way of raising men for overseas service,' the Stratford Beacon-Herald asks: 'then why keep on trying to justify the political manoeuvring which keeps this "fairest way" from being attained?' The answer is that 'political manoeuvring' does not describe the government's action in adhering to a pledge on which it was elected only a year and a quarter ago; and that the national disunity which conscription would involve must be considered as well as its fairness."

(Toronto Star, July 7, 1941)

""If we have a conscription election in Canada, there will be some fun deciding who is to lead the conscription party. Hon. R. B. Hanson thinks he is grooming himself for the job, but Hon. W. D. Herridge thinks he is the man for the post.

"Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King would take the wind out of their sails, if he moved for conscription, when the need is recognized."

(Windsor Star, August 11, 1941)

"Liberals pressed for Union Government and for conscription in the last war, but they were not alone. There are a great many Liberals of the same mind now, and again they are not alone. In 1917 they got what they wanted, and that history seems also likely to repeat itself, at least in so far as compulsory service is concerned."

(Montreal Gazette, October 30, 1941)

"If Mr. King could be convinced that conscription is the popular policy in Canada, he could come out in support of it and thus cut the ground from under Mr. Meighen's feet. The Conservatives would be left with little by way of an issue, except perhaps National Government, and they have had one unfortunate experience with that platform."

(Windsor Star, November 14, 1941)

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A POLITICAL ISSUE (Cont'd) C243762

"It is almost an open secret that our military experts are agreed that it will be impossible to maintain our fighting forces at the requisite strength without extending the principle of compulsion to overseas service, and not a few members of the King Cabinet and a substantial contingent of its Parliamentary supporters must by the exercise of their free judgment know in their hearts that such a move is inevitable if our solemn pledges are to be fulfilled. If they could escape from the shackles of partyism they would openly proclaim their honest views, and the scene at Ottawa would speedily change. If the House of Commons were allowed to function freely as the committee of the nation, we feel confident that there are enough honest-minded Liberals to ensure a transformation in the personnel of the Cabinet similar to that accomplished in Britain, without plunging the country into untimely political warfare. If such a deplorable outcome occurs, then partyism will bear the blame."

(Globe and Mail, November 15, 1941)

"Canada has undoubtedly done, and is now doing its part in this war and is shirking nothing. But agitation, purely political, has never ceased in certain quarters to compel the government to adopt conscription of manpower, mainly for its embarrassment and that of the premier in particular, because he maintains that his election last year with a following of 180 of 245 members of parliament was on his pledge that there would be no such conscription."

(Letter to the Editor, in Sarnia
Canadian Observer, November 15, 1941)

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A POLITICAL ISSUE (Cont'd) C243763

"If, therefore, the Government and Parliament are in agreement that a particular policy is necessary to the safety of the state, not only is an election not necessary but a resort to it could not but be injurious to the public interest.

An election could only be justified if a deadlock should develop in Parliament making definite action of any kind impossible. An election would then become a desperate but inescapable expedient. The probability that any such state of affairs will develop at Ottawa is so remote that it is hardly worth considering.

.....

The case against a referendum may not be quite so conclusive; but justification for such action does not readily emerge from consideration of the question. A referendum without a clear indication by the Government of the verdict that it desires is unthinkable. Eliminating this kind of a referendum, the necessity for any other kind of a referendum is certainly not immediately apparent.

The Free Press is here discussing the best means of dealing with a situation, should it emerge and demand action. The issue that could create this situation has not yet taken definite form; and the Government, by making use of powers and resources at its disposal, may prevent its emergence. This is much to be desired; since Canadians can put their time and energy to better purpose than squabbling over a difference of opinion as to policy which is not nearly so vital as the alarmists would like Canadians to think."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 25, 1941)

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A POLITICAL ISSUE (Continued) C243764

"Are all the fathers of fighting sons who sit on the Cabinet Council content to watch their bachelor Prime Minister play chess with the various political elements in Canada - sacrificing pawns to get bishops and carefully protecting his castles? A substantial proportion of the personnel of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan is composed of American citizens who will want to return to the United States. How are these to be replaced?

"We know that Mr. King is cooking up a new scheme for mobilizing manpower, a scheme which is designed to mollify the critical without offending those who oppose conscription. These hypocritical half-measures won't do. This is a world war which knows no boundaries or artificial divisions. We are fighting with Russians and Chinese, with Hindus, Cubans and Sudanese fuzzy-wuzzies. Posterity is not going to thank Mr. King for setting artificial boundaries to where a man may fight. British Columbia will not love Quebec the more for opposing a measure which would make the West Coast defenses more effective, and the Canadian unity which the Prime Minister considers it his first duty to preserve will crumble before his eyes.

"The time has come for plain speaking. It is neither patriotic nor democratic to sit in silence, while your chosen representatives compromise with principles and ignore an important body of public opinion. Party politics are bad enough in peacetime when the most serious question which Governments admit to their consideration is one of tariff policy or the distribution of taxing power. Mr. King's policy of leaving well enough alone may have something to commend it in time of peace, but he is no better fitted than Mr. Asquith was to lead a nation in peril and at war."

(Globe and Mail, December 10, 1941)

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A POLITICAL ISSUE (Cont'd)

"The only argument against compulsory selective service, anywhere on earth, is that the present Prime Minister has set his face against it, and promised certain of his followers that it will not be introduced under his leadership. Those followers control more than sixty seats in the House of Commons, and apparently this argument carries much more weight with the Government than all the cogent reasons why Canada should be at least as vigorous and wholehearted in the prosecution of the war as her new ally, the United States."

(Toronto Globe & Mail, Dec. 18, 1941)

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A Referendum

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A REFERENDUM

C243767

"The suggestion that such a question should be put to the people without leadership from those who are most aware of the world situation today and of what it is necessary that Canada shall do is unthinkable even from the King Government. No political leader worthy of the name could shirk his plain duty to take his stand and to do his best to carry his views into effect with the electors."

(Toronto Telegram, July 15, 1941)

"Apparently a majority of the daily newspapers of the Dominion are convinced that conscription for overseas service will be necessary in the not distant future, but it is by no means certain that the people themselves are overwhelmingly in favor of securing recruits by compulsion; and their verdict would be doubtful unless they were given the confidential information upon which to reach an intelligent decision."

.....

The Government at Ottawa has an overwhelming majority in Parliament and should have the courage to pronounce its policy without resort to the buck-passing device of a referendum."

(Globe and Mail, July 15, 1941)

"Should the time come when in the judgment of parliament voluntary enlistment will not secure the necessary number of men, the course is clear. In such circumstances, political honesty and democratic procedure demand that the matter be referred back to the electors."

(Edmonton Bulletin, November 15, 1941)

"It is suggested in some quarters that the King government was elected on the pledge of an all-out war effort, that it should therefore adopt conscription, and that it shows fear of the ballot box when it does not do so. Such an argument ignores the fact that the government was elected on a no-conscription pledge, and that, instead of fearing the ballot box, Mr. King has said that he will not adopt conscription unless the people by their ballots so decide. On the other hand, there is not much force in his argument that the people voted against conscription in 1940, for those who favored it at that time had no chance to express their wishes at the polls in an election where both Liberal and Conservative leaders had declared against it."

(Toronto Star, November 21, 1941)

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"There was no question of a reference to the people when war was declared; yet Mr. King talks of consulting the people now before building up an army without which the already declared war cannot be waged successfully."

(Montreal Gazette, November 22, 1941)

"In the early days of the war both of our chief political parties pledged themselves to avoid conscription. We do not believe that there is any body of Canadians today who would demand that these pledges be maintained. Every Canadian must realize that these were promises given in different days, when it seemed that our part in this war would be to supply a token force and, for the rest, that we should devote ourselves to providing the munitions for the defensive war we imagined."

("Liberty" Magazine, December 6, 1941)

"If the Government, which must accept full responsibility for military policy, is agreed upon the course that ought to be followed and can command the support of Parliament, there is no need either for an election or referendum.

"This argument, we contend, holds good irrespective of the nature of the policy which the Government may pursue. It rests upon the firm unchallengeable foundation that the Parliament of Canada cannot be bound by anything which seeks to limit its power when the exercise of this power in a particular form is necessary for the effective protection of the country's highest interests and perhaps of its very existence."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 25, 1941)

"Before a Referendum is held it is the duty of those who are demanding it to explain clearly to the people of Canada just what they mean by "Conscription" with full details. How is the conscripting to be done? Who is going to make the decisions as to those who are to be conscripted and those who are not, and for what purposes they shall be conscripted? Who shall be liable to be conscripted? When

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A REFERENDUM (Cont'd.) C243769

it comes to Conscription, will any regard be paid to the numbers from some of the races in our country who have voluntarily enlisted, when deciding how many shall be conscripted further out of those races?

"Then, why do they want Conscription? Is it because we are short of manual labour in our war work of any kind? Or because we are short of men for our army, navy or air force? Or is it because men and women of certain races in our country are flagrantly failing to enlist for the various services and so are sending forth an undue proportion of the men and women of other races in our country into various war works or into the dangers of army, navy and air services?

"Compel those who are trying to make an issue out of Conscription to make known clearly, honestly and definitely the details of the Conscription they want and their reasons for it. They should not be allowed to get away with the glittering generality of the name or word "Conscription".

"I suggest that Conscription is a matter for the people to settle; and that your Government ought not to have the responsibility of settling this matter thrust upon you without a Referendum.

"This is no time to waste the energies of, or centre the attention of, your Government on the question of Conscription (whatever that means), or no-Conscription (whatever that means)."

(Letter from J. G. Harvey, K.C.,
Winnipeg, Nov. 25, 1941.)

"I feel that after promise given by you in March 1940 (that there would be no conscription) we - the people - are entitled to request a referendum on the question: Conscription or Not: Yes or No.

"I believe there are few, if any, who are opposed to conscription for Home Defence on any portion

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A REFERENDUM (Cont'd.)

of Canadian soil but conscription for invasion of other countries is totally different.

"We seem to be in grave danger of dictatorship by a "controlled" press which seeks to make it appear that the opinions of said Press are those of the people and this I do not believe, judging by the daily comments I hear around me."

(Letter from Mrs. M. I. White,
Manor, Sask., Dec. 1, 1941.)

"From the declaration made in the House of Commons by Mr. King, nothing permits us to conclude in the affirmative, That point remains Mr. King's secret. But in view of the trend of events, we are inclined to believe that the Canadian Government will consult the people after consulting Parliament.

"That would be in conformity with the declaration which Mr. King made in the course of his Western trip during the summer, when according to the newspapers, he said that if it was necessary to modify the existing policy he would consult Parliament and the people.

"This consultation does not necessarily signify general elections. Many reasons militate against it. If Mr. King believes that military selective service for overseas is necessary he will not make a political question of it exposing himself to the risks which a general election involves. He will probably have recourse to a plebiscite, so that whatever may be the decision of the people he can continue to administer the country."

(Le Droit, Ottawa, quoted by
Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph,
Dec. 1, 1941.)

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A REFERENDUM (Cont'd)

"This referendum device would be an incredible departure from the principle of responsible government as it has been practised in Canada. Especially at this time, when leadership is more than ever needed, the government would be giving no direction to the nation's war effort.

"It would mean that the government of Canada had no heart for the task. So-called responsible government would be standing in the sidelines, with no guidance to offer. Or some ministers would perhaps be urging the electorate to vote Yes, while others urged No. Otherwise, a united government with clear vision would take the responsibility of putting the law of national service into force through parliament without the hocus-pocus of a referendum."

(Ottawa Citizen, Jan. 8, 1942)

Toronto, Jan. 8--Premier Hepburn expressed his opinion today that the Dominion government should decide itself on the question of conscription and should not submit the question to the people in a referendum.

"It is the responsibility and duty of the government in power to make the decision," Mr. Hepburn said. "If they are not prepared to make the decision they should step out or appeal to the country rather than submit a referendum."

Mr. Hepburn said a referendum would "divide this country as it has never been divided before."

(Ottawa Citizen, Jan. 9, 1942)

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The Imperialist Campaign

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The Imperialist Campaign

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THE IMPERIALIST CAMPAIGN

"The imperialistic campaign in favor of conscription for service overseas becoming more and more active, Quebec farmers must express their opposition to any form of conscription by their association, their newspaper, their congress, their resolutions. The union chiefs should multiply their efforts in the course of the coming year."

(Abel Marion, President, Catholic Farmers Union, quoted in Montreal Gazette, October 23, 1941)

"It appears from recent political developments that you may face a test of strength from our opposition. I have no sympathy with the viewpoint of these men, who in my opinion are sodden with colonialism, and are blind or indifferent to the dangers to which they are exposing our own country.

"I do not believe the people will support their views at all; and if they propose to make a mass levy on our manhood every generation, and to place on us war burdens far beyond what the country's strategic position demands, or far different from what it demands, then the future will inevitably bring up a reconsideration of our relations with the Empire."

(A letter from Nelson McFarlane, Toronto, November 14, 1941)

"It has sometimes seemed to me that the first word of "British Empire" is dwelt upon with too much emphasis. "Commonwealth of Nations" is perhaps a name more agreeable to a people not of British origin, but sprung from another race. "Why," they may say, "should we fight for anything merely British?" But they might be ready to fight for a commonwealth in which they are all full partners. It should perhaps be pressed with more clearness and force than heretofore that this present war is not for the glory of any race, or for the profit of any particular people, but for the right to live in peace in that part of the world in which God has placed us."

(Sir Alfred Morine in Globe and Mail Nov. 17, 1941)

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Local Option for Quebec

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LOCAL OPTION FOR QUEBEC

C243775

First suggested by B. K. Sandwell in Saturday Night.

With regard to the suggestion that conscription be applied in all provinces except Quebec, the Toronto Star commented on July 9, 1941:

"It may be pointed out that the very purpose of conscription is to provide for equality of service, and that the omission of Quebec from its application would be the negation of this. Nothing would more outrage the young men of Ontario than to be told that they must go, while the young men of a sister province would be free to stay home. Disunity is inherent in such a proposition."

"We continue to feel that it would be politic to accord to the province of Quebec a measure of something like local option regarding compulsory service; and if that policy were adopted it would go without saying that a province which refused to join in the measures of defence considered necessary by the rest of the country would have no right to share in the social benefits associated with them. But we believe also that the province of Quebec, if allowed to make its own decision for itself and thus relieved of the feeling that it was being dragooned against its will, would join willingly and whole-heartedly in the concerted national effort. If this happy result were achieved, the Canadian minority problem might almost be said to have disappeared."

(Toronto Saturday Night, September 13, 1941)

"The institution of a referendum in the Province of Quebec alone on the question of conscription would only have meaning if the Federal Government engaged itself in advance to respect the verdict. None of the eight other provinces of Canada would accept without protest that such a democratic privilege should be accorded to Quebec and refused to the rest of the population on a question so grave as that of the levy of blood. That is why no one has suggested a plebiscite limited to the Province of Quebec.

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LOCAL OPTION FOR QUEBEC (Cont'd)

"Mr. Sandwell is less astonished at this than at the fact that no one in Quebec seems to approve his suggestion of letting French Canada itself say whether it wants to be exempted from conscription in case the rest of the country should favor this measure. We cannot admit this last hypothesis even for the sake or argument."

(Translation in Montreal Gazette, December 2, 1941, of editorial from Le Canada of November 29, 1941.)

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Hon. Adelard Godbout's Position

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HON. ADELARD GODBOUT'S POSITION

C243778

"My attitude, with regard to conscription, has not changed any more than has that of those who govern us at Ottawa. Have not Prime Minister King and Minister of Justice Lapointe just stated that, if they ever believe that conscription has become necessary, they will consult the people of Canada to obtain their opinion about it."

(Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, July 18,1941)

"I am anti-conscriptionist today more than ever, because events have shown that the voluntary service is by far the best way of assuring national unity, while procuring to the Allied cause all the necessary resources."

(Speech at Riviere-du Loup, reported in Montreal Star, July 21, 1941)

"The merits or demerits of conscription as a method of raising men are one question. The Star believes it to be the fairest method. The attitude of Quebec and the disunity which conscription would involve in that province and elsewhere in Canada constitute another question, to which Mr. Lapointe and Mr. Godbout have given emphatic answers on behalf of Quebec. The attempt to create an impression that there is a difference of opinion between these two is disposed of by Mr. Godbout's Riviere du Loup pronouncement."

(Toronto Star, July 31, 1941)

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C.C.F. Policy

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C. C. F. POLICY C243780

"Unless wealth, industry and resources are also conscripted, we shall resist conscription of men for overseas service by every legal means at our disposal."

If a referendum is held on conscription of men, "a vote will be taken at the same time on complete conscription including wealth and resources."

(C.P. report of resolutions at National Convention, Edmonton, July 16, 1941.)

"Senator Meighen and the Conservative party are seizing upon the general dissatisfaction with Canada's war effort to raise the issue of conscription. The C.C.F. reiterates its opposition to conscription of manpower for overseas service before there has been an effective conscription of finance and industry.

"The most urgent need in Canada today is to produce the equipment and material needed to arm those who are already in the fighting services. Of the six divisions contemplated now for the Canadian Active Service Force only two are sufficiently equipped to take the field, and then only because they have drawn upon Britain's meagre supply of tanks. In addition to providing for her own forces, Canada ought to be supplying greater quantities of material and foodstuffs to Britain, Russia and our other Allies.

"In view of these facts, the C.C.F. insists, as it has from the start of the war, that the urgent need for an all-out war effort is a carefully planned mobilization of Canada's financial and industrial resources.

"To clamor for conscription of man-power under such circumstances is to confuse the issue and to lose sight of the fact that this is a mechanized war requiring huge quantities of supplies.

"Those raising the cry do so deliberately because they fear the interference with profit-making which effective war planning demands."

(Statement by National Executive, Ottawa Evening Journal, November 17, 1941.)

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C. C. F. POLICY (Cont'd)

"There has been an outcry for the conscription of men, and the time may come when that may be necessary, but far more important than the conscription of men at the present time is the organization of our industrial strength. The next step in the mobilization of this country for a total war effort is the mobilization or conscription of wealth. Then, when we've got that, I don't believe we'll have much trouble getting the men."

(M. J. Coldwell, M.P., at Massey Hall, Toronto, Dec. 1, 1941, as reported in Toronto Star Dec. 2, 1941)

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Lack of Conscription Helps

U.S. Isolationists

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LACK OF CONSCRIPTION MAY CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING IN THE UNITED STATES

C243783

"The plain truth--and a very ugly truth--is that United States isolationists are capitalizing on Canada's failure. Where this country should be leading, as the only belligerent on this hemisphere, it is falling back. If American manpower is going to be needed, and General Wavell says that it will be needed, how much more is the manpower of the only British nation in North America--the foremost of the Dominions--going to be needed? Even if there were nothing else at stake it is time that Canada stopped this business of feeding isolationists propaganda in the United States. The responsibility is upon the Prime Minister."

(Montreal Gazette, July 7, 1941)

"Critics of Mr. King's course in relying upon voluntary enlistments for overseas service have been saying that it leaves a poor impression upon the people of the United States, since their own young men are being conscripted. But now from Washington comes an Associated Press dispatch which says that the conscription is probably going to be for service in the western hemisphere only. Canada, of course, also has conscription for home defence. The A.P.'s informant said the view was that "if it ever should be necessary to send a United States force outside this hemisphere, it would be more effective, and have better morale, if its members were regular army men or selectees who had volunteered to go abroad." This is reminiscent of Mr. King's pronouncements in the Canadian West with respect to our own forces."

(Toronto Star, July 11, 1941)

"Those who belittle Canada's troops and Canada's war effort keep saying that the United States has conscription, but Canada has not got conscription. That is not true.

"The United States has conscription for home defence and Canada has conscription for the defence of Canada. Besides, Canada has a large overseas army and many of those called up for defence training have volunteered for overseas service.

"Let's not be so anxious to blackguard Canada and Canada's brave soldiers that we don't stick to facts about what Canada is really doing."

(Windsor Star, September 17, 1941)

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LACK OF CONSCRIPTION MAY CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING (Cont'd)
IN THE UNITED STATES

"Every time we reject all-out manpower mobilization, we place another barrier in the way of all-out American aid. We say, in effect: "This isn't really our war. So why should it be yours?"

(Calgary Herald, November 14, 1941)

"Canada and Australia, parts of the war-harried British Empire, refuse to draft men for overseas service in this war. Their people, consulted on the question, refuse.

"Our draft law, enacted by Congress, has been with us since October, 1940, and we have raised a medium-sized Army under it. Our President is already sending Regular Army contingents to far places--Greenland, Iceland, Dutch Guiana. Though he is forbidden by law to send draftees out of this hemisphere, he is also forbidden by the Constitution to declare war but has got us into actual war with Germany on the seas nevertheless. Wonder if there'll be Congressional elections in 1942."

(New York News, November 27, 1941)

"However, quite apart from the army's need of men, and the rival claims on manpower made by war industries, agriculture and the three armed services, which can only be satisfied in equity and justice by a compulsory selective system that apportions the available manpower on a systematic basis; apart, too, from the obvious fact that the enemy must be sought out and brought to battle wherever it is most expedient to do so, irrespective of national boundary lines, there are other reasons plain for all to see why the Government should alter its policy without delay.

"To the one hundred and thirty million people of the United States, now allied with us against the Axis, Canada is the show-window of the British Empire. Any faint-heartedness,

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LACK OF CONSCRIPTION MAY CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING (Cont'd)
IN THE UNITED STATES

any sign of a spirit less ardent and self-sacrificing than their own, will weaken their regard, not only for the Dominion of Canada, but for the whole British Empire. We can afford to leave no chink in our armor through which we may be assailed in the days to come when the war is over and the terms of peace are being discussed. We cannot have it said in the United States that they gave everything they possessed for victory, while their neighbors, members of the British Commonwealth and Empire, gave something less than their all, set limits to their undertakings and bargained with their proffers of aid. We could never lift up our heads again, never boast of our unique combination of qualities derived from the Old World and the New and blended happily in this rich and smiling land, if it should come to pass that American selectees were called upon to defend Singapore or Vancouver Island while our own selectees could not be sent to help American forces in Seattle because sectional prejudices have written limits into their contracts of service."

(Toronto Globe & Mail, December 30, 1941)

"In this growing complex of the English-speaking peoples, Canada has a unique role. For Canadians are Americans and yet members of the British Commonwealth. Canada is the bridge between us from Australia to the British Isles. Canada is the show-window of the new order of free co-operation.

"There is but one fact about your part in our common effort that it is difficult for us in the United States to understand. That is that you have not yet instituted a system of selective compulsory service for overseas.

"All of us know fully the extent of the Canadian War effort, and it fills us with admiration. The Canadian troops have been an ornament to the British troops, and a testimony to Canadian hardihood and valor. Yet, your overseas army still remains voluntary, and your youth, unlike ours, can choose whether or not to serve away from home. This disparateness seems to me unfortunate; for I greatly desire to see an absolute community of aim, an absolute community

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LACK OF CONSCRIPTION MAY CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING (Cont'd)
IN THE UNITED STATES

of sacrifice; an absolute community of brotherhood between Canadians and ourselves.

"It Is the more to be desired if we look at the possible role of the American continent in bringing to this world a great peace. The Americans, in the largest sense of that word, the New World, will meet one day their greatest opportunity. When that moment comes, the deeper our community of sacrifice in the war, the greater will be our solidarity of effort in the peace.

"It would be a cause for the greatest regret if there should arise amongst us at some future time those who would find any factual support, with however poor justification, for denigrating the Canadian effort in contrast to ours; who would try to break our peoples' community by vaunting our sacrifice above yours, pointing to the fact that we adopted, even before the war, general compulsory service wherever the foe might be brought to battle, while you went into the war without it. There might be such persons; there usually are men of such minds. I am anxious that they should be given no ammunition."

(Miss Dorothy Thompson "On the Record"
- Montreal Gazette, December 31, 1941.)

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Preparation Necessary for Conscription

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C243798

PREPARATION NECESSARY FOR CONSCRIPTION

"Have we the machinery to handle conscription for overseas service? If the question is taken out of the fog of political strife and placed in the spotlight of calm analytical thought, it will be seen that conscription for overseas service will not give us the answer at this stage for an all-out war effort.

.....

"I again therefore draw attention to my plan, published in your paper of Oct. 14 last, for military units in every community, in which all physically fit men from 18 to 50 would be called up for part-time training - exemption accorded only in relation to vital industries. This can be accomplished under the present act for mobilization in Canada.

.....

"If, as and when we have this plan complete and if the situation still warranted it, conscription for overseas can be brought it. We will then have the machinery for selective service, and those men who are still to be called will have been partially trained.

"Then, and not until then, will we be ready for conscription for overseas.

(Letter by K. A. Grant in
Globe and Mail, Dec. 2, 1941)

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Analogy with Compulsory Payment of

Taxes

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ANALOGY WITH COMPULSORY PAYMENT OF TAXES

Mr. Ralston said:

> "I want to say with all the emphasis and all the sincerity I can that this is not a matter to be left simply to the Department of National Defence and civilian recruiting committees, but it is up to the members of this House and the people they represent to put their hearts and wills and energies to this task of convincing the young men of this Dominion that their place is in the Canadian Army."

"Is Mr. Ralston's great war heart really in that statement? Does he really believe it?

"Let us look at it. Can any of us imagine the Minister of Finance or the Minister of National Revenue saying to Parliament:

> "I want to say again with all the emphasis and with all the sincerity I can that this is not a matter to be left simply to the Department of National Revenue and its staff, but it is up to the members of this House and the people they represent to put their hearts and wills and energies to this task of convincing the people of this country that they should pay their war taxes."

"What a madcap performance that would be! Yet it is precisely the performance that Mr. Ralston presents to us with respect to the infinitely more sacred obligation of Canada--and of the Government--to secure recruits for our army. The most solemn task and duty of the Government--the most absolute responsibility of the Government--is to be left to the whim of the individual, passed on to the "members of this House and the people they represent". Is that responsible government? Is it leadership? Is it common sense? It is none of these things. It mocks professions about "total war".

(Ottawa Journal, Nov. 7, 1941)

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ANALOGY WITH COMPULSORY PAYMENT OF TAXES (Cont'd)

"And when my hon. friend speaks of going by the back door instead of by the front door, I say to him that he might as well tell the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) that he ought not to go by the back door and form loan committees throughout Canada to ask for loans, when he asks the people to lend their money to Canada. He might as well say that the Minister of Finance ought to go by the front door and put a compulsory levy on everybody in Canada, requiring each to subscribe a definite amount to its war loan, regardless of whether they want to or not."

(Hon. J. L. Ralston, House of Commons, April 28, 1941. Unrevised Hansard, p. 2500)

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Pledges re Declaration of War

and Conscription

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PLEDGES RE DECLARATION OF WAR AND CONSCRIPTION C243793

"The Canadian Government gave an unqualified undertaking that it would never declare war without consulting the Parliament of Canada, but the Canadian Government has declared war on four nations within the past twenty-four hours without Parliament even being in Session. It was very proper that the Canadian Government should declare war as it did. But in doing so the Canadian Government recognized that the safety of the nation cannot be jeopardized by undertakings given under circumstances entirely different to those which now exist.

"The Government has recognized the necessity of acting promptly upon the basis of facts as they really are. The Canadian Government is therefore under an even greater duty than ever before to take such steps as are necessary to supply adequate manpower for the armed forces, for industry and for agriculture. They know that we have not sufficient reserves in England at the present time for the armed forces already there, and that the present system of raising men will not supply them. They know how serious the situation is in agriculture. They know how great the needs will now be in industry.

"Upon the basis of that information it is their duty to act without further delay. This is not and must not be a political issue. There must be neither Liberals nor Conservatives. There must only be Canadians. In this problem there is only one policy - victory for our cause."

(Col. George Drew at Orillia,
December 8, 1941, as reported
in the Globe and Mail, December 9, 1941)

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Compulsory Service for Home Defence

Unrealistic

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C243795

COMPULSORY SERVICE FOR HOME DEFENCE UNREALISTIC

"Major General Kenneth Stuart, Chief of the General Staff, who spoke in Vancouver last week, said:

'One of the objectives of the enemy is to create confusion in Canada and bring about a diversion to home defence of troops which would otherwise be sent overseas. We must not forget that this war will be won outside Canada, and we must send our main forces to the places where they are needed most.'"

.....

"The men who are immobilized in Canada for so-called home defence are not working in war industries. They are available for overseas service, and it is in overseas service they should be. That is the only place where they can really defend Canada."

(Ottawa Journal, December 22, 1941)

"True we have adopted a system of military conscription for defense in Canada. But that is not enough. Today international borders mean nothing to an invading force and in modern war in any case the best defense is an attack pushed home far beyond the frontiers of the home country. Successful war against Japan is going to tax the resources of Canada without the handicap of an obsolete Act which would prevent our forces giving full co-operation to our new and powerful Ally."

(Financial Post, December 13, 1941)

"Mr. King has been preparing a plan of total war. It must not be longer delayed. If we are to aid our Allies and defend ourselves the last ounce of National energy must be mobilized.

"This may raise the conscription issue in acute form, but not necessarily. Canada's immediate need is for more soldiers to defend our soil. This can be secured under the present conscription law. Canada may be compelled to conscript labor for factories and for farms. This also can be done under the present law. Canada will certainly demand of its people large new sacrifices in money, in reduction of living standards, probably in rationing. All these things can be done

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COMPULSORY SERVICE FOR HOME DEFENCE UNREALISTIC (Cont'd)

under the present law. If conscription is finally needed to provide men for overseas service, Canada undoubtedly will adopt it, but at the moment we have more than 100,000 trained soldiers in Canada who can be sent overseas at any moment if they are required there.

"They may be more urgently required here. Thus, the overseas conscription issue may not be as urgent now as it was before our own soil was endangered.

"The immediate issue is something else. It is the necessity of making a master war plan for Canada which will finally divide our available manpower between the fighting forces, the factories and the farms."

(Vancouver Sun, December 10, 1941)

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Conscription Essential to National Prestige

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CONSCRIPTION ESSENTIAL TO NATIONAL PRESTIGE

"Any formula for conscription for home service which would be put forward with the argument that we are training soldiers who will ultimately be induced to enlist in the active army for military operations abroad is unworthy of a great nation. Any plan to coerce men by subterfuge or high-pressure methods is based on the same sort of reasoning as the suggestion that if you can get a man into a barroom you can get him drunk.

"The issue in Canada is perfectly clear. Regardless of any other contribution we may make to the victory of Allied arms, we must have some regard for our reputation as a nation. We cannot leave the raising of reinforcements for the Canadian Corps to caprice. What is needed is a scientific and effective plan based on equality of sacrifice. If that cardinal principle is kept in the forefront, there is no answer to the argument for compulsory selective service."

(Globe and Mail, January 3, 1942)

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4. It will not help the army to defeat the present government and ~~force an election on the issue of conscription.~~ probably force a general election and possibly defeat the issue of conscription.

C243799

5. The government and the former Minister of National Defence are agreed that the army cannot wait for reinforcements for two or three months while the question of method is decided at the polls.

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6. In the present situation, every Member with a sense of responsibility, who differs with the decision of the government, must therefore ask himself this question:

"If I help to defeat the present government, do I believe that a majority of Members can be found who will support an alternative government which can ~~administer overseas conscription effectively and~~ carry on the ~~other~~ wartime duties of government effectively?"

7. For a responsible Member, it is <u>not enough</u> to be prepared <u>personally</u> to support an alternative administration: he should also be satisfied, in his own mind, that an effective alternative government is possible.

8. There are only two possible ways to support the army.

One is to follow the course proposed by the government which we sincerely believe to be the right and effective method.

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The other is to replace the present administration by a government which can find sufficient reliable support in the present House of Commons ~~for an immediate resort to conscription~~. Moreover such a government would have the most solemn duty to see that conscription was enforced effectively before plunging the country into a general election.

9. That is the issue before the House. It is not the question of conscription. It is the question as to whether the present government should continue to direct Canada's war effort or whether the direction of that effort should be handed over, at this stage of the war, to another administration.

10. In destroying the present government, no one can tell who will compose an alternative government. No one can even say who would preside over the new government.

11. We can be sure that a considerable number of the Ministers in such a government would inevitably be new men without experience of our wartime administration; some would probably be men without any administrative experience; some probably would be without seats in Parliament.

12. Any change of government involves a great deal of dislocation and inevitable delay in administration. Such dislocations and delays in every aspect of our war

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administration would be bound to be serious at this critical stage of the war.

13. But it would be even more serious if it were found, after the present government had been defeated, that the various elements which had combined to destroy it, were incapable of agreeing upon an effective government to replace it.

14. The country would then be without a government in war-time! An election would be inevitable. And what would happen to ~~our~~ Canada's magnificent war effort while an election - of probably unparallelled bitterness - was being fought.

15. The issue I have suggested is not a fanciful one. I have given a solemn and realistic picture of the alternatives which face this House.

16. The government has made the decision we believe to be the right one in the light of our responsibility. Members must now make the decision which they believe to be right in the light of their responsibility.

17. In making our decision, the government have not been concerned about our personal or political fortunes. We have tried to make the decision which, in the long run, will best serve Canada and Canada's fighting men.

18. The decision which rests with this House may determine the fate of our country for generations to come. I do

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not believe I exaggerate when I say it may decide whether we are to have one Canada or two - or whether the country for which thousands of our finest young Canadians have given their lives is to continue to have an independent and united existence.

19. The hour has come to rise above considerations of party advantage, and to rise above the emotions, often strong and honest emotions, of the hour, and to make our decision, without regard for our own futures, solely in the interests of Canada.

20. ~~One final word~~: Let us not forget that apart from young Canadians who gave their lives it will be the poorest support we can give to our fighting men to weaken or destroy the country to which they will return. We must support our fighting men in war; but we have an equal duty to safeguard their future and the future of their country.

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CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION

C243804

PUBLIC OPINION NEWS SERVICE

RELEASE

For RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, after 9 a.m.

THE GALLUP POLL OF CANADA

CONSCRIPTION FEELING CUTS THROUGH PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS, POLL FINDS

Fear of Draft on Self or Family Not Big Cause of Split

By CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF
PUBLIC OPINION

TORONTO, June 10 - If your son John were likely to be conscripted for overseas service, in the event conscription became law, would this make you oppose the idea of conscription?

Not if you are an average Canadian.

Studies by the Gallup Poll have found a surprisingly small connection between what Canadians think about the conscription issue, and the vulnerability of either themselves or members of their immediate family.

The question around which this coast-to-coast survey was centered was this one:

"DO YOU THINK CONSCRIPTION FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE WOULD MEAN THAT YOU, OR ANY MEMBER OF YOUR IMMEDIATE FAMILY WOULD BE CONSCRIPTED FOR MILITARY SERVICE?"

Actual figures, of course, would depend on how sweeping such a law would be but here is the way the people of Canada answered the general question:

CIPO INSIGNIA

Yes	No	Don't Know
48%	45%	7%

Thus, of those who had an opinion on the question, division was fairly even as to whether conscription would affect their homes or not. This division was approximately the same within each province, except in Quebec, where 56 per cent of those interviewed felt they or someone in their family would be conscripted if a conscription law were passed, against the national average of 48 per cent.

To find out how this situation affected conscription sentiment in Canada, the same persons were asked their views on conscription, in a carefully worded question.

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It was found that in all three groups (1. Those who thought conscription would affect their families, 2. Those who thought it would not, and 3. Those who didn't know) there was little difference in the way the group divided on conscription. Because the views of Quebec on conscription vary from those of other provinces, this province was treated separately in making the breakdowns which follow.

In the first column below, the conscription views of those who feel the draft would directly affect some member of their families, are given. In the second column the conscription views of those who feel the draft wouldn't affect their families are given, and in the third column, the conscription views of those who are uncertain whether the draft will affect them or not, are shown. The figures exclude Quebec.

(EX-QUEBEC)

	Liable to Draft %	Not Liable to Draft %	Don't Know whether Liable or Not %
For Conscription	69	67	57
Against Conscription	24	23	29
Don't Know	7	10	14
	100	100	100

This table shows that conscription sentiment cuts right through personal considerations in the big majority of Canadian homes, in provinces outside Quebec. The same is true if Quebec is taken alone.

(QUEBEC ONLY)

	Liable to Draft %	Not Liable to Draft %	Don't Know whether Liable or Not %
For Conscription	16	16	13
Against Conscription	81	79	81
Don't Know	3	5	6

In other words, there is nothing in these figures to indicate that personal fear of the effects of conscription dictates the attitude of most Canadians to conscription itself.

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Confidential

C243806

for Mr Bowles already covered

NATIONAL RESOURCES MOBILIZATION ACT AMENDMENT

Outline of Speech for Second Reading

Part One: The True Proportions of the Conscription Issue

The object of the amendment

To give legal effect to the popular expression of view in the plebiscite;

To remove the last vestiges of restriction upon the freedom of action of the government.

Government policy as to the use of the powers conferred in the National Resources Mobilization Act

Powers to be used as and when required for more effective prosecution of the war by Canada;

No more reason why government should use compulsory powers unnecessarily over men's services than over property and wealth;

No present intention of raising men for service overseas in the army or for service in the navy or the air force;

Voluntary system preferable as long as it works;

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Present indications are that much wider use of compulsory powers over property and civilian services will be needed to maintain a total war effort long before compulsion is required to re-inforce the army overseas;

Pre-occupation with conscription for overseas service obscures much wider problem of total use of manpower;

Broad scheme of national selective service already in force is planned to meet all manpower needs, not one isolated need;

Even for the army alone, the mobilization of the 6th, 7th and 8th divisions for service in Canada represents a heavy demand for men already being met, in part, by compulsory service;

Impossible to provide for territorial defence of Canada without complete freedom to move Canadian troops to adjacent territory, Labrador, Newfoundland, the United States, Alaska;

Government policy to extend terms of compulsory service, as need arises, to all these territories;

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Canadian army overseas planned and organized as a distinct and self-contained unit;

Overseas army now exclusively voluntary: every effort to be made to keep it voluntary: better for morale of army;

Honest belief of government (expressed in House of Commons on February 25th) that men required up to March 31st, 1943, can be obtained by voluntary enlistment.

<u>True proportions of manpower problem for the Canadian army overseas</u>

Estimate of number of enlistments required from January 1st, 1942 to March 31st, 1943, for new units and re-inforcements of Canadian army actually overseas or destined for service overseas:

90 to 100,000 or
about 6 to 7,000 per month.

Numbers already from January 1st to May 1st over 40,000 or an average of 10,000 per month.

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Number still to be raised

50 to 60,000 or

an average of 5 to 6,000 per month according to existing estimates.

Very heavy casualties might necessitate a revision upward of requirements;

The effect of army going into action would be a stimulus to voluntary enlistment;

Proportions of manpower problem are seen to be strictly limited;

Need for conscription will not arise so long as required volunteers are forthcoming;

Power will exist if need does arise, but will not be used by the present administration unless the need arises.

<u>Position of government if voluntary enlistments inadequate to maintain overseas army</u>

Situation unlikely to arise suddenly except in case of terrible holocaust or disaster;

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The Plebiscite and Manpower Policy

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Necessity of a balanced effort.

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(3) National Selective Service.

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Why conscription at present would add nothing to the war effort.

(7)

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(1)

The Objective: A Total Effort

The war programme for the period up to March 31st, 1943, was outlined in all its aspects on January 26th. That programme in its objective represents, in the opinion of the government, a total effort for Canada. By a total effort is meant the utmost effort of which the country ~~was~~ is capable. By total effort is also meant an effort so balanced in all its aspects that no essential task will be left undone, because a disproportionate effort is devoted to some other task.

To achieve a total effort all the available energies and resources of the nation, in excess of those required to maintain the health and efficiency of the people, should be devoted to some form of war service. In other words, the foundation of a total effort is a correct decision as to the minimum requirements of the civilian population, and the use of all the manpower and resources above that ~~surplus~~ minimum in the prosecution of the war.

~~Leaving aside the question of material resources,~~ It is equally important to the achievement of a total effort to use the manpower of the nation in the most effective manner possible. It is not enough merely to enroll men in the navy, the army and the air force. Men must also be employed to provide food, clothing, equipment, arms and munitions for the fighting men. Men must also be used to

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keep up transport and communications between the home base and the actual scenes of operations. Detailed and intricate planning and organization are essential to the effective use of the manpower available for the varied needs of war.

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

Unrevised Hansard, November 5, p. 4451

That may, I say, is the ultimate objective as I also understand it.

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Wartime Manpower Needs and Priorities

To achieve a balanced programme, manpower - and I include womanpower - is required for the navy, for the army, for the air force, for war industries, for food production, for essential transport services on land and at sea, and for essential civilian production and services. A good deal has been said, from time to time, about the need of establishing priorities in the use of manpower. By priorities is meant deciding which services are more important and which services are less important.

Everyone, I believe, will agree that no service can compare with that given by the men who are prepared, if need be, to sacrifice life itself for the preservation of ~~all they held dear~~ freedom. ~~No one could wish their sacrifice to be in vain.~~ It is our duty to make every effort to see that no man should needlessly lose his life. In order to avoid needless sacrifice, it is ~~, therefore,~~ essential that the men in the armed forces should be supported with arms and equipment in the quantities and of the quality essential to success in combat. The task of providing for the men in the armed forces, though ~~it involves loss~~ sacrifice, is ~~no less~~ essential to a total effort.

In the swiftly changing circumstances of modern mechanized warfare, the comparative manpower needs are constantly shifting. No rigid priorities can, therefore,

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be maintained. At one stage, the emphasis may, for example, be on the need for men in the army, and, at another, on the need for men in war industry. Only two absolute priorities have been maintained in Canada since the outbreak of war. These were ~~indicated clearly~~ set forth, in November last, by the Minister of National Defence, in the following words: "Owing to the pressing needs of the navy and air force the only restriction upon taking in manpower for these services has been the provision of physical equipment. Otherwise, the sky has been the limit. We in Canada have put first things first, and no one questions the policy of giving the right of way to the requirements of the navy and air force. Those two services must build up quickly. The immediate necessities of both these services have made it impracticable for them to make any concessions to industry. That is to say, men have been taken on no matter what their trade and technical qualifications in civil life might be. This meant that the army and civilian needs divided up the remainder of the eligible men."

Unrevised Hansard, November 5, p. 4449

It is, as I have said, not possible to fix any permanent priority as between the manpower needs of the army, and the manpower needs for war production, food production, and other essential services. It has, however, been possible, thus far, to determine the manpower needs of the army from year to year. They are based upon the establishment of the

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army, fixed in the army programme for the year, together with the estimated requirements for re-inforcements. Though intelligent forecasts over a considerable period can be, and are, made from time to time, the manpower needs of war industry, ~~likewise,~~ during cannot be determined long in advance, with any absolute accuracy, ~~long in advance.~~

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In order to assist in shifting the manpower and womanpower of the nation as largely as possible from civilian activities into the various forms of war service, the government, ~~has worked out~~ a flexible and comprehensive scheme of national selective service. In this scheme voluntary and compulsory features have both been incorporated. Compulsion has not been made an end in itself. The government ~~has no intention of~~ resorting to compulsion for ~~its own~~ sake. It is used only where, all circumstances considered, it is believed that compulsory means will contribute to a greater total effort. There has, for example, been no need of compulsion to secure all the men who can be taken into the navy, or all the men required for the air force. No one has suggested that the application of conscription would be desirable in order to raise men for either of these services. Compulsion has not been required to raise the men needed for the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. Sufficient volunteers ~~have been~~ forthcoming to man the new formations established from time to time, and to provide the necessary re-inforcements. There has been no need of industrial conscription to provide the men required for war industry.

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C243817A As I pointed out to the House in my statement on National Selective Service, "in those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase ~~compulsory~~ efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort."

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It is not my purpose to review the various ~~measures of compulsion~~ regulations which I outlined on March 24th, and which have, as their main purpose, the shifting, as rapidly as they can be absorbed, of men and women from civilian activities into various forms of war service. In this field it will be necessary, from time to time, to take additional steps to meet the ~~ever growing~~ needs of war. ~~I have indicated, on more than one occasion, that the government will not hesitate to take these steps as and when they are required.~~

So far as the armed forces are concerned, the only compulsory measure which has thus far been considered necessary in order to achieve the utmost balanced effort of which the country is capable has been compulsory military service in Canada for the territorial defence of Canada.

Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government ~~only~~ as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort.

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4

National Resources Mobilization Act C243819

The legal basis of the power of the government to use compulsory measures to mobilize both the material resources and the manpower of the country is the National Resources Mobilization Act which was enacted by the present Parliament in June of 1940.

That Act gives to the government unrestricted power to use all the resources and property and wealth of everyone in Canada for the purpose of prosecuting the war. The fact that there is no restriction upon the power of the government to conscript the wealth and property of every individual has not meant that the government has used those powers indiscriminately to take the property and wealth of individuals. No one seriously suggests that the total conscription of all property by the government is essential to a total effort. Everyone, even those who advocate various forms of conscription of wealth, will agree that the indiscriminate confiscation of property would be more likely to create total confusion than a total war effort. The power was given to the government, not to be exercised without discrimination, but to be used where and when necessary to increase Canada's total effort. Insofar as manpower is concerned, the Act likewise gives to the government the power to compel the services of every individual in the country, subject only to the restriction that no person may be compelled to serve beyond the territorial limits of Canada.

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Up to the present that legal restriction has in no way limited the total effort of the country. Not one more man would to-day be in the armed forces, if that restriction had not been there, unless the government had been prepared to throw the war effort out of balance, and ~~thereby make a smaller~~ total effort. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that both in Canada and in other countries the mere existence of this legal restriction has been harmful to Canada's war effort. It has been harmful because it has been a source of controversy in our own country. What is more serious, it has been harmful because it has caused Canada's war effort to be misrepresented and belittled in other countries. The good name of Canada has suffered because of this appearance of a limitation upon an all-out effort.

In a war in which the success of the free nations will depend upon the utmost goodwill and co-operation among all free nations, no country, and least of all Canada with its great area and small population, can afford to be misrepresented and misunderstood by those who are associated with it in the common struggle. ~~For that reason alone~~, the legal restriction upon service outside Canada should be removed.

There is, in addition, a practical reason why this restriction should be removed, and removed without delay. No one can say at what moment our country may be attacked, either from the east or from the west. From the east such an

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attack might well come through Newfoundland or Labrador, which are the immediate outposts of our own territory. From the west, an attack might likewise come through Alaska or though the adjacent state of Washington. It would be intolerable to have any obstacle to the movement of any of our armed forces to Newfoundland, Labrador, the United States or Alaska for the purpose of repelling or forestalling or guarding against such attacks. While I have already ~~indicated~~ that, in an emergency, the government would authorize by Order-in-Council the use of the men called up for military service in these areas, it will, I am sure, be agreed that it is far preferable to have ~~the~~ action ~~taken~~ in advance of the emergency ~~by Parliament~~. By so acting Parliament will remove any shadow of any impediment to complete co-operation between Canada and the United States in the common defence of the northern half of this hemisphere.

Lest it might be said that, instead of removing the territorial restriction entirely, it would be sufficient to extend the scope of the territory in which compulsory service ~~will~~ be applied to include the whole of this continent or the whole of this hemisphere, I hasten to add that the substitution of one restriction for another would defeat the ~~very~~ purpose the government has in mind. That purpose is the removal, in our own eyes and in the eyes of the other countries, of even the appearance of a restriction upon a total national war effort.

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In removing, through the plebiscite, any obligation arising out of past pledges or commitments, the people of Canada have freed the hands of the government and Parliament of any restriction. By removing the restriction in the National Resources Mobilization Act Parliament will likewise have removed any possible restriction upon all-out effort.

(see also last half of (7)

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Supplementary - already covered x

Conscription would not add to the total effort

I should like, briefly, to summarize the position as it will be both legally and practically once the restriction in the National Resources Mobilization Act has been removed.

Legally, the government, subject always to its responsibility to parliament, will then have the same complete and unlimited power to dispose of the services of every individual, wherever they may be required for the furtherance of Canada's war effort, that it now possesses in the case of the material resources of the country, regardless of whose property they may be. However, neither in the case of resources, nor in the case of manpower will the possession of this unlimited power involve indiscriminate and total conscription by the government. The power will be there; available for use whenever and wherever its use will contribute effectively to a greater Canadian war effort.

Practically, and as a matter of policy, the government will not, so long as the voluntary system remains effective, resort to conscription for service overseas. Should the time come when, in the opinion of the government, it has become necessary to resort to compulsion for service overseas, the government will make its decision accordingly and parliament will be immediately informed of the reasons therefor.

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The policy of the government regarding ~~conscription~~ the application for service overseas is ~~perfectly~~ absolutely consistent with the determination of the government to organize the utmost balanced war effort of which Canada is capable. This can be demonstrated very simply by asking how conscription for overseas service would add to each of the several aspects of our total effort. It would obviously add nothing to the production of ships, of planes, of guns, of tanks or of the other machines and munitions of war. It would add nothing to our food production. It would add not one man to the navy, more than the numbers already available. The same is true of the air force. It is ~~also~~ equally true of the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. It will continue to be true of all three armed services so long as volunteers continue to be forthcoming in the numbers required to meet the war programmes. These programmes in turn are of course determined in relation to the total capacity of the country. Conscription for service overseas would obviously not add to the numbers of men available for home defence. Young men are already being called up for compulsory home defence service as rapidly as training conditions and available equipment make it possible for them

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to be effectively absorbed. There is no way, therefore, in which the adoption of conscription could, in existing circumstances, make a greater total effort possible.

At the same time, the removal of the last vestiges of ~~legal~~ legal or moral restrictions, real or imaginary, upon Canada's total effort will serve to make clear to friend and foe alike, in all parts of the world, that Canada is ~~not half-hearted, but is whole-heartedly~~ determined to put forth the utmost effort to win the war, to preserve her own freedom and to help restore freedom to the world.

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attached to Ref. 4

13. Why is conscription not at present necessary to a total effort? C243826

A total effort is not merely a military effort; it is a balanced effort in all directions required by the needs of war: the production of weapons and munitions, of supplies and foodstuffs; the organization of transport and of home defence services; the development of the armed forces at sea, on land and in the air for service anywhere in the world.

No other service can compare with service in the armed forces in the front line of battle; but all services must be kept in balance if a total effort is to be made.

If all the services essential to a total effort are to be kept efficient and the men in the front line adequately supported, there is a limit to the number of men it is physically possible to support on active service.

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So long as that number is raised our effort is a total effort regardless of the method by which they are raised.

The men are now being raised in the numbers required. While that remains true, a change in the method of raising the men could not possibly increase the total effort.

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C243828

National Resources Mobilization Act

The legal basis of the power of the government to use compulsory measures to mobilize both the material resources and the manpower of the country is the National Resources Mobilization Act which was enacted by the present Parliament in June of 1940.

That Act gives to the government, for the purpose of prosecuting the war, unrestricted power to use all the resources of the country and the property and the wealth of everyone in Canada. The fact that there is no restriction upon the power of the government to conscript the wealth and the property of every individual has not meant that the government has used those powers indiscriminately to take away the property and wealth of individuals. No one seriously suggests that the total conscription of all property and all wealth by the government is essential to a total effort. Everyone, even those who advocate various forms of conscription of wealth, will, I think, agree that the indiscriminate confiscation of property and other personal possessions would be more likely to create total confusion than a total war effort. The power was given to the government, not to be exercised without discrimination, but to be used where and when necessary to increase Canada's total effort.

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Insofar as manpower is concerned, the Act likewise gives to the government the power to compel the services of every individual in the country, subject only to the restriction that no person may be compelled to serve in the armed forces beyond the territorial limits of Canada. Up to the present that legal restriction has in no way limited the total effort of the country. Not one more man would today be in the armed forces, if that restriction had not been there, unless the government had been prepared to throw the war effort out of balance, and as an inevitable result reduce rather than increase the nation's total effort. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that the mere existence of this legal restriction has been harmful to Canada's war effort both in Canada and in other countries. It has been harmful because it has been a source of controversy in our own country. What is more serious, it has been harmful because it has caused Canada's war effort to be misrepresented and belittled in other countries. The good name of Canada has suffered because of this appearance of a limitation upon an all-out effort.

In a war in which the success of the free nations will depend upon the utmost good-will and co-operation among all free nations, no country, and least of all Canada

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with its great area and small population, can afford to be misrepresented and misunderstood by those who are associated with it in the common struggle. To remove grounds of controversy at home and misunderstanding abroad, each of which is destructive of a due appreciation of Canada's war effort and prejudicial to the war effort itself, the government is of the opinion that the legal restriction upon service outside Canada should be removed.

There is, however, in addition, a very practical reason why this restruction should be removed, and removed without delay. No one can say at what moment our country may be attacked, either from the east or from the west. From the east such an attack might well come through Newfoundland or Labrador, which are the immediate outposts of our own territory. From the west, an attack might likewise come through Alaska or through the adjacent State of Washington. This continent, on any part, at any time, may become a scene of conflict. It would be intolerable to have any obstacle to the movement of any of our armed forces to Newfoundland, Labrador, the United States or Alaska for the purpose of repelling or forestalling or guarding against such attacks. While I have already made it clear that the government has power under the War Measures Act to adopt whatever course it may deem necessary

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and advisable, and that, in an emergency, the government would not hesitate to authorize by Order-in-Council for military service in these areas, the use of the men called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act, it will, I am sure, be agreed that it is far prefarable to have authority for such action given by parliament itself in advance of the emergency. By so acting at the present time, Parliament will remove any shadow of any impediment to complete co-operation between Canada and the United States in the common defence of the northern half of this hemisphere.

Lest it might be said that, instead of removing the territorial restriction entirely, it would be sufficient to extend the scope of the territory in which compulsory service may be applied to include the whole of this continent or the whole of this hemisphere, I hasten to add that the substitution of one restriction for another would defeat the other important purpose the government has in mind in the proposed amendment. That purpose is the removal, in our own eyes and in the eyes of the other countries, of even the appearance of a restriction upon a total national war effort.

In removing, through the plebiscite, any obligation arising out of past pledges or commitments, the people of

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Canada have freed the hands of the government and Parliament of any restriction upon freedom of discussion and of action with respect to a total war effort , however a total war effort may be construed. By removing the existing legal restriction in the National Resources Mobilization Act, Parliament will likewise have removed any possible or apparent restriction upon freedom of action by the Executive to effect, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, an "all-out" or "total" war effort, as set forth in what I have already said.

(See also last half of 7)

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C243833

Mobilization Act—

Mr Cardin's points with suggested replies

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The principle of conscription for overseas service.

Mr. Cardin asks: (p.3560) "Why is an amendment now introduced which embodies the principle of conscription for overseas service when there is no necessity for such action?"

Suggested reply:

Already given in speech opening debate

1. To remove the appearance of restriction.
2. To give the government power to send men called up under compulsory powers to other parts of this hemisphere.
3. To give the government a free hand to act quickly, without a prolonged debate, in an emergency.

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Why were the people not asked a more direct question in the plebiscite?

Mr. Cardin says: (p.3561) "We should have faced the issue squarely... Why not say that the government wanted to know if the people of Canada were ready to delete clause three of the Mobilization Act?"

Suggested reply:

As a member of the government, Mr. Cardin had a full and equal share of the responsibility for holding the plebiscite and for the form of the question.

If he wished a different question submitted to the people the moment to make this objection was before the decision was made, rather than months later.

The limitation in the Mobilization Act was placed there as a direct consequence of the moral obligation. Release from the moral obligation logically implied the removal of the limitation.

This was foreshadowed in the broadcast of April 7th in these words:

"The absence of conscription for overseas service has not limited our war effort. The lack of power to impose such conscription has, however, placed our war effort in a wholly false light before our own citizens, and, what is worse, before our allies."

And also: "...no excuse should remain for anyone to say that because of a restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full powers,

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Canada's war effort is not all it might be. Should the day come - and it may come soon - when Canada is faced with attack, and we need help from the United States or Britain or any of the United Nations, how would we feel if we thought their governments were restricted in their power to aid Canada? We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together."

The present amendment was also forecast in the broadcast of April 24th as follows:

"To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end."

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Last opportunity for Parliament to consider question.

Mr. Cardin says: (p.3560) "This is the last opportunity that the Parliament of Canada will have of expressing its will on the principle of conscription for overseas service."

(p.3561) also: "After having told the people that the government would adopt a policy according to the need of the moment, and come back to Parliament, explain its policy in black and white, and give the representatives in this house the advantage of passing judgment on the merits of conscription; after all that, what are we doing? We are not doing what we told the people we would do."

Suggested reply:

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No need for legislation at present.

Mr. Cardin says: (p.3562)

"There is no necessity at the present time to impose such a measure..... I say, wait for the necessity to arise....It is no argument, as I see it, to say that such a course would involve delay..... Parliament can be summoned to Ottawa in seven days..... In seven days conscripts are not going to be sent overseas..... Nothing would prevent the government from preparing the machinery the moment they decide to have recourse to conscription."

Suggested reply:

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Quebec alone attached value to pledges.

Mr. Cardin says: (p.3562)

"It is all very well to say that we have been released from our pledges. Yes; we have been released from pledges by those to whom the pledges had no meaning at all....The pledges that were given in the election of 1940 were given by both parties.....to appease public opinion and to collect votes in the province of Quebec."

Suggested reply:

The pledges were never given by the government exclusively to Quebec or any other province. They were given to the people of all Canada on a question which has nothing to do with provincial rights or minority rights. The issue of conscription is a national issue and the decision can only be a national decision equally binding on all the people of Canada.

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Knowledge of military contribution
of French Canada not available.

Mr. Cardin says: (p.3563) "We have never been able, even to this moment, to know definitely how many French Canadians have enlisted in English-speaking regiments."

Suggested reply:

(Reply should be given by
Defence Minister.)

Hon Ian Mac
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Re Kenora Liberal Association

C243841

APEX
VERTICAL FOLDER
No. Sp. 421B
Made in all sizes
Patent No. 86778

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Total War for Total Effort

C243842

Toronto - Meighen - conscription

to give opportunity to debate conscription on its merits.

1. The Speech from the Throne

clause re responsibility to parliament

to make clear executive did not intend to act independently

2. Explaining measure to Liberal Caucus

note view of opponents
would not help Mr. King

3. The 2nd reading plebiscite

relation of plebisicte to conscription

relation of conscription to parliament

"No need for conscription at present. When need arises will come to parliament and say so.

4. Plebisicte campaign

people promised government would present matter of conscription to parliament

(specific)

Takes whole discussion into arena of parliament

members free in parliament

1st step - to remove ~~restriction(?)~~ in Statute (Sec.3)

2nd - bring to parlt. decision re conscription when need arises.

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Any other course:

will misconstrue character of present debate which is to free government as public has freed it.

Motion for conscription not in order as already in Section.?

True to Speech from Throne

Caucus

Parliament

Country in plebiscite

to principle of executive responsibility to parliament.

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Re: Procedure - for Council

C243844

1. All agreed

Govt. released from all (moral) obligations arising out of past commitments, (in fact only one)
Will of majority of provinces,

Govt.'s hands now free from restrictions.

2. National Mobilization Act to be amended.

3. Question: How far?

4. Alternative Courses:

(1) Wipe out altogether -

(Act leaves Government entirely free, freedom given by parliament - freedom given by the people.)

(2) Amend:-

Objects: - removes one restriction; but leaves or substitutes another;

- (seems to contradict - the purpose of the plebiscite to give govt. a free hand.)

Possible amendments:

(a) Substitute North half Western hemisphere ~~for~~ territories and waters adjacent thereto.

Objects: creates false impression as to total war effort in minds of other countries;

~~(b) to come into force by Proclamation,~~

~~Object: meaningless as gives government all powers and emphasizes govt. has not yet full power.~~

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3. State policy, immediately to extend to Western Hemisphere and to extend overseas only if and when necessity arises.

4. When Govt. sees need arises, Govt. will inform Parliament of its intention to extend to overseas, in time for parliament to express its approval or disapproval - parliament will make final decision.

(How this to be done. If not in session, call Parliament in 7 days, and submit resolution.)

OBJECTIONS LIKELY TO BE RAISED TO THIS COURSE

1. Inconvenience to Army in its war effort - having 2 armies - one for home defence, one for overseas,

New Zealand only dominion that has conscription for overseas.

(Australia has same problem).

South Africa - only volunteers at present for home defence - none for outside South Africa.

North Ireland (See Churchill's statement).

McNaughton not in favour of conscription at present.

Men not fully equipped (See statement from Ralston re supplies for Australia).

2. People against letting letting any men off; not have best volunteer.

Ans. - glory of Canada to have army of volunteers; volunteer army better without conscripts; conscripts no good in last war;

Difficulty of enforcing -

Views of 1/3 Canada to be taken care of - renewal of wound in Canada's side.

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COUNCIL:

Need to act quickly:

(1) Not to have hand forced -

Tories may move amendment
(on appropriation bill.

Hanson probably has in mind to say we have authority now and not pass resolution till we agree to act if need be.

(2) Critical situation in Europe and Asia.

Spring offensive may come quickly.

Canadian soldiers may be in action soon; better clear up at once.

(3) People expect action -

less difficulty following in wake of final returns.

(4) Suggest once appropriation bill passed, will proceed!

Will give notice of Bill at once.

"An Act to amend the National Mobilization Act"

Work out amendment.

(Give this notice to Clerk at once before House meets),

on Votes and proceedings for Wednesday.

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5. At the commencement of the debate the Government should, therefore, make a declaration of policy --

(a) With reference to the immediate situation;

(b) With reference to the position of the Government if the adoption of conscription for service anywhere becomes a national necessity.

6. The Government could very well announce that it considers it is necessary now to extend their powers in regard to the Hemisphere and contiguous islands.

7. The Government could also announce that immediately it became necessary to have compulsory service anywhere or on other continents, the Government would at once come to Parliament recommending such action and asking for the support of the House on that issue.

"J. a. m"

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The principle of conscription has already been decided.

The power to apply already exists under War Measures Act.

The method of its application - a matter of policy.

The policy is to continue on voluntary basis, etc.

Principle of conscription already settled.

Possible application - unlimited (overriding powers of War Measures Act (by Statute if amended.

Further procedure

as matter of public policy.

Present procedure - O. in C. (amending regulations) etc. by degrees;

- last step - come to Parliament not for second debate on conscription but for confidence in Govt. before taking step attempting enforcement.

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C243849

Rich visit re completion
building operations & conscription

Visit of
Conscription crisis why raised

A political ~~problem~~ crisis
How raised the ~~crisis~~ crisis was
broken?

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I have no desire to revive those unhappy memories. Recalling the bitterness which the enactment of conscription for service overseas, in 1917, engendered at the time, the dissension it created, and the animosities which it served to arouse, and which, unfortunately, have not yet died down, I had hoped that the wisdom which, at the commencement of the war, had caused members of all parties in Canada to do their utmost to avoid a recurrence of anything of the kind, would have been sufficiently strong and general to have avoided the question again becoming one of political discord and domestic strife at a time when more than at any other in Canada's history, the preservation of national unity has become of the highest importance.

Had the need of compulsion as a method ~~of~~ for conscription or service in the military, naval or air forces overseas.....

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Page 9 - second sentence. Revision:

"There is no need to recall the bitterness which the enactment of conscription for overseas service engendered in 1917; the dissention it created; and the animosities it aroused. Those memories were still vivid at the outbreak of war and it was the desire to avoid the recurrence of a similar situation which caused members of all parties to adopt the attitude they assumed at that time. I had hoped that the wisdom of this attitude would have commanded such general support as to prevent the question again becoming one of political discord and domestic strife at a time when, more than any other in Canada's history, the preservation of national unity has become of the highest importance."

C243851

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12. Why was it necessary so to demonstrate Canada's willingness for an all-out effort?

Because a persistent effort ~~had been~~ made to identify a total effort for total war with conscription for overseas service - to make conscription the symbol of a total effort,

This movement was begun during the army recruiting campaign last summer, reaching a sort of climax in the abortive demonstration at Calgary. It failed then because of the success of the recruiting campaign.

It was revived again by the so-called Committee for Total War in October as a prelude to the putsch which captured the leadership of the Conservative party for Mr. Meighen. Again it failed because the facts disproved the claim that there was a shortage of recruits for the army.

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Once more it is being revived - this time with the claim that, in the plebiscite, the people voted for conscription.

This claim is false - that was not the question on which the vote was taken. Not only the government, but the spokesmen of all parties made that clear during the plebiscite campaign.

There is no justification for pretending that the verdict of the people was a mandate for conscription. It was a mandate for the government to take whatever action may be necessary for an all-out effort.

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14. If conscription is not essential to a total effort why is the issue now being raised?

It is not being raised by the government.

The government would much rather devote all its energies to the measures which are really required to maintain and strengthen Canada's war effort.

We did not seek this issue, but we had no choice except to face it when it was raised.

We knew that controversy over what is, in reality, a secondary matter: a mere question of method: would distract attention from the major problems of ~~cutting down "business as usual"~~, increasing war production, building up a balanced fighting force, and shifting the largest possible number of men and women into some form of war work by the speediest and most practical methods.

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We knew, too, that passions would be aroused by memories of the past, that disunity ~~and national paralysis~~ in the face of the enemy ~~might~~ result from continued controversy.

We honestly and straight-forwardly sought to prevent controversy, dissension, passion and distraction from the war effort by ~~securing from the people a free hand.~~

In eight of the provinces the ~~issue~~ was put forth fairly and honestly; only in one province was the question distorted and the good faith and honesty of the government called into question by small minority (with which I regret to say a handful of Members of Parliament were associated.)

Just as a small group which misnamed itself the Committee for Total War raised the issue of the conscription in October and November, so now another small group, ~~also misnamed~~ formed the so-called League for the Defence

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of Canada which by a high-powered and well-financed campaign misinformed the people of one province and mis-interpreted the purpose of the plebiscite.

In the hope of isolating their province from the rest of Canada for sinister and selfish purposes of their own, the spokesmen of this so-called League told the people that they were voting for or against conscription; that the government was trying to impose conscription to support British Imperialism; that our own coasts would be left exposed to attack while all our men and materials were sent to aid others; that Canada was really in no danger; that Germany and Japan were not interested in our country. In fact, they repeated the whole stock of isolationist arguments which have served the enemy so well in many countries.

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Is it not singular that the conscription issue - which of all questions is the one best calculated to divide and paralyze the efforts of Canada in this war - should have been raised by small, well-financed groups from opposite extremes? One clamours for conscription at once, whether needed or not, regardless of consequences; the other is prepared to oppose conscription even if their opposition means the defeat of our cause and the destruction of our very existence as a free people.

There is plenty of room in a free country for honest debate and honest difference as to the merits of conscription as a method of raising men for military service.

It is a very different thing when those differences are driven to extremes which threaten to destroy the nation we are fighting to preserve.

A majority of thosewho voted affirmatively in the recent plebiscite may honestly believe that conscription is the preferable method

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of raising men for the army. But I do not believe more than a small minority of them ~~want to destroy Canada~~ for the sake of imposing conscription.

Those who voted negatively in the recent plebiscite were no doubt honestly expressing their opposition to conscription. I do not believe that more than a small minority of them ~~want to destroy Canada~~ for the sake of opposing conscription.

~~Surely~~ The vast majority of sensible, reasonable Canadians are not going to permit this country to be torn in two over an issue ~~which, so long as present circumstances continue, has not the slightest practical importance.~~

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For 2nd reading
on closing debate

~~Mr Graham Glen Conservative~~ (or a Conservative Member)

The government ~~is~~ determined to use whatever compulsion is necessary to make sure that every able-bodied person contributes by his or her efforts in some form of service which is directly helping our war effort.

Why is it that there has been so much excitement and turmoil about manpower for the army overseas? Why is there not the same concern about manpower for the navy or for the air force or for the farms? The needs of all must be met if Canada is to have a total effort.

The answer is only too plain. None of the other manpower questions offers the same scope for political exploitation. At the present time the manpower problems of war industry and of agriculture are in fact far more acute than the manpower problems of the army.

It is my firm conviction that if the critics of the government were mainly interested in winning the war against the Axis powers, instead of their private war against the present government, they would show an equal concern for all the problems of manpower involved in an all-out effort, instead of devoting their attention exclusively to one aspect and that one by no means the most urgent at the present time.

Once the amendment is adopted it will be within the power of the government to apply compulsion for military service overseas and to apply it promptly, if the voluntary method of raising men fails.

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There is, however, no way in which immediate resort to conscription could add to Canada's war effort. Moreover, resort to conscription for service overseas at the present time would be an outright breach of faith. The people were told there was no immediate need of conscription, that the vote in the plebiscite was not a vote for conscription, and that the voluntary system would be maintained as long as it produced results. It was on the strength of those assurances that thousands of people cast affirmative votes in the plebiscite. So long as volunteers are forthcoming in adequate numbers, the issue of conscription for overseas service is nothing more nor less than a bat[illegible] shadows.

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Mr Sylvain
Lawyer for Lapierre Grounds - Greater of 20

At one extreme are those who demand "conscription now" for service overseas regardless of whether it is needed; at the other extreme are those who say "conscription never" regardless of consequences. This latter group, the so-called League for the Defence of Canada, was composed, for the most part, of those who over the years have consistently opposed every measure for the defence of Canada. Its leading members have repeatedly maintained that Canada is in no danger of attack. The fate of the free countries of Europe and even the attack on Pearl Harbour across thousands of miles of sea has apparently not been enough to waken them from the sleep of isolation. These are the men who set themselves up as authorities on the defence of their own country. And what did they advocate as the method of defending Canada?

Instead of explaining the true purpose of the plebiscite, as was done in the other eight provinces, this little group organized a high-powered well-financed campaign to deceive and alarm the people of Quebec.

They told the people that they should not trust the government of their own country; that the hands of the government should be tied lest it do too much to defend Canadian homes and Canadian soil. They said, in effect, that we should do nothing until the enemy had actually attacked Canadian soil

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and the lives of Canadian women and children had been lost.

They misrepresented the issue in the plebiscite and aroused all the fears and prejudices involved in the issue of conscription. In the hope of isolating their province from the rest of Canada, the spokesmen of this so-called league told the people that they were voting for or against conscription; that the government was trying to impose conscription to support British Imperialism; that our own coasts would be left exposed to attack while all our men and materials were sent to aid others; that Canada was really in no danger; that Germany and Japan are not interested in our country. In fact, they repeated the whole stock of isolationist arguments which, in many countries, have served the enemy so well.

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method so long as that method remains effective; (4) if it is necessary to resort to compulsion, the government will so inform parliament, giving reasons therefore.

Some may ask: if conscription is not essential to a total effort, why is the issue now being raised. In reply, I would say: it is not being raised by the government. The government would much rather devote all its energies to the measures which are really required to maintain and strengthen Canada's war effort. We did not seek this issue but we had no choice except to face it when it was raised. We knew that controversy over what is in reality a secondary matter, a mere question of method, would distract attention from the major problems of transforming the economy of the country from a peace to a war basis, increasing war production, building up a balanced fighting force and shifting the largest possible number of men and move into some form of war work by the speediest and most practical method.

We knew, too, that passions would be aroused by memories of the past; that national disunity in the face of the enemy would most certainly result from continued controversy. We honestly and straightforwardly sought to prevent controversy, dissension, passion and distraction from the war effort in the first instance by seeking to avoid the question being raised at all, and then when an effort was made to identify the all-out character of Canada's war effort with conscription by removing the bar to conscription, thereby permitting the whole question

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to be viewed and discussed upon its merits, in 8 of the provinces, the purposes of the plebiscite, namely, to place Canada's war effort in its true light, and to remove any restriction upon the government's freedom of action at a time of war was put forth fairly and honestly; only in one province was the question distorted and the good faith and honesty of the government called into question by a small minority. Just as a small high powered and well financed group which misnamed itself the "committee for total war" raised the issue of conscription in October and November, so now another small group formed the so-called but also misnamed "league for the defence of Canada" which, by a high powered and well financed campaign, misinformed the people of one province and misinterpreted the purpose of the plebiscite. In the hope of isolating their province from the rest of Canada for sinister and selfish purposes of their own, the spokesmen of this so-called league told the people that they were voting for or against conscription; that the government was trying to impose conscription to support British Imperialism; that our own coasts would be left exposed to attack while all our men and materials were sent to aid others; that Canada was really in no danger; that Germany and Japan were not interested in our country. In fact, they repeated the whole stock of isolationist arguments which, in many countries, have served the enemy so well.

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It is, I believe, something more than a mere coincidence that the conscription issue - which, of all questions, is the one most calculated to divide and paralyse the efforts of Canada in this war - should have been raised from opposite extremes and this, by small well financed groups. One clamours for conscription at once, whether needed or not, regardless of consequences. The other is prepared to oppose conscription even if their opposition means the defeat of our cause and the destruction of our very existence as a free people. This method of attack from opposite extremes based not upon national interest but upon a common political objective, is unfortunately not kkkk new in methods of political warfare in Canada, It is distinctly unfortunate, however, that it should be resorted to at this most critical of all times in the history of the world. There is plenty of room in a free country for honest debate and honest difference as to the merits of conscription as a method of raising men for military service. It is a very different thing when those differences are driven to extremes which threaten to destroy the nation we are fighting to preserve. Many of those who voted affirmatively in the recent plebiscite may honestly believe that conscription is the preferable method of raising men for the army, but I do not believe that more than a small xx minority of them would risk a complete disruption of Canadian unity for the sake of imposing conscription.

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Those who voted negatively in the recent plebiscite were, no doubt, expressing their opposition to conscription. I do not believe that more than a small minority of them would risk the complete disruption of Canadian unity for the sake of opposing conscription. The vast majority of sensible, reasonable Canadians are not going to permit this country to be XXXXXX torn in two over any issue, where means and where a method equally, if not of greater effectiveness to Canada's war effort, can be found for averting such a disaster.

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Some may ask why, if conscription for service overseas is not essential to a total war effort, is the issue being raised at all? In reply, I would say; it is not being raised by the government. The government would much rather devote all its energies to the measures which are really required to maintain and strengthen Canada's war effort. We did not seek this issue but we had no choice except to face it when it was raised. We know that controversy over what is in reality a secondary

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matter - a mere question of method. - would distract attention from the major problems of transforming the economy of the country from a peace to a war basis from the vital task of increasing war production, of building up a balanced fighting force, and of shifting the largest possible number of men and women into some form of war work by the speediest and most practical method.

The government knew that passions would be aroused by memories of the past; that national disunity in the face of the enemy would most certainly result from continued controversy. We honestly and straightforwardly sought to prevent controversy, dissension, passion, and distraction from the war effort by seeking to keep the conscription issue from being raised at all.

That proved impossible because the conscription issue, as an acute political issue, was raised by others. After several abortive attempts this was accomplished, in October and November of last year, first by the so-called Committee for Total War, and, shortly afterwards, by the gentleman whose leadership was imposed upon the Conservative party.

The fact that the absence of conscription for service overseas was, in no way, limiting Canada's war effort did not deter its advocates from precipitating an acute political controversy speciously disguised as a campaign for

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total war. The real object of the campaign quickly appeared. It was another attempt to replace the present government (by a so-called national government.) To achieve this object its authors realized that they must find some means of splitting the supporters of the present administration along racial lines. A campaign for conscription was evidently judged to be the best way to accomplish this end.

Since the plebiscite, that campaign has been renewed. No attempt is now being made to conceal its real purpose: a so-called national government from which French Canadians are to be excluded.

(Quote Globe and Mail - May 14th)

The campaign would have had no chance of success, if the Toronto group had not found strange allies in a little Montreal group which called itself the League for the Defence of Canada.

This group was composed, for the most part, of those who over the years have consistently opposed every measure for the defence of Canada. Its leading members have repeatedly maintained that Canada is in no danger of attack. The fate of the free countries of Europe and even the attack on Pearl Harbour across thousands of miles of sea has apparently not been enough to waken them from the sleep of isolation. These are the men who set themselves up as authorities on the defence of their own country. And what did they advocate as the method of defending Canada?

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Instead of explaining the true purpose of the plebiscite, as was done in the other eight provinces, this little group organized a high-powered well-financed campaign to deceive and alarm the people of Quebec.

They told the people that they should not trust the government of their own country; that the hands of the government should be tied lest it do too much to defend Canadian homes and Canadian soil. They said, in effect, that we should do nothing until the enemy had actually attacked Canadian soil and the lives of Canadian women and children had been lost.

They misrepresented the issue in the plebiscite and aroused all the fears and prejudices involved in the issue of conscription. In the hope of isolating their province from the rest of Canada for sinister and selfish purposes of their own, the spokesmen of this so-called league told the people that they were voting for or against conscription; that the government was trying to impose conscription to support British Imperialism; that our own coasts would be left exposed to attack while all our men and materials were sent to aid others; that Canada was really in no danger; that Germany and Japan are not interested in our country. In fact, they repeated the whole stock of isolationist arguments which, in many countries, have served the enemy so well.

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But their real motive was not opposition to conscription. Behind a facade of opposition to conscription, their real design was exactly the same as the design of the Committee for Total War. It was racial cleavage and the destruction of national unity.

This design was openly admitted by one of their leading spokesmen when he said: "We have perhaps broken Canadian unity, but we have established French-Canadian unity which is something infinitely more valuable to us".

Both the Toronto group and the Montreal group formed little committees; both were obviously well financed; both conducted high-pressure publicity campaigns.

The spokesmen of the League for the Defence of Canada misrepresented the purpose of the plebiscite; they told the people the issue was conscription; they played upon all the passions and prejudices which, over 100 years, have been used to keep our two great races apart. They attacked the honour and good faith of the government, of the Ministers of the Crown from the Province of Quebec, of the majority of the members from that province. Where the Toronto Committee had failed, the Montreal Committee apparently succeeded, for the moment at least, in misleading a considerably majority of the people of one province.

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It is, I believe, something more than a mere coincidence that the conscription issue - which, of all questions, is the one most calculated to divide and paralyse the efforts of Canada in this war - should have been raised from opposite extremes, and this by small well-financed groups. One clamours for conscription at once, whether needed or not, regardless of consequences. The other is prepared to oppose conscription, even if their opposition means the defeat of our cause and the destruction of our very existence as a free people. This method of attack from opposite extremes based, not upon national interest, but upon a common political objective, is unfortunately not new in methods of political warfare in Canada.

It is distinctly unfortunate, however, that it should be resorted to at this most critical of all times in the history of the world. There is plenty of room in a free country for honest debate and honest difference as to the merits of conscription as a method of raising men for military service. It is a very different thing when those differences are driven to extremes which threaten to destroy the nation we are fighting to preserve. Many of those who voted affirmatively in the recent plebiscite may honestly believe that conscription is the preferable method of raising men for the army overseas,

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but I do not believe that more than a small minority of them would risk a complete disruption of Canadian unity for the sake of imposing conscription, unless no doubt remained that its application was vital to our very existence.

Those who voted negatively in the recent plebiscite were no doubt expressing their opposition to conscription. I do not believe that more than a small minority of them would risk the complete disruption of Canadian unity for the sake of opposing conscription. The vast majority of sensible, reasonable Canadians are not going to permit this country to be torn in two over any issue, where means and where a method equally, if not of greater effectiveness to Canada's war effort, can be found for averting such a disaster.

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Power not limited at Law

but limited by moral obligation;

(4)

Limitation recognized in Clause of National Mobilization Act;

A statutory limitation enacted in recognition of moral obligation, and as a matter of govt. policy arising out of recognition of moral obligation.

Plebiscite to free the govt. of obligations arising out of past commitments.

With respect to the method of raising men for military service overseas, ~~the government proposes to ask~~ Parliament to give to the Government, by removal of any ~~existing~~ statutory

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restriction, the same freedom of decision and action as the people of Canada, ~~by a vote of _____ have declared should, in their opinion, be given in the way of release from any restriction arising out of commitments in the nature of past pledges or provisions.~~

The government will ask that this freedom be obtained by the deletion of Section _____ of the National Resources Mobilization Act.

As to how rapidly that principle (of compulsory selective national service) should be applied, and how far it should be extended, is a matter which the Government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort, and the position of the country in meeting them.

(Hansard - Nov. 12, 1941)

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~~No further amendment~~

(6)

(4)

We are asking Parliament to give to the Government, by removal of a statutory restriction, the same freedom of decision and action with respect to the method of raising men for military service overseas as the people of Canada have said they desired the government to possess.

The government will ask that this freedom be obtained by the deletion of Section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act.

As to how rapidly ~~the principle of~~ compulsory service for overseas should ~~continue to~~ be applied, and how far it should be extended is a matter which the government itself will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of Canada's war effort and the position of the country in meeting them, and in full recognition of its responsibility to Parliament.

We could likely carry on as we are only a relatively short time

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4-5	The nature of the limitation
5-6	The amendment removes the limitation
6	National Resources Mobilization Act is enabling legislation
7-8	Parallel between money and men
8	Desire for authority and not a mandate made clear before plebiscite
9	Use of powers will continue to be determined by the government
10	Why the plebiscite was held
11	To place Canada's war effort in a true light

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See also chapter 4 of Plebiscite and Manpower Policy

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12 Past commitments no longer an obstacle

13 To act in accordance with the needs of the situation

13-14 Relationship of plebiscite to conscription

See also Question no 3

14-15 Not a vote for conscription - not a mandate for conscription

(see part 2: pages 4, 5, 6) See also Question no 2

16 A precaution in case conscription should become necessary

16-17 Summary of relationship of plebiscite to conscription

17 Why was conscription issue raised?

18 Distortion of issue in plebiscite by League for the Defence of Canada

19-20 Issue of conscription raised from opposite extremes.

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8	Amendment not based on false interpretation of plebiscite results
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11-12	Sooner false impressions removed the better
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16 Importance of avoiding more than one debate

(see part four: page 11)

17-18 People want government to have a free hand; amendment will give it.

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See also: Chapters 5 and 6 Plebiscite and Manpower Policy
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1 Danger of an extreme position

2 Conscription a threat to unity

2-3 Another "European" war

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5 Danger too great for internal political battles

6 Free hand is necessary; overseas conscription may never be necessary See also Question no 17

7-8 Conscription not required up to present in spite of false agitation

8 If conscription becomes necessary, events will make it clear. See also Questions 20s. 18 to 22

See also JWP's drafts on
Relationship of conscription to winning the war
Danger to war effort of conscription now
Conscription and National unity

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3 — Reason why government came to Parliament in June 1940

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4-5 — Use of powers under National Resources Mobilization Act

5 — Conscription not necessary now, but power will exist if it becomes necessary See Question 8

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6-7 — Government asking Parliament now for authority and freedom to use authority if necessary

8-9-10 — The amendment opens up the question of conscription for debate

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10-11 Government wants full power now

(a) for overseas if necessary

(b) for this hemisphere in near future

See also Question 7

11 Two debates undesirable

(see part two: page 16)

11-12 Question should be debated calmly before crisis arises

12-13 Should government return again to Parliament.

See also Question 10

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Plebiscite

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Conscription and National Unity

Some notes for debate

APEX
VERTICAL FOLDER
No. Sp. 421B
Made in all sizes
Patent No. 286779

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The Conscription Issue and National Unity.

The advocates and supporters of conscription can, I believe, be divided into two classes.

The majority of the supporters of conscription consists of those who honestly believe conscription is a better method of raising men for the army than the voluntary system or that it is necessary to a total war effort.

The government has, I believe, demonstrated repeatedly and conclusively that conscription of men for the army overseas is not now necessary for a total war effort and will not become necessary unless the voluntary system fails to meet the needs of the army.

The argument that conscription is a better method of raising men than the voluntary system because it is more efficient or because it makes for greater equality of sacrifice has much to be said for it in theory.

But anyone with a practical experience of affairs knows that what may be theoretically or academically desirable would, in specific circumstances and under particular conditions, be a hopeless failure in practice.

Every nation must cut its coat according to its cloth. Policies to be successful must be framed in accordance with the traditions and circumstances and

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character of the people.

In the United States, for example, conscription was applied as early as the Civil War. It was adopted without question when that country entered the war in 1917. It was extended immediately to service throughout the world when the United States entered the present war. It has become a part of the military tradition of that country.

In Britain there was no tradition of conscription before the last war. In the last war it was not adopted until 1916 and then only after public opinion had become thoroughly prepared for its application. Because it worked satisfactorily in the last war, it was accepted readily enough in the present war. Conscription is not, however, applied in Northern Ireland, although Northern Ireland is legally a part of the United Kingdom because public opinion there is sharply divided on the question and the British government does not believe it would give effective results.

No-one seriously questions the whole-hearted participation of Australia in the present war or in the last war, yet the people of Australia twice rejected conscription in a popular vote in the last war, and in the present war, conscription is limited to service

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within Australia and the Australian overseas army is composed entirely of volunteers. Only a month ago the Australian Parliament voted down a resolution in favour of unrestricted conscription.

S.A. >
N.J.

What is the situation in Canada?

I do not wish to go into ancient history or to stir up unnecessarily the recriminations of the past. But every Canadian knows that our experience with conscription in the last war was not happy and that its application came nearer to disrupting our country than anything else since Confederation.

That is why all political parties and all responsible individuals sought, at the beginning of the war, and, indeed, until recent months to avoid raising the issue of conscription. Thousands of Canadians who personally would have preferred conscription were wise enough and patriotic enough to see that a bitter controversy over conscription in Canada would do nothing to increase our war effort. They knew that the division of Canada into two opposed camps would help no-one except the enemy.

That is no less true to-day than it was in 1939 or in 1940. No-one can honestly pretend that a sharp difference of opinion does not exist on the issue of conscription for service overseas. That knowledge alone

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is ample justification for the plebiscite. Had the government simply imposed conscription we would have been open to the gravest charge of breaking faith with the people. Had we held a referendum on conscription itself we would have been bound by the result whichever it was and regardless of how close the vote was. Had we refused even to consider the possibility that conscription might be essential to Canada's safety at some time in the future and opposed conscription at any time we would have aroused the legitimate fears of those who believe that, sooner or later, conscription may become necessary to save Canada from defeat and conquest.

Therefore the government took the only honest and straight forward course open to us. We asked and secured from the people a free hand, subject only to our responsibility to Parliament.

From now on, so long as Parliament continues to give its confidence to the present administration, it is our duty to decide when and to what extent conscription should be applied. On those decisions, the government must and will stand or fall in accordance with the will of Parliament. Moreover we will take care to see that Parliament is given an opportunity to exercise its will promptly and effectively.

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What the government will not do, so long as I remain at the head of the administration, is to yield to the pressure of either of the two groups whose extreme attitudes on the conscription issue are a very real threat to Canada's effective prosecution of the war and to the very existence of the country.

The government made its policy on the question of conscription very clear before the plebiscite was held.

(Quote February 25th)

To that policy we are going to adhere because we believe it is the only policy which will keep Canadians united in the prosecution of a war in which our national existence is at stake.

The advocates of both extreme views on conscription do not seem to realize that Canada is in grave danger of attack from the most powerful combination of enemy forces the world has ever seen. In the face of that external danger two small minorities have seized on the conscription issue as a pretext to divide the country on racial lines. That is the real design and both extremes are equally responsible for the very grave situation which has arisen.

The conscription issue, as a political issue, was raised in October last by the Committee for Total War.

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It was taken up in November by the gentleman whose leadership was imposed upon the Conservative party.

The fact that the absence of conscription for service overseas was, in no way, limiting Canada's war effort did not deter its advocates from precipitating an acute political controversy speciously disguised as a campaign for total war. The real object of the campaign quickly appeared. It was another attempt to replace the present government by a so-called national government. To achieve this object its authors realized that they must find some means of splitting the supporters of the present administration along racial lines. A campaign for conscription was evidently judged to be the best way to accomplish this end.

Since the plebiscite /that campaign has been renewed. No attempt is now being made to conceal its real purpose: a so-called national government from which French Canadians are to be excluded.

(Quote Globe and Mail, May 14)

The campaign would have had no chance of success, if the Toronto group had not found strange allies in a little Montreal group which called itself the League for the Defence of Canada.

This group was composed, for the most part, of those who over the years have consistently opposed every measure for the defence of Canada. Its leading members have repeatedly maintained that Canada is in no danger

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of attack. The fate of the free countries of Europe and even the attack on Pearl Harbour across thousands of miles of sea has apparently not been enough to waken them from the sleep of isolation. These are the men who set themselves up as authorities on the defence of their own country. And what did they advocate as the method of defending Canada?

They told the people that they should not trust the government of their own country; that the hands of the government should be tied lest it do too much to defend Canadian homes and Canadian soil. They said, in effect, that we should do nothing until the enemy had actually attacked Canadian soil and the lives of Canadian women and children had been lost.

They misrepresented the issue in the plebiscite and aroused all the fears and prejudices involved in the issue of conscription. But their real motive was not opposition to conscription.

Behind a facade of opposition to conscription, their real design was exactly the same as the design of the Committee for Total War. It was racial cleavage and the destruction of national unity.

This design was openly admitted by one of their leading spokesmen when he said "We have perhaps broken Canadian unity, but we have established French-Canadian unity which is something infinitely more valuable to us."

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Both the Toronto group and the Montreal group formed little Committees; both were obviously well financed; both conducted high-pressure publicity campaigns.

The spokesmen of the League for the Defence of Canada misrepresented the purpose of the plebiscite; they told the people the issue was conscription; they played upon all the passions and prejudices which, over 100 years, have been used to keep our two great races apart. They attacked the honour and good faith of the government, of the Ministers of the Crown from the province of Quebec, of the majority of the members from that province. Where the Toronto Committee had failed, the Montreal Committee apparently succeeded, for the moment at least, in misleading a considerable majority of the people of one province.

There can be no doubt that if the supporters of the League are honestly opposed to conscription they have chosen the worst possible method of expressing their opposition. By the extreme and intemperate language used in their campaign, they have done their utmost to make the rest of Canada and the rest of the world believe that French Canada is indifferent as to the outcome of the war, that the French Canadians would prefer the defeat and conquest of our country rather than submit to conscription. The majority of members of this House know

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that such a conclusion is not justified; that the great mass of French Canadians are quite as ready to fight to defend their homeland as other Canadians; but we know, too, how easy it is to arouse misunderstandings between races and all the passions that misunderstanding breeds.

Let us, therefore, in our just indignation against those who have organized and carried on this campaign of disunity in French Canada not forget that Canada is a free country, that every citizen had a perfect right to vote yes or no in the plebiscite, and that there are no grounds for believing that the vast majority will not loyally accept the national verdict. Above all, let us remember that practically one vote out of every three in the province of Quebec was an affirmative vote. To those who voted in opposition to the popular current, the rest of Canada has an obligation not to make their situation more difficult by recrimination or misrepresentation.

There is no object in pretending that our national unity is not in grave peril. There is equally no doubt that a deliberate attempt is being made to bring about disunity to serve other ends. On the one hand is a small group of financial Imperialists who, behind a smoke screen of zeal for total war, plan to drive French Canada into isolation and build up a feeling of racial prejudice in

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English Canada which will bring into power a government which they hope to bend to their will. On the other hand is a small group in French Canada, which I regret to say includes some members of this House, which is deliberately trying to lead French Canada into isolation for ends which have not yet completely been disclosed.

To accomplish their ends, both groups have seized on the issue of conscription; both are seeking to force it to the fore, at a time when it makes absolutely no difference to our total war effort whether or not there is conscription for service overseas.

Once the real situation is made clear to them I am convinced that the great majority of Canadians, English and French speaking alike, will turn their backs on these false leaders and their hidden financial backers whoever they are. Who will profit if these sinister forces succeed in dividing Canada? Certainly not the Canadian people. Certainly not the war effort. Certainly not the gallant young men who have freely offered their lives to preserve a free and united Canada.

To my French speaking supporters in this House I say: How will you dare to face the tends of thousands of young French Canadians who are today risking their lives at sea, on land and in the air, thousands of miles from home to keep the most terrible enemy the world has ever known away from Canada; how will you dare to face them if you are not prepared to risk a temporary unpopularity

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to maintain the unity of the Canada they are ready to give their lives for.

To the English speaking members of this House of all parties I say: How will you dare to face those gallant young men in the days to come if you refuse to face the clamour and abuse of the super-patriot, and if you fail to support a policy which will keep this country united on the only basis on which it can be kept united. We all know in our hearts that there is no future for Canada except as an equal partnership between the two great races.

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Conscription and National Unity.

No basis of national unity which will satisfy either extreme.

Real object of the professional agitators for conscription is still the same:

a so-called national government from which French Canadians are to be excluded.

(See editorial Globe and Mail, May 14th attached)

Real object of the professional agitators against conscription revealed clearly by René Chaloult, M.L.A., when he said that "We have perhaps broken Canadian unity, but we have established French-Canadian unity which is something infinitely more valuable to us."

(See summary of Chaloult's speech)

In other words the aims of both the Toronto group and the Montreal group (the Committee for Total War and the League for the Defence of Canada) are the same. Both seek racial cleavage and the destruction of national unity.

Each is playing into the hands of the other: both are attacking the very foundations of Canada's war effort which depends, more than anything else, upon the willing and harmonious co-operation of all Canadians on a basis of complete equality.

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The out-and-out conscriptionists are seeking to drive one third of our people into sullen and bitter isolation.

The so-called League for the Defence of Canada and kindred movements are seeking to lead French Canada into isolation.

In both cases they are trying to divide our country in the face of the enemy.

By their appeal to racial feeling, racial prejudices, yes, and racial hates they are doing the work of the enemy.

The success of either campaign would jeopardize the whole future of the Canadian people.

And what is the excuse for this attempt to divide and, perhaps, to destroy from within the very existence of our country?

The question involved, when stripped of all irrelevancies, is merely the question of the method by which a few thousand men are to be raised for service in the Canadian army.

The question of conscription has, in reality, nothing whatever to do with race or language or minority rights or provincial rights.

It is a national question on which the opinions of all Canadians, regardless of origin, are entitled to equal respect.

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Surely it is possible to have an honest difference of opinion on the question of conscription without involving the unity of Canada which is far more important than conscription.

The extreme opponents of conscription for service overseas base their opposition mainly on the contention that the purpose in sending men to fight overseas is to defend Britain or the British Empire rather than Canada.

They are supported in this view by the extreme professional advocates of conscription who constantly emphasize the Emperial rather than the Canadian interest in winning the war.

Both attitudes are based on false assumptions; both are harmful to a true Canadian spirit.

My own attitude, which, I believe, is shared by the majority of Canadians regardless of origin, I expressed in London last summer in these words:

"Canada is proud of her position in the sisterhood of the British Commonwealth. But that position and association, had other reasons been lacking, would not have sufficed to bring Canada into a European war. Ours was not an automatic response to some mechanical organization of Empire. Canada's entry into the war was the deliberate decision of a free people, by their own representatives in a free parliament.

Canada is a nation of the new world. As a nation of the new world, we placed ourselves freely at Britain's side because Britain's cause was the cause of freedom, not in this island alone, not in the British Empire alone, not in the old world alone, but everywhere in the world.

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Lincoln, in his day, saw that the United States could not survive half-slave and half-free. Likewise the Canadian people have clearly seen that the world to-day cannot long continue half-slave and half-free. "

(Mansion House, September 4th, 1941)

During the plebiscite campaign I stated in my second broadcast that the Canadian army was in Britain for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are now also in the British Isles and in Australia. They are there to help preserve freedom in the world, to keep the enemy away from this continent, and to help to defeat the enemy before he becomes strong enough to defeat us.

In other words, the Canadian forces, wherever they serve, are defending Canada .

The very existence of our country as a free nation is at stake in this war. Our whole effort in this war is being put forth in the interests of Canada. Our people can have no security until the enemy is totally defeated.

The total defeat of the enemy requires a total effort by Canada no less than by the other United Nations.

The policy of the government is the achievement of a total effort.

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The government wants to be completely free, morally and legally, to use compulsion wherever it is needed to achieve that total effort.

We are equally opposed to the use of compulsion except where it is necessary to a total effort.

I cannot believe that anyone who deserves to call himself a Canadian would oppose whatever compulsory measures are needed to make our effort to defend our country as effective as possible.

Nor can I believe that anyone who deserves to call himself a Canadian would wish to resort to any measure which by dividing the country, would weaken the war effort.

So long as I remain at the head of the government whatever action is taken will be based upon the judgment of my colleagues and myself as to what is best for Canada.

I believe that the preservation of Canada's national existence from the assault of a ruthless enemy is the only thing which is more important than our national unity.

If the moment comes when I believe a particular course of action is essential to safeguard our national existence, I shall not hesitate to recommend it, regardless of its consequences to our unity.

I shall equally not hesitate to leave office rather than recommend any action which would imperil our national

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unity, unless I believe such action is essential to our security.

No one can say that resort to conscription for overseas service at a time when the voluntary system is functioning adequately is essential to our security.

No one can doubt that resort to conscription for overseas service at the present time would imperil our national unity.

What the future holds, no one can foretell. That is why the government wishes to be free of all restrictions upon its war-time policy,

So far as the future is concerned, I am prepared to admit only one restriction upon Canada's war-time government. I am prepared to make only one commitment. That restriction and that commitment are to do always what is best for Canada, insofar as it is given me to see what is best.

In the words of the former Minister of Transport and Public Works, the government desires "in the tragic hours through which we are passing, an authority, a liberty, similar to that which already the other chiefs of State possess for methodical organization, logical and free in our common war effort."

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

Date May 14/42

Subject

C243902

WAY TO A POLITICAL TRUCE.

On the eve of the United Nations' air conference the Air Minister made a dramatic appeal on the floor of the House for a political truce. No one can dispute the importance of presenting a united front to the world, or doubt that our fighting efficiency would be greatly improved if we marched along together in a spirit of mutual confidence and understanding. But there is no possibility of such a thing so long as one party, itself composed of two irreconcilable elements, assumes the sole responsibility for governing the country in time of crisis, steadfastly refuses to recognize ability in men of other political affiliations, and persistently mistrusts their loyalty and sincerity.

Mr. Power is a very popular Minister. With the resignation of Mr. Cardin, he becomes the senior Minister from Quebec. It is generally recognized that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan under his direction is the show-piece of the Canadian war effort. Mr. Power pleads for a political truce. It is in his hands to negotiate a political peace which would have the substance of unity instead of a shadow projected on vapor that may dissolve at any moment.

There is a sharp cleavage in the Liberal ranks over the question of conscription for overseas service. There is unity among the English-speaking members of all parties on this important question. Surely the time has come for Mr. King to reorganize his Government to include the best and ablest public men of any party or no party. The lives of thousands of Canadians are at stake; decisions must be made which will affect the destiny of this nation to a marked degree and bear upon the fortunes of all the great nations who are associated with us in the war.

Should matters of such great moment be passed upon by any one political group? Most wise and sensitive men would shrink from accepting such grave responsibility. Vital questions may be decided by a single party in peacetime, because mistakes can easily be undone and the Government removed from office at public discretion. In wartime, however, the tendency is to avoid elections and satisfy public demands for changes in policy and personnel by reorganizations voluntarily undertaken. Mr. King nourishes the popular prejudice against elections in wartime, but refuses to accept the other part of the doctrine which guarantees that flexible, responsible and representative government can be preserved despite the lack of elections.

Since Britain entered the war there has been no election. But almost the entire personnel of the Government has been changed in accordance with the feelings and judgment of the people as reflected in the press and at public meetings. Mr. King, in the meantime, has done nothing save shuffle his Cabinet around a bit and replace deceased Ministers. Though it would seem hard to persuade Mr. King that such is the case, there are, nevertheless, able, earnest and intelligent people who have never voted Liberal in their lives. The country has need of all the able, earnest and intelligent people who can be found. It is Mr. King's business to find them, and, without inquiring into their political associations, put them where they can do the most good. It is also his business to see that the elected representatives of other parties who represent, in the aggregate, nearly as many voters as his own party, should share with him the responsibility for making grave decisions that affect the lives and the honor of us all.

Mr. Power asks for a political truce. The Canadian people, who like Mr. Power and respect him, would prefer to give him political unity. But the first move must come from the Government, of which Mr. Power is a member and an influential one. If Mr. Power would persuade his Leader to broaden the foundations of the Government so that all the large and important elements of the population are represented, and men of first-rate ability are given a voice in the councils of the State, there would be no need to call for a political truce. Major Power would be able to display in front of the representatives of the United Nations who will gather in Ottawa next week, not an aggregation of cliques preserving a strained and self-controlled silence, but a united and confident nation.

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail
Date May 14/42
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Conscription C243903

Northern Ireland

Statement by Churchill

delay and cost.

Australia

Statement by Curtin

(at conference)

APEX
VERTICAL FOLDER
No. Sp. 421B
Made in all sizes
Patent No. 96772

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Relative to conscription & Local Effort

There are, I know, many arguments advanced to support the view that conscription is preferable as a method of raising men for the army to the voluntary system. There are two sides to this issue. There are many who believe equally firmly and equally honestly that, if the necessary numbers can be raised by voluntary means, the voluntary system is a better system. It is not my purpose to enter into the arguments on either side of this question, although I have never concealed my agreement with the view expressed by the Minister of National Defence that, with the background and traditions which this country possesses and which it would be folly to ignore, I, too, prefer the voluntary method if it works.

I am not entering into these other considerations because I believe that, in the terrible situation which ~~confronts us in~~ the world, and in the light of ~~a very real~~ peril to all free nations, including our own, there is only one test we are justified in applying. ~~I put each of them in the one simple question:~~ Which method of raising men for overseas service, compulsory or voluntary, will, under conditions as they actually exist in Canada, contribute most to a maximum war effort? That is the practical test, and it is, I believe, the only test for all who are sincerely concerned that Canada should put forth her utmost effort.

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Since it cannot be maintained with truth that, in the present circumstances, the adoption of conscription for overseas service would add anything to Canada's total effort, it is my conviction and the conviction of the government, that we would not now be justified in adopting conscription. In saying that I wish to make it perfectly clear that it involves no commitment as to the future.

I stated in this House on February 25th and I wish to say again to-day that "when we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to Parliament and have it discussed on its merits. I am putting this forward now so that the public may understand quite clearly why it is impossible to give any immediate decision."

Unrevised Hansard, February 25, p. 914

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C243906 How the government viewed the rights of the people with respect to the national interest, and its own obligation with respect to the course to be followed in seeking to meet an existing need was made perfectly plain in my first broadcast in the plebiscite campaign, when I said: "The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past."

~~Conscription in my~~

It is well to keep in mind that conscription is only a method of raising men for military service. Total effort does not depend solely upon the manner in which men are enlisted for service, it depends upon the results to be obtained from the method or methods employed.

In the light of the record of voluntary enlistments in the army for service anywhere in the world, as it was at the time this statement was made, and as it has since been

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maintained, no one can honestly say that the adoption of conscription for service overseas in the army is a step which, at the present time, is necessary in order to maintain the government's war programme. Not only is it not necessary, but it is questionable indeed if, at the present time, its adoption would contribute anything to a total war effort. It conceivably might have a quite opposite effect.

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There is nothing in the proposed amendment which either expresses or necessarily implies that the government's program for 1942-43 or the government's attitude towards that program as referred to from time to time, in the plebiscite campaign has been altered in the least, or that there is any intention of a change of government policy or attitude. I am, therefore, as I said in my reply to ~~Mr. Gardin~~ the former minister of Labour, Workers and Transport unable to agree that there has been any change of policy or attitude on the part of the government. No newpolicy has been adopted.

The policy of the government is not being changed by the proposed amendment. That policy, as has been repeatedly stated, is a policy of total national effort for total war, a policy to be carried out by the application of the principle of national ~~compulsory~~ selective service as generally and rapidly as the demands of a total war effort may require. It was in accordance with that policy, and the application of the principle mentioned, that the government's program for the fiscal year 1942-43, a program envisaging an all-out national effort, was set out and presented to parliament in the speech from the Throne read by His Excellency

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at the beginning of the present session. Here are the pertinent paragraphs:

> "During the present session, opportunity will be afforded for the fullest consideration and discussion of Canada's war effort, actual and prospective. My advisers will submit to you the measures deemed essential to our national security, and for the prosecution of the war to the utmost of our strength.
>
> In accordance with the government's policy of a total national effort for total war, you will be asked to approve a balanced programme for further increases in the armed forces and in the production of munitions of war and foodstuffs. The increase in the armed forces will involve an expansion of the establishment of the Canadian army overseas. You will also be asked, as an integral part of Canada's direct war effort, to approve a contribution to Britain of vast quantities of munitions, foodstuffs and supplies.
>
> The government's policy of national selective service will be extended, as generally and rapidly as may be necessary, to effect the orderly and efficient employment of the men and women of Canada for the varied purposes of war. You will be advised of the means the government proposes to adopt, to effect as complete as possible a mobilization of the material resources and manpower of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort."

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That program was decided upon in accordance with the government's policy as existing from the time of the return of the present administration to power. That this program represented an utmost effort, in so far as in the opinion of the government that effort could be carried out up to March 31st, 1943, there can be no doubt in the world.

[illegible] to [illegible]

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Also statement of Ralston;
also my own statement.

The proposed deletion of Section 3 does not denote any change in policy from that set forth in those statements. Nor does it contemplate any additions to or subtractions from the program for 1942-43 as set forth in the Speech from the Throne. In the words of the Minister of Finance, that program "will strain the human and material resources of this country to the limit". It represents, for the fiscal year 1942-43 "the extreme limit of what the country can do." If that does not represent within the time indicated, a total national effort for total war, so far as Canada is concerned, I fail to know what would.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date MAY 28 1941

Subject C243911

CHURCHILL YIELDS ON DRAFT IN ULSTER

Enforcement, He Tells Commons, Would Be 'More Trouble Than It Is Worth'

London, May 27—(CP)—Prime Minister Churchill yielded today to Irish pressure and told the House of Commons that enforcement of conscription in Northern Ireland would be "more trouble than it is worth."

"We have made a number of inquiries," he said, "in various directions, with the result that we have come to the conclusion that at the present time, although there would be no dispute about our rights or our merits, it (conscription) would be more trouble than it is worth to enforce such a policy."

The House cheered Mr. Churchill and cried "No" when Sir Hugh O'Neill asked if it would not make "a rather bad impression throughout the Empire that once again the Government has burked this issue because of pressure from Southern Ireland."

Mr. Churchill explained simply that "we thought it better."

Sir Hugh asked if the Government of Northern Ireland thought conscription "could be, and ought to be, applied" and Mr. Churchill said, "Yes."

Eamonn de Valera, Prime Minister of Eire, told the Parliament in Dublin yesterday that he had made strong representations to the British Government against extending conscription to Northern Ireland, saying it would revive "old unhappy relations."

Lord Glentoran, Northern Ireland Minister of Agriculture, made the following statement:

"Mr. Churchill asked the Prime Minister of Ulster to come over and give his views on the matter to the British Cabinet.

"The Ulster Prime Minister made it quite clear that Ulster is out to assist the war effort in every possible way, and that, in total warfare, equality of service among all classes could be attained only by conscription.

'In his wisdom, Mr. Churchill has decided against conscription. Nevertheless, he will continue to receive just the same help and support from the Ulster people as if he had decided otherwise."

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London N.Y. Times

4018 #

Date Nov. 22/41

C243912

Subject

AUSTRALIA AND CONSCRIPTION

MR. CURTIN'S REPLY

"DEFENCE FIRST DUTY"

NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN FOR CONSCRIPTION

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Name of Publication N.Y. Times

Date Nov. 22/41

Subject

AUSTRALIA AND CONSCRIPTION

MR. CURTIN'S REPLY TO ADVOCATES

"DIVIDING THE NATION"

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CANBERRA, Nov. 21

Asked in the House of Representatives to-day if he would restrain the advocates of conscription, on the ground that they are raising an issue which is dividing Australia, Mr. Curtin, the Prime Minister, replied, amid cheers, that the Government would not interfere with the expression of opinion except when that opinion was aiding the enemy, impeding the prosecution of the war, or advocating subversion; as the public had the right to criticize the Government and to advocate other policies.

Nevertheless, he continued, no issue could be so ill-timed and detrimental to the unity of Australia and the maximum cohesion of its people in the prosecution of the war, than that which, when previously raised, had divided and weakened Australia. He asked the people to give their maximum support to the recruiting policy advocated by the leaders of all parties in Parliament, whose responsibility it was effectually to prosecute the war. He also asked them to give due weight to Australia's unfortunate experience in the last War and do nothing calculated to weaken instead of strengthen her war effort. A controversy over conscription now would not add a single man to the fighting forces, and would comfort the enemy. The voluntary system had produced an increasing war effort and at no stage in the war was the Commonwealth so well prepared as it was now.

Replying to another questioner, Mr. Curtin expressed his gratitude to Mr. Duff Cooper for saying that he would leave Australia with an impression of its unity, courage, and endeavour. Mr. Curtin added that he hoped the world would take notice of what Mr. Duff Cooper considered to be a fair judgment of the Australian war effort.

Commenting yesterday on the advocacy of conscription by the Returned Soldiers' League, Mr. Curtin said that the whole history of such advocacy in Australia was marked by increasing national disunity, which was most undesirable at any time, and especially adverse to the successful conduct of the war. The recognition of this fact, as much as anything else, had led the leaders of the other parties in Parliament to indicate that conscription would not be invoked for oversea service. Those seeking a united nation would do well to avoid introducing an issue which, by splitting Australia, weakened her.

As part of a comprehensive scheme of Army and Air Force cooperation, the Government are establishing in Canberra a school in which Army and Air Force officers will be trained in methods of cooperation.

Parade-ground drill will be reduced by 80 per cent. under a new system of Army training, which will soon be in operation, and which is designed to ensure rapidity in training for war. The drill henceforth will be battle formation drill.

NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN FOR CONSCRIPTION

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

ADELAIDE, Nov. 21

Taking the initiative in the formation of an Australian War Service League, leaders of the public have begun a vigorous campaign throughout the Commonwealth for the complete mobilization by conscription of its manpower, wealth, and industries. It is intended to establish an organization in every State to support the Returned Soldiers' League's demand for an all-in war effort in which the full resources of the whole country would be utilized as quickly as possible. The League has already received widespread assurances of support.

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Lenger & wishing acquaintance now

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The danger to our war effort in imposing conscription now

I have shown that the application of conscription for service overseas at the present time would not increase Canada's total war effort. I have also expressed the opinion that it would have the opposite effect. I wish now to give my reasons for holding that opinion.

There can now be no doubt that the majority of French Canadians are opposed to the imposition of conscription for service overseas. Whether we agree with them or whether we disagree, no one can deny the fact of their opposition. It is a fact which should be squarely faced.

To impose conscription for overseas service, when it is not needed to achieve a total effort, would be an abandonment of the policy clearly announced by myself and by the Minister of National Defence before the plebiscite was held.

It would be said, and rightly said in French Canada that the government was abandoning its policy, not because the voluntary system had failed, but because we thought the majority of the people wanted conscription, and because we had our eyes on the "ballot boxes". No doubt the government could achieve a cheap and temporary popularity in certain quarters by a cowardly betrayal of this kind. But let us pause to ask ourselves what the price would be.

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In French Canada, resort to conscription for overseas service while it was not needed, would be widely regarded as an example of the tyranny of a racial majority over a racial minority. I do not say the law would not be accepted because I believe the great majority of French Canadians respect the law and respect constituted authority. But such a course would arouse bitterness and resentment which might prejudice the whole future of Canada.

In that connection, every hon. member would do well to keep in mind that our children and our children's children will continue to live side by side in this country for generations to come. By our attitude today we may well be deciding whether they are to live in harmony and co-operation or in a state approaching hostility to one another, in the years ahead.

But it is not only the remote consequences which should be considered. What would the immediate effect be on Canada's war effort. Almost one third of our people would be resentful of the other two thirds. The reflection of that resentment could not be kept out of the armed forces. The tens of thousands of French Canadians who are voluntarily fighting for Canada--for Toronto as well as for Quebec--could not help sharing the feelings of their families at home. Friendships would be broken, co-operation would become difficult and the morale of our whole fighting forces would be weakened. The same thing would happen

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on the home front. It would be bad for production, bad for organization and destructive of the spirit of co-operation which has enabled Canada to achieve so much in this war.

That is why I have always fought for national unity since the first day of the war; that is why I consider it more important than ever today. Without national unity, our war effort will be weaker than it should be and far less effective. With national unity, Canada will do more to help win the war.

But it does not stop there. Canada may herself be attacked at any moment. How can we hope to offer effective resistance to the enemy, if we have destroyed or even weakened the basis of co-operation between the two great races.

But, it will be said, Canada is a democracy and, in a democracy, the majority rules. Why should a minority be permitted to thwart the will of the majority?

In the first place, there is no evidence that the majority wants conscription for overseas service to be applied now. All we know is that the majority is prepared to accept conscription for overseas service if the government considers it necessary to apply it.

By introducing the present amendment the government is giving full legal expression to the will of the majority as indicated in the plebiscite.

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But the government did not ask the people to decide how we should conduct the war effort. We made it very clear that we were not asking them to make any decision as to how the war should be prosecuted. The government demanded full responsibility for itself, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to Parliament.

Nothing could be weaker, nothing could be more deserving of censure than for a government to shirk that responsibility and to try to throw it back on the people.

Let me illustrate what I mean. You all know there is a great popular clamour in Britain for a second front. Does anyone seriously suggest that the government should yield to that clamour unless it is convinced that the opening of a second front is the wisest course to take from the point of view of winning the war.

I have indicated my firm conviction that resort to conscription for service overseas when it is not required would endanger our national unity and the magnificent war effort based on our united action. Holding that view, how could I, as head of the administration, justify yielding to a clamour for a policy which, I believe, would be dangerous if not fatal.

In saying this I am not closing the door to the possibility of an eventual resort to conscription for service overseas should it become necessary.

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I made my position on that point very clear in my first broadcast in the plebiscite campaign on April 7th, in the following words:

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

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

Our national existence is at stake in this war. If the enemy should be victorious, there would be little or no future for this country, even if it was not immediately occupied. If it ever becomes clear that resort to conscription for overseas service is necessary to help defeat the enemy who is seeking to destroy Canada, I would not hesitate to support its application.

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Moreover, it is my conviction that if the day comes when it can honestly be demonstrated that resort to conscription for overseas service will, in fact, make Canada's war effort more effective and will, in reality, contribute to the security of Canada, the greater part of the opposition to its application will vanish in all parts of Canada.

Let us try to understand the real basis of the opposition to conscription in French Canada. As I see it, it is a compound of two elements. The first of these is the almost inevitable resistance of a proud and self-conscious minority to the threat, however remote, of domination by a numerically stronger majority. The second is much more important. It is the widespread and mistaken belief in French Canada that the majority of English Canadians do not give their first loyalty to Canada but give it instead to a great English-speaking Empire in which all but the British races are "lesser breeds without the law." In other words, large numbers of French Canadians believe that English-speaking Canadians are still colonial in their mentality and that they are fighting not for Canada but for the Motherland. Conscription for overseas service is, in particular, the symbol to them of the colonial mentality and

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and of a conception of Empire in which Canada occupies an inferior place.

No man, I believe, has greater pride than I have in my British ancestry; none is prouder of Canada's association in this war at the side of Britain in a common struggle for the freedom of both countries and of all countries. But no man is more insistent than I upon the complete equality of our association with Britain. We are fighting this war not for Britain, but for Canada. Canada has quite as much to lose if the war is lost as Britain. But we are not going to help to win the war by growing impatient and resentful if all our French Canadian compatriots have not yet come to see the issue in quite the same light we do.

We should not forget that a small but very vocal minority in English-speaking Canada constantly misrepresents the attitude of English-speaking Canadians. This Imperialist minority has no pride in their Canadian homeland; in spirit they are still colonials refusing their first devotion to Canada; harping always on an outworn conception of Empire which has long vanished from the minds of most Englishmen and Canadians alike.

The time has come to say aloud, and to glory in the fact that, however great their love of Britain, the vast majority of English Canadians, no less than French

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Canadians have one homeland and that is Canada, one patriotism and that Canadian.

And let there be no cries of the break-up of Empire. The old Empire vanished years ago and in its place a Commonwealth of free nations emerged. The stronger each of them is in its own patriotism, in its own self-respect and its own pride, the stronger the Commonwealth will be. No one expects an Englishman to give his first loyalty to Canada rather than to England; and no one says the Empire is breaking up because he fails to do so.

Why then should any self-respecting Canadian be expected to give his first loyalty to any other country than Canada. The stronger and deeper our attachment and loyalty to Canada, the greater will be our unity and the greater will be our war effort. Let the majority of English Canadians show, once and for all, in a fashipn that cannot be misunderstood, that we are Canadians, ~~that~~ that all we are doing we are doing for Canada, and I have no doubt of the response of French Canada.

But it will not be enough for the English Canadians to show that they are good Canadians before all else. It is equally necessary for the French Canadians to show that they, too, are Canadians first and French Canadians second. French Canadians should not judge English

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speaking Canada by the small and declining minority which attacks their language, their race and their immemorial rights. They do not speak for the vast majority of English Canadians who are ready to go to the utmost limit to uphold and defend the equal citizenship of all Canadians in our common country. Above all, do not allow the attitude of English Canadians to this war to be misinterpreted and misrepresented. The vast majority of English Canadians are just as much concerned with the safety of Canada as the vast majority of French Canadians. They love Canada quite as much as French Canadians do, and it is for Canada they are prepared to fight to the utmost limit of their strength.

The majority of English Canadians, I believe, are prepared to respect the feelings of French Canada regarding the application of conscription for overseas service, just as long as they believe the safety and the future well-being of Canada can be successfully upheld without resort to conscription for service overseas. They are prepared to do so, I believe, because they love their own country and are determined, if possible, to preserve its unity.

But they are going to expect, and they have a right to expect, equal generosity, equal understanding, and an equal devotion to the unity of our country among French Canadians. If other methods fail and the moment comes when

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resort to conscription for overseas services is required to defend the security and the future of Canada, they will expect French Canada to accept it and to support it.

I do not believe that English Canada is going to judge French Canada by the small minority of separatists and racists who seek, under the cloak of opposing conscription, to disrupt our common homeland; any more than I believe French Canada, if told the truth, will judge English Canada by the minority of English-speaking racists who seek to impose their domination on their fellow citizens of ~~any other~~ another race and language.

Hitler has plunged the whole world into the most terrible of wars in order to impose his hateful and pagan conception of racial superiority upon mankind. He and his kind alone will profit if the Canadian people permit the question of conscription to plunge this nation into a struggle between races, each echoing Hitler in its claims of racial superiority.

I believe the Canadian people can and will rise above the evil thing we are all fighting: that we will glory in our racial equality and our common humanity, and that we will face this issue of conscription, calmly, rationally and without passion.

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There is a real war to fight against the common enemy of all Canadians who is the enemy of mankind. There is no time, and there should be no energy left, for a sham battle, about how we are going to fight the real war.

Let us first make an honest and united effort to get all the men required for overseas service by voluntary means; and let me remind those who believe in the voluntary system that they have a double duty to make it work.

Let us hope our efforts will not fail - but if they do fail, let us with the same union of hearts and efforts accept and support whatever compulsory measures may be needed to defeat the enemies of Canada, and to secure the freedom for ourselves and other nations without which there can be no future for Canada.

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submitted by W. Rickington suggesting PM's address on conscription.

I have something to say now that will come as a great surprise to most of you. Deep in my heart ever since the outbreak of this war I have not been at all satisfied with the mobilization plans for our armed forces. The unfairness inherent in our system has been just as obvious to me as to anyone else. On the one hand I could appreciate that the principle of "The Survival of the Fittest" was and is a deep-seated one in all mankind. That the flower of our nation should be sacrificed in favour of the weaker or more cowardly elements was something I could not fail to realize in fulfillment of what the Canadian people wanted under the voluntary enlistment system. United with this was our sacred election and pre-election promises. Nothing it seemed to me, could do more to destroy our faith in the true principles of democracy than to break the promises given not only by myself but by all political leaders prior to the commencement of hostilities. Then there were pledges that we would retain the two-party system. The people wanted this and I believe they still do. It spells Freedom even if it allows people to say things about me for which they would be shot in Germany. When I thought about the unfairness of our voluntary system I had to think of other unfair things too, such as the unfairness of income taxes and property taxes to the hardworking, thrifty individuals who form the backbone of our great country. Furthermore, there were the minority groups, over-run and controlled in their mother countries by our unscrupulous and vindictive enemies. To force these minority groups to fight for Canada was tantamount to making them fight against their own kith and kin. Let us not forget that Vichy France was the only recognized government in France. It was recognized <u>wholly</u> by the United States yet it was purely a German satellite government. Outside of this there were large groups in this country which were perfectly sincere in their beliefs that there was no necessity for them to fight until they were attacked. They had been promised there never would be conscription and why should they not remain neutral like Ireland, Sweden or Switzerland. No one knew better than we did what a doubtful and unsafe philosophy this was and we did our utmost to get them to see that

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defence really meant attack and if I have one criticism to offer it is that their leaders and elected representatives could have done much more than they have done to date to show to them the fallacy of such a doctrine. Had they been more considerate of the real facts of the world situation and gone out to lead their people to this real truth we would have a better mobilization system today and I sincerely believe the war would be that much nearer to its close.

We have been very patient with them, we have tried by every gentle process we could think of to help them to see the light and frankly, the present crisis has resulted in the proverbial "show down". They do not have to fight their own people now. The issue is clear-cut and well defined; we are on the road to Victory, Freedom and Democracy. What excuse has any man living in Canada today for refusing to defend his own home and his own property by joining with our Allies in the attack and final destruction of the forces of evil?

No one can say today that we have not tried to fulfil our election pledges and I do not think this is the time to talk about Tory Propaganda but rather a time to be grateful for the fact that we maintained a two-party government with a vigorous opposition which compelled me to lose, or almost lose one of the best Defence Ministers Canada has ever known and to produce an outstanding General with entirely opposite views on enlistment who reports virtually the same results as he did. I cannot let this opportunity pass without further praising my contemporaries in the opposition benches for the economy of our war machine. We can have all the experience and practice in the world but "practice does not make perfect". It only makes perfect the things we are practicing and we may be practicing wrongly. Real economy and skill is only obtained by practice with supervision and checking and I can say to my worthy opponents of the opposition that you have undoubtedly saved our country immeasurably in life, money and materials over what a Coalition Government could have achieved.

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I feel this debate has lasted long enough. Most of our members must return to their homes , they have important work to do there. I have said we have been patient, we have, and the "show down" is here. The time for further logic, platitudes or reasoning is past, the hearts of our citizens are deciding the question for us now and as I am still the one to make the decision and as no one has offered to take on that responsibility, here it is.

I call upon this house to instruct the Department of National Defence to call up (1) Every able-bodied single man to enlist for active service regardless of priorities or otherreasons and (2) such married men without children, and (3) married men with children, as they deem advisable; to transfer men already in the Navy or Air Forces whose services are not required there any longer to the army; to move men in the various branches in the Army to the section best suited to expediency without fear or favour (and I believe there are some Headquarters officers and other men in Canada and England that might also be given a chance in the front line).

There is just one bill or order-in-council that I call upon the house to approve to close this special session and that is a bill to confiscate all the property of all those who object or thwart this action and reserve it for the men who are defending our Country overseas. I am going to ask for the Vote of Confidence to be put right away as soon as these words have been read in French. I ask Mr. to read the French translation now so that there can be no misunderstanding while I retire from the house and Pray to God that we may be united and make this decision unanimous.

N.B. Develop this and supply some of the enthusiasm you showed at the Empire Conference in London and it will be unanimous. Nothing less will. You will be surprised how well the Quebec members will support you. Fear and surprise are the greatest motivating factors of all.

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BRITISH UNITED PRESS....MONTREAL....COLLECT....M.P.R.

OTTAWA (MacLeod): Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King protested most emphatically just before the dinner-hour recess of the House of Commons tonight against a despatch of the British United Press which reported him as having told the government caucus that he had discussed the conscription issue with the Hon. Winston Churchill while in England.

Mr. King denied categorically that he had mentioned Mr. Churchill's name in his remarks to the caucus and suggested strongly that an apology was due from the British United Press for reporting that he had done so.

"I wish to say at once", the Canadian Prime Minister told the House, "that I never mentioned the name of Mr. Churchill in connection with any discussion on conscription at any party caucus held at any time. This statement is false and what is more I believe it has been inserted with a view not to helping Canada's war effort but to make the war effort of Canada as embarrassing as it can be made at this time.

"I think an apology is due", he continued, "from the British United Press for publishing a statement of that kind before inquiring of the Prime Minister whether or not the statement was correct. I cannot protest too strongly against a misrepresentation that could not be grosser than the one appearing here".

Subsequently to the incident in the House, Norman M. MacLeod, Chief Parliamentary Correspondent of the British United Press, represented to Mr. King that the traditional secrecy attached to party caucuses denied correspondents any channel of official news. The utmost steps that a correspondent could take normally to assure the accuracy of any story attributed to the caucus was to see that it emanated from a

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source which he considered to be informed and dependable. In the present case, while the mention of Mr. Churchill's name was quite apparently in error and greatly to be regretted, the substantial accuracy with which Mr. King's attitude on the conscription issue had been stated was evidence that the source had been reliable in the main, and that the story had not been irresponsibly published.

Mr. MacLeod regarded the suggestion that the story had been written with a view to embarrassing the war effort as unfortunate and unjustified. He believed that Mr. King's sense of fairness would take the same view of it, once the moment of annoyance was passed, and that he would agree that the record of co-operation of the British United Press and of himself personally with the government on all war matters sufficiently answered any such charge.

MACLEOD.

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Policy of the Opposition

Mr. Hanson (p. 3532):

In two sentences I give the position to which we adhere. We believe in the immediate and full application of the true principles of national selective service, administered in a direct, clear-cut, and straightforward manner, without geographical or other limitation. We believe that, hand in hand with national selective service of man-power must go full mobilization of material resources, so that the contribution of all citizens and all classes of citizens shall be equalized in so far as that is possible, and so that the nation may wage total or unlimited war in any and every theatre of war.

Reply:

The omly difference between this statement and the policy of the government is that the policy of the government is clear and definite; while these words are general and indefinite.

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Removal of false impressions

Mr. Hanson (p. 3530):

I ask this question: Does the Prime Minister intend to assert that the mere repeal of the limiting sections of the mobilization act, without the full utilization of the powers which such repeal will confer, will remove those so-called false impressions?

Reply:

If the Leader of the Opposition and his supporters gave half as much time to praise of the half million Canadians who have freely offered their services, as they have given to belittling Canada's war effort, the greater part of the false impression would soon be removed.

I expected that my announcement on June 10th that over half a million volunteers had enlisted in the armed forces would be universally acclaimed. But the Leader of the Opposition, by his silence, ignores the splendid effort of these men. To listen to him or to read certain newspapers that support him one would gather the impression that there were almost no men in the Canadian army. Are they ashamed of our magnificent voluntary army? If they are not, why not give the army some credit?

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Total war and selective service

Mr. Hanson (p. 3531):

> We are all agreed that we cannot win this war, that Canada cannot do her full share toward winning this war, without what is termed "total war effort". I say to the government now, and I say it with great sincerity, that all of us know in our hearts that we cannot have total war effort without unlimited selective national service. The terms are synonymous.

Reply:

If the Leader of the Opposition means by "unlimited selective national service" that every able-bodied man should contribute by his services directly to the war effort, and that the selective application of compulsory measures should contribute towards that end, he is merely stating the policy of the government. There is no difference between us.

If he means that Canada cannot have a total effort unless men are compelled to serve in the army overseas, even if volunteers are available why does he not say, equally, that compulsion must be applied for the navy and the air force? If he says that, he is saying that Britain is not making a total effort. If he does not say that, let him explain why voluntary service is all right for the navy and the air force, but is not all right for the army.

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National Selective Service

Mr. Hanson: (p. 3531):

Back of the government's policy is the selective service programme announced by the Prime Minister on March 24 last. I have indicated to the house my views with respect to that programme, and I shall not reiterate my arguments here. In my view that programme is the back-door approach to selective service. It bears no resemblance to the true principles of selective service. It is unworthy of a proud nation. The whole basis is "enlist or starve".

Reply:

The basis of the policy of selective service announced on March 24th is two-fold:

1. to shift men and women from unessential occupations to direct war service of some kind.

2. to keep men and women already in essential war work in those occupations, except where they are more urgently needed for compulsory military service.

This policy is based on the policy in Britain as my quotation on January 26th from Mr. Churchill clearly showed.

By condemning selective service in Canada, the Leader of the Opposition is also condemning it in Britain.

Surely the better course would be to co-operate with the government in making the policy work.

There is no policy of enlist or starve: there is no restriction on employment in war industry or in many other essential occupations.

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No change in policy

re. conscription for overseas service

Mr. Hanson (p. 3526):

> We are told that while the government is freed from its self-imposed vow, it has no present intention to put into immediate effect the objectives which the great mass of affirmative voters believed would be government policy. Indeed they may never be put into effect at all.

Reply:

This is quite correct. As pointed out in speech on second reading, Parliament and the people were told the policy of the government was not conscription for overseas, but freedom of action.

What the government told the people it wanted is precisely what it is now asking from Parliament.

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What is the policy of the official Opposition re overseas conscription

Mr. Hanson (p. 3526):

At the outset, I desire to make it plain that I do not intend to discuss the merits or demerits of conscription this afternoon beyond saying that I believe in the principle.

Reply:

What is the position of the official Opposition regarding conscription for overseas service?

The people know where the government stands; surely they have a right to be told by its leader where the Opposition stands.

Let them stop hiding behind the smoke screens of "selective service" and "total war" and say plainly whether they are in favour of the immediate application of conscription for overseas service or whether they are not.

I have been called with some amendment in committee

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The verdict of the plebiscite

Mr. Hanson (p. 3527):

> Let there be no mistake about the will of the people as reflected by the plebiscite. Any effort to make it appear that the affirmative vote was nothing more than a release of the government and of parliament is not facing the facts as expressed at the polls. When the government is freed from its pledges, which release has been secured on the terms which the government itself defined, the very act which frees the government and makes compulsory service at home and abroad the law of the land. That law of the land must be given effect to--are we to have a law and leave it on the shelf?--if not by this government, then by some other government. The will of the people must be respected. It is not what we thought but what the people thought when they voted "yes". What justification is there for establishing a principle if the constituted authority does not give effect to it?

Reply:

> The government is giving effect to the will of the people by asking Parliament to be released from this restriction.
>
> -- (See Toronto Star, 13.6.42, attached)
>
> The law is not to be left on the shelf. The government intends to extend the area of compulsory service to other parts of this continent.
>
> -- (See also Windsor Star, 12.6.42, attached)

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The situation in Canada is that the entire country undoubtedly calls for the utmost war effort. Individuals in the country, however, hold different views as to how the utmost war effort can best be organized.

The matter is one which requires the most careful study and a very complete knowledge of the entire war situation - past, present, and future.

There is a section of public opinion clamouring for compulsory service overseas in the army. This revives a traditional political feud - now twenty-five years old.

Canada has, under The National Resources Mobilization Act, recognized the principle of compulsory national service - which principle is being increasingly applied.

In studying the question, the following facts are very important:

The situation in this war is entirely different from that in the last war.

In the Great War, fronts were stabilized.

Armies were not mechanized in the manner of today.

Equipment had a much more limited significance.

Canada raised over 600,000 men.

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Compulsory service for overseas was imposed on Canada in 1917 - but compared to Canada's total effort in the Great War, the contribution made by compulsory service was somewhat insignificant.

Canada had 4 Divisions in the field - together with substantial numbers of Railway and Forestry Troops.

Canada, then, had no Navy of her own - and her air contribution was limited to individual Canadians serving with the Royal Flying Corps.

Today - the situation is quite different.

Canada has now overseas - 110,000 troops.

Canada has in England:

3 Divisions of Infantry;

1 Tank Brigade;

Numerous Corps troops and Ancillary formations;

Several Forestry and technical units;

With an armoured Division about to proceed overseas.

That leaves in Canada - 2 Divisions not yet completely organized - or, in all - the Army has 6 Divisions - with numerous additional divisions and Corps troops.

In addition to this -- Canada has an Air Force at present of 90,000 men;

And Navy personnel of 30,000 men.

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On the basis of manpower, this is at least equivalent to 6 additional Divisions.

So that Canada has raised, under her volunteer system, the equivalent of 12 Divisions.

Already, in Canada, including those rejected for medical reasons, over 500,000 men have volunteered for service anywhere.

In the field of production, the Canadian effort is an outstanding success.

The policy of the Canadian Government now is a policy of balanced and co-ordinated effort. In other words, a policy of first of all discovering the most effective use of Canada's manpower -- possibly involving the substitution of women for men in many industrial capacities.

The policy of a very insistent group in Canada is compulsory service for the armies overseas.

The advocacy of this policy would seem at times to ignore altogether other phases of the National effort - such as the nation's contribution to the Air Force, to the Navy, and to our vast industrial production.

While this has received strong support in certain quarters, it is considered to be largely based either on

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sentiment or prejudice, and the supporters of the Government maintain that their policy is justified by the logical and basic requirements of the entire situation.

In other words, the war effort of Canada may be more valuable by the production of more equipment than by sending more men to stand on guard overseas.

It is entirely a question of exercising the best judgment possible, after consultation with the Motherland, and after a considered appraisement of our entire national resources in Canada.

It is wholly a question of a careful survey of the entire manpower situation - a survey of the necessities of the war, and then reaching a careful, reasoned conclusion as to how best the activities of the Canadian people can be co-ordinated for the most effective contribution possible.

In other words, the policy to which Canada intends to adhere, with, of course, the most thorough consultation with Great Britain, is that of balance and co-ordination - but such balance and such co-ordination as to result in the utmost possible war effort.

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ARGUMENT: Conscription is the fairest method of placing the manpower of Canada on active service

COUNTER-ARGUMENT:

1) The Government of Canada gave a pledge, not once, but repeatedly, that so long as the present administration remained in office, there would be NO conscription for service outside of Canada.

2) So long as the emphasis remains upon machines of war rather than upon manpower as such, the inauguration of conscription could only be a dividing force within Canada. The war effort has until now been on a singularly united basis.

Other Comments:

(a) Unless there is conscription, persons of foreign racial extraction will continue to replace native-born in remunerative employment in Canada. Some of the latter argue: "Why should I enlist voluntarily if this other person (Jews frequently mentioned) just takes over my job?"

It is also reported from some sections of Saskatchewan that sons of freign-born are increasing landholdings in expectation of personal profit.

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ARGUMENT: Compulsory military service for home defence only cannot be reconciled with an "all-out" war effort; we cannot wage total war to the utmost of our strength if our participation is limited by the limits of voluntary enlistment.

COUNTER-ARGUMENT

So far as enlistments are concerned, voluntary enlistment has so far provided all the men needed for keeping up to strength the active service formations, at home and overseas, to which Canada is committed for the current year.

In other direction, notably in machines and materials, the Canadian contribution to the total war effort is of such a nature and on a scale which suggests that conscription is not the essential point on which our war effort should turn.

It should also be remembered how considerable a proportion of Canadian skill and manpower is needed in essential industries in Canada. If this aspect of the war effort is deficient, then no amount of compulsory service could make any difference.

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ARGUMENT: Voluntary military service is inconsistent with the need for manpower to settle the military issue. (Attention is called to statements made by Generals Wavell and Auchinleck when exchanging commands; also to efforts of General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, U.S.A., to have the basis of service in the U.S. army extended to include any theatre of war).

COUNTER-ARGUMENT:

This is a war of machines; and manpower alone without effective mechanized equipment on land, or without high-speed heavily-armed aircraft for the air, or without adequate naval craft, is useless.

There is no advantage in sending outside of Canada troops of whatever arm who are not adequately trained and fully equipped. Conscription in Canada of unspecified numbers of men, without reference to the equipment and training possibilities, would be uneconomic effort and might obscure the more immediate necessities of the war effort.

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(Conscription) (4)

ARGUMENT: The present basis of military service in Canada is playing into the hands of isolationists in the UniteD States: "if Canada does not require men to serve abroad except on voluntary enlistment, why should the U.S. help at all?"

COUNTER-ARGUMENT

The policy of the Canadian Governemnt is decided by the Government of Canada, which is responsible for that policy. The Government of the United States is similarly responsible for whatever policies it determines upon.

It is surely a singular commentary that the people most anxious to avoid complying with a policy inaugurated by the Government of the United States should have to look outside their own country for a reason to attack a settled policy of their own Government

The United States is not a belligerent in the present war, and it follows that the policies followed by the Government of the United States may of necessity be different in many particulars.

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(Conscription) (5)

ARGUMENT: The Government's pledge against conscription for overseas service was not intended to be binding if conditions changed radically: when the General Election was held in 1940 there was

no invasion of the Low Countries
no collapse of France
no intensified warfare on the scale which has since developed.

The stand should now be reversed.

COUNTER-ARGUMENT

If a pledge, so-called, means anything at all, it is made to be kept. The pledge was given with a full appreciation of what might transpire during the lifetime of a new Parliament. It was a deliberate statement of the policy which the Administration, if returned to office, would follow.

It may be asked whether those who now put forward this argument are seeking to embarrass the war effort of the Government and have failed to find any other ground upon which to attack ?

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MANPOWER PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

Manpower needed in war time for:

1. Essential civilian services;
2. Production of war supplies;
3. Production of food for Britain;
4. Armed forces:
   - (a) navy
   - (b) air force
   - (c) army

Priorities already fixed:

navy;

air force;

(See Ralston, Unr. Hansard, Nov. 5, p. 4449)

Priorities not fixed

between army on one hand

and war industry and agriculture on the other;

manpower survey recently completed to enable government to work out detailed programme;

success of war effort and effectiveness of army depends upon proper balance;

(See Ralston, Unr. Hansard, p. 4449)

4451-2

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Mechanization vs. Numbers

More men needed in production to maintain army in 1941 than 1918

(See Victor Sifton)
- get estimate of ratio -

Canadian production must supply Britain as well as Canada;

Limited population and competing demands;

One well-equipped division worth several ill-equipped;

e.g. Battle of Low Countries, Dunkirk, Battle of France, Russian campaign

(See Stalin's speech)

Contrast Germany and Canada

Germans have slave population for production - can mobilize more Germans

Canada has to supply Britain as well as Canadian forces - reduces numbers available for service in army.

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Disproportionate emphasis on army

Tradition from last war;

Letting part overshadow whole;

Army limited by needs for:

navy

air force

production

re-inforcements over period of years

(Repeat statement by Prime Minister on December 2, 1940)

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VOLUNTARY RECRUITING NOT A FAILURE

Total enlistment for service anywhere:
550,000 men;
waiting list for navy;
ample volunteers for air force;
army difficulties comprehensible;
(See Ralston's three reasons
Hansard pp. 4449-50)

Compulsion simpler in theory: not in practice:
need for persuasion still exists;
army would be demoralized by unwilling
recruits;
complicated machinery of enforcement -
diversion of manpower
(cf. oil control -
Mr. Howe on rationing
Hansard pp. 4833-84)
(See also Prime Minister's
statement in speech on
Price Control p. 7 - the same
arguments apply)

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Considerations of <u>efficiency</u> alone on the side of exhausting possibilities of voluntary system before clamouring for different system;

Vigorous support for voluntary system would help war effort more than clamour for change.

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COMPARISON OF COMPULSORY AND VOLUNTARY SYSTEMS

Theoretical virtues of conscription

1. Fair
2. Democratic
4. Efficient

Argument re fairness based on assumption that men seek to avoid military service and gain advantages by staying at home.

Remedy not conscription, but removal of economic and material disadvantages (if any) of military services:
- pay and allowances;
- security for re-employment;
- pensions; etc.;

Men in fighting services entitled to a material advantage rather than a disadvantage;

Argument re democracy - depends upon definition of democracy.

(Beverley Baxter's - Sons of Dukes)

Argument re efficiency

(See above re complications of compulsory system)

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Qualities of a good soldier not all
capable of precise classification;
Soldiering, like other occupations, a
vocation.

Practical considerations

Only one valid test:
Which method of recruiting army
for overseas will contribute
most to a maximum war effort in
all its aspects?

Government convinced that voluntary system
better in Canada for practical
historical reasons;
Will not help to open the wound of 1917;
Will arouse controversy throughout the
country to attempt conscription for
overseas service.

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THE REAL OBJECTION TO CONSCRIPTION

The attitude of French Canada

Conscription the symbol of racial strife
(See Mr. Sasseville Roy)

Government justified in risking racial strife only if a worse disaster the certain alternative

Difficulties of getting volunteers for army can be overcome:
not as great as difficulties, now and in future, of imposing conscription
(See Hanson's speech to Albany Club)
(cf. Churchill's attitude to conscription in Northern Ireland)

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Nature of Canadian unity

Not racial - but spiritual - based on

Tolerance and mutual respect

(See Churchill at Mansion House)

Danger to unity sole reason for giving

pledge; and paramount reason for

keeping pledge.

Sanctity of pledges

(cf. Vancouver speech)

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MOTIVES BEHIND CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

Respect for honest convictions:

e.g. attitude of Canadian Legion;

Government not "playing politics";

A small group seeking a plausible issue to divide the government and secure power for itself:
the professional agitators of national government.

(See Saturday Night, Nov. 8 on Meighen leadership)

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A CONSTRUCTIVE MANPOWER POLICY

Compulsion within Canada universally acceptable:

National Resources Mobilization Act;

Limitation of Production;

Price Control;

Wage Stabilization.

Government will not hesitate to undertake any measure of compulsion within Canada which will strengthen the war effort.

Difficulties of 100% compulsion:

1. Survey by experts
2. Classification by experts
3. Allocation by experts

Not impossible but difficult and expensive.

Inefficient compulsion would defeat object in view.

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Practical and Constructive approach

Use voluntary methods to the limit

Impose compulsion only where needed

Conscription for overseas service at wrong end

Right method: cut out progressively unessential uses of manpower

Maintain balance.

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[illegible]

1. The plebiscite - given freedom of discussion by govt. and by candidates parliament to consider any method of raising men for overseas service

to annul section 3 if thought desirable by government and parliament

2. Section 3 to be annulled - thought necessary by parliament in order to be free to send men beyond territorial waters (not necessarily overseas)

3. If annulled - government to proceed by Order in Council, not by Ministerial order to extent of time within which forces raised under Mobilization Act may be sent.

At present it seems desirable to extend to every male of Newfoundland, Denmark, West Indies, United States, possibly Alaska, etc

4. If overseas will require approval of Cabinet - Order in Council - not Ministerial order (in light of responsibility to parliament)

5. How interpret responsibility to parliament (in light of circumstances existing at time - if time ever comes)

Having regard to:

(1) the significance of the step in its effect upon the unity of Canada, and therefore upon the effectiveness of Canada's war effort

(2) the enforcement of the measure and the problems to which this might give rise.

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Important Stages

1. The plebiscite - gives freedom of discussion to govt. and to consider parliament to consider any method of raising men for overseas service

   to amend section 3 if thought desirable by government and parliament

2. Section 3 to be amended - thought necessary by parliament in order to be free to send men beyond territorial waters (not necessarily overseas)

3. If amended - government to proceed by Order in Council, not by Ministerial order to extend area within which forces raised under Mobilization Act may be sent.

   At present it seems desirable to extend to areas such as Newfoundland, Bermuda, West Indies, United States, possibly Alaska, etc

4. If overseas will require approval of Cabinet - Order in Council - not Ministerial order (in light of responsibility to parliament)

5. How interpret responsibility to parliament: (in light of circumstances existing at time - if time ever comes)

   Having regard to:

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I would feel

(1) that any government feeling it necessary to take such a step would wish to have the certainty of the support of parliament, and

(2) any government having the responsibility of enforcing such a step would need to have the certainty of the support of parliament, and

(3) that parliament would feel it had the right to express its approval or disapproval of such a step before it was finally taken.

Holding these views, so long as I had any responsibility for the decision, I would wish to exercise that right of decision in the light of the responsibility of the executive to parliament. In my own case that would mean informing parliament of the step which the government had decided to take, giving the reasons therefor, and asking from parliament an expression of confidence in the Administration in the course it was proposing to take.

- - - -

Note re immediate necessity for conscription

(1) Before parliament adjourned a year ago agitation started - conscription for overseas an immediate necessity, articles in press, etc.

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During Western trip encountered at Calgary,
Vancouver, Winnipeg
No necessity for arose at time or since -
movement died down
I went to England etc.
have gone on steadily increasing overseas
and home forces.

(2) Before Parliament reassembled - Mr. Meighen,
Committee of 200 - objection to plebiscite
on ground conscription immediate necessity.
4 months gone by - no necessity has arisen in
that time. Have gone on steadily strengthening
and increasing overseas and home forces.

(3) Started up again since plebiscite and in connection
with present bill.
Still going steadily on increasing strength of
forces overseas and at home.

Meanwhile events of war have made clearer than ever need
of both
(a) forces overseas being strengthened
(b) forces at home being increased and strengthened-
on Atlantic and Pacific -
just as clear government should be free to decide what
steps to be taken in light of all circumstances.

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Relation of Plebiscite to Amendment and Conscription

The plebiscite

Why decided upon

Effort to identify total effort with conscription,
which is a method of raising men,
not with what is actually being done - results.

Meighen leadership - manifesto

The 200 Toronto "total war for total effort".

Two things stood in way of reply to this
false position

(1) the obligation arising out of pledges

(2) the section 3, National Mobilization Act
arising out of obligation.

Plebiscite to remove the restriction arising out
of obligation.

Restriction was a moral one,
that has been removed.

There remains (to appearances) the legal one -
in Section 3.

It does not exist in reality - as decision of
Supreme Court gives full power to government
under War Measures Act to take any step
necessary to winning of war.

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Result of plebiscite

Not a vote for conscription

(see declarations of leaders)

A vote to free government from being bound by any past obligations.

Could not consider conscription on its merits before.

Government is now free to discuss conscription on its merits.

Return to original purpose of plebiscite

To place Canada's war effort in its true light, not to identify total effort with conscription whether needed or not.

It is now in true light as to there no longer being any moral obstacle to adoption of any course if desired -

but not in true light as to there not being any legal obstacle - albeit a legal obstacle which is more apparent than real.

Government desires to ~~overcome~~ remove this apparent but unreal obstacle.

Once removed those who seek to point to a moral or a legal obstacle to an all out effort, because of there being an apparent bar to conscription will no longer be able to do so.

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If conscription is not adopted it will be because it is unnecessary, or because its adoption, except where absolutely necessary, will do more harm than good.

Government's position as to aim unchanged

It is a policy of total effort for total war to be achieved by the method that will most effectively secure that end.

The method is National Selective Service applied in a manner calculated to produce the best results in the light of all existing circumstances.

Government's policy as to method

In all phases of war effort voluntary method preferable to compulsion,

Where desired results can be obtained thereby.

In re troops for overseas

Voluntary enlistment preferable to enlistment by conscription. Only where voluntary enlistment fails to meet needs of situation will compulsion be resorted to.

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Effect or result of removal of Section 3 upon govt. policy

I. To remove the false impressions that Canada's war effort is, or cannot be, an all out effort (because of this section) - a logical sequence to plebiscite.

It is not any mandate upon the government resulting from the plebiscite -

It is a step desired by the government itself in the interests of Canadian defence and effectiveness of Canada's war effort.

That step is to be in a position to move, as occasion may require, forces raised under the Mobilization Act, to certain parts of the North American hemisphere. This at present possible by Order in Council under War Measures Act, but not in accordance with government's policy to proceed in the light of its responsibility to Parliament, to amend an act of parliament by same authority (by parliament)

Effect (or result) of Amendment upon intended procedure in applying or extending application of conscription

I. It will not alter existing procedure as to authority which is that of having all extensions made not by Ministerial order, but by order of the Governor in Council.

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II. It will not change existing procedure as to method of extending principle and which is that of proceeding as occasion and necessity require, e.g.

(1) to territorial limits as at present

(2) beyond territorial limits to specified areas in Northern hemisphere

(3) if necessary overseas.

Re overseas

Not contemplated as necessary for present program which is up to March 1943. (See Ralston's statement).

So far as it is possible to see at present - Government has not changed its views in this regard.

Amendment is not being asked because of any intention immediately to extend to overseas, any more than was the case with respect to the taking of the plebiscite.

As the result of the plebiscite gave government and parliament full power to discuss what was necessary and advisable, so government will now have powers (subject to its responsibility to parliament) to decide what is necessary and desirable - and to do this in light of all existing circumstances.

Re Existing circumstances

There can be no doubt that the result of the plebiscite has made plain an existing circumstance of which any government will have to take full account. The fact

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that one-third of the population of Canada was not prepared to free the government of an obligation, respecting the method of raising men for overseas service - obviously renders it necessary and desirable that the government shall strive harder than ever to make sure that the men necessary for overseas are found by some other method, i.e., voluntarily.

This means that the majority, minority and the government must all unite in seeking to preserve Canadian unity.

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Canada's effort of the Army overseas

I am sorry to ~~have~~ read a few lines of Canada's effort of her Army overseas.

C243971

~~The Government has also~~

The Government has given the closest attention to all the available facts, has been examining the probabilities of this unforeseen future course of the war, has been considering particularly the same methods of mobilizing ~~the~~ reinforcements required ~~for the Army overseas~~ by the Army at the rate of increasing temporary wastage now borne which are being needed to keep at all the fronts. It has been ~~the~~ conclusion ~~of the~~ changes very rapidly. From recent reference now caught on all sides nothing is more uncertain than war.

~~Reinforcements~~

The people [illegible] are from about Dread & the Cabinet on Nov. 7. [illegible] very little information more [illegible] that to about officers on [illegible] people [illegible] 12

about officers or about heavy [illegible] is

(1) my own reminiscences [illegible] Nov. 7 or [illegible]

(2) reminiscences on [illegible] made in Commons over my [illegible] were made [illegible]

to [illegible]

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ARMY RE-INFORCEMENTS

For the past three weeks, the government has given constant attention to a review of significant facts and even examination of probabilities of the unknown future course of the war. At the risk of increasing temporary anxiety, we have avoided hasty and ill-considered statements which might have been made without looking at all the facts. In wartime the facts can change very rapidly. Five years' experience has taught all of us that nothing is more uncertain than war. I am going to give you the facts and conclusions as fully as I can.

I am going to speak to you first of all about re-inforcements for the Canadian army overseas. I place the question of re-inforcements first as there is none more important to our fighting men, and none which places a heavier responsibility upon the Ministry. Moreover, the government is fully aware of the public concern about this question.

Let me begin by placing the question of army re-inforcements in its true perspective in the picture of Canada's total military effort. Since 1939, nearly a million men have served in Canada's three armed forces. The present strength of the three services is some 750,000, of whom about 700,000 are volunteers. These figures represent a stupendous achievement in raising fighting men for a nation of less than

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twelve millions, particularly when ~~we take~~ account of the manpower required for ~~our~~ war production and vital services.

The problem of re-inforcements ~~itself directly affects~~ only one of three ~~services. As respects any possible need of re-inforcements,~~ the navy and the air force have no problem. The navy, with 85,000 men in the service, has reached the peak of its manpower needs. ~~From now on, the small numbers of recruits needed as replacements will be secured without difficulty.~~

The air force, with 190,000 men in its ranks, has passed the peak of its manpower requirements, ~~and is above the strength now needed. When we pause to think of the reason, we should all be thankful~~. The reason is that casualties, though costly, have been very much lighter than anticipated.

The present strength of the army is ~~about 400,000~~ men. Of this number, ~~almost 400,000~~ are volunteers. ~~There have been~~ Over 45,000 volunteers ~~enlist~~ for general service since January 1st of the present year. ~~But~~ Most of the men now in the army have been in its ranks for one, two, three or four years. All but recent recruits have received long, rigorous and varied training.

~~This~~ is the background ~~against which~~ we ~~should~~ examine the statement that re-inforcements without adequate training are

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being sent into action. The Canadian army is a huge organization. At one time or another, More than 650,000 men have served in its ranks during this war. Of that great number a few may have failed to receive all the training prescribed. Competent officers have made the most careful review. They find that the number of these exceptional cases is exceedingly small. The highest military advisers of the Government are satisfied that reinforcements sent into action have been well trained.

The record of Canadian army in Italy, France, Belgium and Holland is not the record of an army of which any part lacked adequate training. On the contrary, the military achievements of army are the best possible evidence of the efficiency of its training. Since [illegible] troops have received a steady stream of reinforcements to replace casualties. The recent victories on the Scheldt are the answer to those who say that, because of insufficiently trained reinforcements, the army is deteriorating.

Just a word as to what is meant when we speak of the numbers of casualties. This does not mean the number killed. It means the number killed, wounded, missing and prisoners of war, or, too, because of sickness or other cause, are not available for immediate combat.

The need for reinforcements is, of course, based upon the number of casualties. The probable number of casualties has to be estimated in advance. Before D-Day, no one could possibly know how great the casualties would be. The military experts of all the forces which landed in France made the most careful estimates of probable casualties. These estimates were based on

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experience in other theatres, on the nature of the operations in France and the Low Countries, and on the most careful appreciation of the strength of enemy resistance.

C2439'75

In the actual fighting, the total casualties in our army have not been as great as the number estimated and provided for. Infantry casualties were lower than expected in the actual landings and higher than estimated in the heavy fighting since the beachheads were established in June. ~~In all other arms except the infantry, casualties have been considerably lighter than were expected.~~ The army has ~~accordingly~~ been obliged to transfer some of the men originally trained ~~as re-inforcements~~ for other arms into the pool of infantry re-inforcements. This procedure is known as "re-mustering" Such transfers are bound to be a disappointment for men who have been highly trained in a particular arm of the service and find themselves obliged, by the circumstances of war, to transfer to another arm. But such troops are not untrained. All "re-mustered" troops have had basic infantry training. In addition to basic training and the training they have received in their particular arm, they are given further specialized infantry training before beeing sent into combat.

I now come to the question: Is there an adequate reserve of re-inforcements for the army? In the opinion of the military authorities, no difficulty is likely to arise except in relation to re-inforcements for the infantry. Infantry re-inforcements have been adequate to meet requirements to date. But, during his recent visit to the army overseas, Colonel Ralston learned that to provide replacements for future casualties at present rates,

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the flow of infantry re-inforcements from Canada should be accelerated. One fact needs to be emphasized. There is not an overall shortage of potential re-inforcements. Many thousands of men are in training now and enlistments are continuing at an encouraging rate. But recent recruits and those who enlist from now on will not be available until they are trained. And because we cannot tell how long the war will last we must continue to recruit men for the army to keep up re-inforcements ~~as long as the need exists.~~

But Colonel Ralston's report to the government disclosed an immediate problem which had to be faced. That problem is to find the means of speeding up the flow of fully trained infantry re-inforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of re-inforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

The question many ~~of you~~ will ask at once, is why not send overseas some of the draftees who are fully trained in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act?

That will seem to ~~many of you~~ the easiest way of meeting the problem. ~~But~~ It is not in accord with the policy of keeping our army overseas a 100% voluntary army if we possibly can. The voluntary system of raising our overseas forces has produced splendid results during five years of war. We have always believed that Canada's forces, having begun as voluntary forces, would be more effective, and that the country would be more united in their

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support, if we continued to rely upon the voluntary system for reinforcements as long as the voluntary system continued to be effective.

Colonel Ralston had grave doubts of our ability to keep up the flow of reinforcements in the next few months by voluntary means. He therefore recommended that the limitation upon the service of the draftees should be removed and that some of them should be sent overseas. The acceptance of this recommendation would have necessitated a recommendation by the Cabinet to the House of Commons to resort to conscription under the provisions of Bill 80 as enacted in 1942, and the approval by the House of Commons of that recommendation. I do not need to stress the gravity of the decision the government was then obliged to face. Days of anxious deliberation were devoted to an exploration of all possible alternatives.

When I realized that unless Colonel Ralston's recommendation were accepted by the Cabinet his resignation would follow, I felt it to be my duty to seek the most expert advice I believed to be available. I accordingly consulted General McNaughton. As the builder and first Commander of the Canadian Army, I knew there was no man who had the interests of the Army and the men overseas closer to his heart. General McNaughton expressed the belief that the possibilities of securing

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the required reinforcements by voluntary means had not been exhausted, ~~and,~~ In answer to my inquiry as to whether, ~~in the event of Colonel Ralston resigning~~, he would, ~~in this belief~~, be prepared in this belief to assume the responsibilities of Minister of National Defence, Acting Prime Minister gave me the assurance that he would. In the event of Colonel Ralston's resignation,

~~In these circumstances,~~ the recommendation made by Colonel Ralston was not accepted, the government decided to make, by intensified action, the utmost effort to speed up the flow of volunteer ~~infantry~~ reinforcements for the army overseas.

The people of Canada have a right to know the facts and figures

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Secret

Suggested Insert (possibly at bottom of page 6.)

I regret deeply the difference which led Colonel Ralston to leave the government. In this difference, he has followed the dictates of his conscience. ~~I wish to say publicly that there is no man in Canada in whom the fires of patriotism burn more ardently and none who has given more selfless and devoted service to his country.~~

~~There is no need for me to~~ I need not give assurances of General McNaughton's devotion to his country or of his determination to see that full support is given to the army.

~~Let us not forget~~ It is important to remember that the former Minister of National Defence and the present Minister have precisely the same objective in view: they differ only as to the means of reaching that goal.

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Second Revise - Secret

ARMY RE-INFORCEMENTS

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I am going to speak to you about re-inforcements for the Canadian army overseas. The government is aware of the public concern about the question of re-inforcements. It is the government's duty to provide full support for the army. That is a heavy responsibility. At the risk of increasing temporary anxiety, we have avoided hasty and ill-considered statements which might have been made without looking at all the facts. In wartime the facts can change very rapidly. Five years' experience has taught all of us that nothing is more uncertain than war.

For the past three weeks, the government has given constant attention to a review of all the facts and an examination of the probabilities of the unknown future course of the war. The review has now been completed. I am going to give you the facts and conclusions as fully as I can.

The question of army re-inforcements has to be placed in its proper perspective in the picture of Canada's total military effort. Since 1939, nearly a million men have served in Canada's three armed forces. The present strength of the three services is some 750,000, of whom about 700,000 are volunteers. Those figures represent a stupendous achievement in raising fighting men for a nation of less than twelve millions, parti-

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cularly when we take account of the manpower required for our war production and vital services.

The problem of re-inforcements itself directly affects only one of the three services. The navy and the air force have no problem. The navy, with 85,000 men in the service, has reached the peak of its manpower needs. From now on, the small numbers of recruits needed as replacements will be secured without difficulty.

The air force, with 190,000 men in its ranks, has passed the peak of its manpower requirements, and is above the strength now needed. When we came to think of the reason, we should all be thankful. The reason is that casualties, though costly, have been very much lighter than anticipated.

The present strength of the army is about 460,000 men. Of this number, almost 400,000 are volunteers. There have been over 45,000 volunteers enlist for general service since January 1st of the present year. But most of the men now in the army have been in its ranks for one, two, three or four years. All but the recent recruits have received long, rigorous and varied training.

This is the background against which we should examine the charge that re-inforcements without adequate training are being sent into action. The Canadian army is a huge organization. More than 600,000 men have been in its ranks

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during this war. Of that great number, a few may have failed to receive all the training prescribed. Competent officers have made the most careful review. They find that the number of these exceptional cases is ~~very~~ exceedingly small. The highest military advisers of the Government are satisfied that re-inforcements sent into action have been well trained.

The record of the army in Italy, France, Belgium and Holland is not the record of an army of which any part lacked adequate training. On the contrary, the military achievements of the Canadian army are the best possible evidence of the efficiency of its training. Since D-Day the army has received a steady stream of reinforcements to replace casualties. The recent victories on the Scheldt are the answer to those who imply that, because of re-inforcements, the quality of the army is deteriorating.

The need for re-inforcements is, of course, based upon the number of casualties. These, probable number of casualties have to be estimated in advance. Before D-Day no one could possibly know how great the casualties would be. The military experts of all the forces which landed in France made the most careful estimates of probable casualties. These estimates were based on experience in other theatres, on the nature of the operation in France and the Low Countries, and on the most careful appreciation of the strength of enemy resistance

Just a word as to casualties, when we speak of casualties, we mean the number killed, wounded, missing, captured or the number of those who have been taken prisoner, or who have been invalided home. (over)

Upon what depends may be required (?)

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support, if we continued to rely upon the voluntary system for reinforcements as long as the voluntary systems continued to be effective.

Colonel Ralston had grave doubts of our ability to keep up the flow of reinforcements in the next few months by voluntary means. He therefore recommended that the limitation upon the service of the draftees should be removed and that some of them should be sent overseas. ~~This meant immediate resort to~~ conscription under the provisions of Bill 80 as enacted in 1942, ~~and this notwithstanding a difference of opinion as to whether the conditions under which the provisions of that Act were to be applied, actually existed or might come to exist.~~ I do not need to stress the gravity of the decision the government was then obliged to face. ~~Many hours and days of anxious deliberation were devoted to an exploration of every conceivable alternative.~~

When I realized that unless Colonel Ralston's recommendation ~~was~~ accepted by the Cabinet his resignation would follow, I felt it ~~was~~ my duty to seek the most expert advice available, ~~and~~, accordingly, consulted General McNaughton. As the builder and first Commander of the Canadian Army, I knew there was no man who had the interests of the army and the men overseas closer to his heart. General McNaughton expressed the belief that the possibilities of securing the required reinforcements by voluntary means had not been exhausted and, in answer to my inquiry as to whether, in the event of Col. Ralston

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resigning, he would, in this belief, be prepared to assume the responsibilities of Minister of National Defence, gave me the assurance that he would.

In these circumstances, the recommendation made by Colonel Ralston was not accepted, and the government decided to make the utmost effort by intensified action to speed up the flow of volunteer infantry reinforcements to the army overseas.

The people of Canada have a right to know the facts and figures

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Page 7 (Mr. Pickersgill suggests)

C243985

After words "under 60,000".

"Here I pause to correct one widespread false impression about the draftees. Of the 60,000, ~~25,000~~ July 23,000 are from the Province of Quebec, and only 25,000 from all Canada are French-speaking."

For ends

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which were before ~~us~~ the Government in reaching ~~our~~ its decision. There is a widespread impression that 60 or 70 or even 80 thousand draftees have been sitting around in military camps in Canada since 1941 or 1942 drawing good pay, and doing little or nothing to help win the war. That picture is almost totally incorrect.

The facts are quite different. ~~We began~~ In March 1941, in Canada we began to call men up for compulsory service for the duration of the war. Up to September 30, 1944, the army had accepted about 150,000 draftees. The present total ~~strength~~ number of men enrolled as draftees is about 68,000. Of these ~~about~~ some 9,000 are on extended leave. The effective total strength, therefore, is under 60,000. You will ask what has happened to the other 82,000 draftees accepted by the Army since 1941. There has been a wastage of about 33,000, including men discharged for medical or other reasons which unfitted them to be soldiers, ~~and a number who have died in the service. Of the remainder,~~ about 6,000 draftees have enlisted as volunteers in the Navy or the Air Force, ~~after serving for a period as draftees.~~ But the largest group, about 43,000 ~~of the draftees,~~ have enlisted as volunteers for General Service. Many thousands of men who were once draftees ~~are~~ in the army overseas fighting today.

The ~~so-called~~ "home defence" army is not a static force ~~at all.~~ Its composition is constantly changing. This year, ~~over~~ about 15,000 men have been called up and enrolled as draftees, and ~~over~~ more than 10,000 draftees have volunteered for General Service. Since D-Day

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Mr. ~~Pickersgill suggests after words~~ landing in France in June

~~"in June" the following:~~ "voluntary

enlistments for overseas from the "home defence" troops

have been higher than ~~enrolments in this force."~~ this number called up and accepted or draftees.

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~~In June~~, the number of voluntary enlistments for general service from the draftees, has exceeded by 35,000 the number of new draftees enrolled ~~by 35,000~~. ~~In~~ addition, many thousands of young men volunteer at once for general service, before or as soon as they are called up, without ever becoming draftees.

~~The draftees are encouraged to volunteer and~~, as the figures show, the voluntary response has been increasingly good throughout the present year. From a purely military standpoint, there is no argument that it is preferable to reinforce a voluntary army with volunteers. ~~Colonel Ralston himself told Parliament last July~~ that he knew from reports he had received ~~that~~ enlisting ~~gave~~ the draftees a new outlook, new self-respect, and a determination that comes from having made a great decision. ~~And,~~ he added, ~~"I~~ that is bound to make them better soldiers.

~~That point~~ is very important, because we ~~must be~~ are as much concerned with the quality as with the numbers of men sent overseas as reinforcements.

We ~~have to~~ remember that if ~~the~~ draftees ~~were~~ are sent overseas before they ~~had~~ volunteered, they ~~would~~ will not be going to reinforce an army of drafted men. It has been said over and over again that ~~the~~ draftees would be received without enthusiasm by the volunteers they were sent overseas to join. It is also said that ~~their~~ the presence would constitute a source of division and possible dissension in the fighting units. That is nevertheless a risk the government would

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no man who had the interests of the Army and the men overseas closer to his heart. General McNaughton expressed the belief that the possibilities of securing the required reinforcements by voluntary means had not been exhausted. ~~In answer to my inquiry as to whether he would be prepared, in this belief, to assume the responsibilities of Minister of National Defence, in the event of Colonel Ralston's resignation, General McNaughton gave me the assurance that he would.~~

The recommendation made by Colonel Ralston was not accepted. ~~Instead the government decided to make, by intensified action, an utmost effort to speed up the flow of volunteers as reinforcements for the army overseas.~~

I regret deeply the difference which ~~has~~ Colonel Ralston ~~to leave the government~~. No man in Canada has given more selfless and devoted service to his country throughout the war. In this matter Colonel Ralston has followed the dictates of his conscience in what he feels he owes to his pledged word.

I need not give assurances of General McNaughton's devotion to his country, or of his determination to see that full support is given to the army.

It is important to remember that the former Minister of National Defence and the present Minister have precisely the same objective in view: they differ only as to the means of reaching that goal.

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C243990

~~Before the House of Commons adjourned~~

When the House of Commons adjourned, on completion of the current business, it was adjourned last evening January 31, 1945 until the proposed ~~Committee~~ set forth in the resolution that if at any subsequent time the Speaker after consultation with the leaders of the political parties, should be of opinion that the public interest required that the House should meet at an earlier hour during the adjournment, the Speaker may give notice that he is so satisfied and thereupon the House shall meet at the

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United States in each other, and
shall transact the business
as if it had been duly
adjourned at that time."

~~He proceeded~~ I then
on behalf of the Government,
communicated what was

~~Chamberlain Chamberlain Bonar~~
Law to Mr Asquith who
then in the presence
of his colleagues
should write ~~to~~ to Mr Bonar Law
~~Chamberlain~~ ~~accordingly~~ Mr
~~Lloyd~~ Asquith, ~~in~~ Law informing him that he
Mr Asquith, " in their opinion
Mr Asquith, ~~Lloyd~~ George, Mr Bonar Law
~~Monday~~ Wednesday the 23rd inst
at 3 o'clock

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The recommendation made by Colonel Ralston was not accepted, the government decided instead to make, by intensified action, our utmost effort to speed up the flow of volunteers as reinforcements for the army overseas.

I regret deeply the difference which led Colonel Ralston to leave the government. In this matter, Colonel Ralston has followed the dictates of his conscience. No man in Canada has given more selfless and devoted service to his country throughout the war.

I need not give assurances of General McNaughton's devotion to his country, or of his determination to see that full support is given to the army.

It is important to remember that the former Minister of National Defence and the present Minister have precisely the same objective in view: they differ only as to the means of reaching that goal.

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The recommendation made by Colonel Ralston was not accepted, the government decided to make, by intensified action, the utmost effort to speed up the flow of volunteers as reinforcements for the army overseas,

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~~probably~~ have to take if it were necessary ~~to win the war, and if all possibility of finding the required volunteers had been exhausted.~~

But that is not the situation. There are some thousands of trained volunteers already overseas or about to be despatched overseas as reinforcements. Others are being re-mustered. ~~In numbers, our reserves compare not unfavourably with those of most of our allies.~~ There are, in addition, ~~some~~ 40,000 volunteers in training in the army in Canada, ~~many of whom~~ the draftees themselves are ~~continuing to volunteer~~ every day for overseas service. ~~By placing before these men~~ the need and the opportunity for service, we believe that number can be increased by ~~placing~~ employing them.

~~But there is still another factor. The figures I have given show that the total number of draftees is not as great as is generally stated.~~ The next question is: How many additional men would ~~actually~~ be available if compulsion ~~was used~~ to send the draftees overseas. The effective total of draftees in the Army is under 60,000. Of that number only about 42,000 are considered suitable material for infantry reinforcements. Of these, 16,000 almost are now fully trained. It is only from these 16,000 that any assistance might be found in meeting the possible shortage in the period when it is likely to arise. Obviously the whole of these 16,000 men would never arrive overseas if it were decided to send them. All military experience shows that there is a considerable wastage in the employment of manpower. For one reason or another, decline in physical condition, lack of

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Substitute for page 9 - latter half

Of that number only about 42,000 are considered suitable material for infantry reinforcements. Some 16,000 of these men are trained as infantry. It is estimated that about 8,000 of them are sufficiently trained so that they could be ready for combat at an early date. It is ~~only~~ from this number that any assistance could be found in meeting an acute situation. ~~If it were decided to apply conscription to send draftees overseas, the whole of these 16,000 would not be sent. There is always considerable wastage in the employment of military manpower, due to a decline of physical condition, lack of military qualities and other factors. The number that could actually be despatched would be well below 16,000 and many of them would not be adequately trained for some time.~~

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military qualities, and a host of others, many of them would not, in fact, be sent. The number which would ~~in fact~~ arrive would certainly be well below 16,000. Without any compulsion or any intensification of present methods a considerable number of these draftees ~~would~~ would volunteer. We believe many more can be secured by a special appeal. The actual difference in numbers secured by the two methods might be very small indeed. ~~And if we~~ ~~meet the problem~~ ~~of~~ the period immediately ahead, we know from the number of volunteers now in training that the situation will be much easier ~~a few months hence.~~

~~The problem, in other words, is a temporary problem.~~ The voluntary system has not broken down. ~~It is, as the figures show, producing the results planned for and expected.~~ At the moment, ~~it~~ is subject to an added strain which calls for an intensified effort at home.

~~We do not know~~ How great the difficulties would be in substituting ~~the compulsory~~ for the voluntary system, but everyone who is honest with himself knows there would be difficulties and that they might be very grave. ~~That is why we are not prepared, because of a serious temporary situation, to abandon a system which is still working well after five years of war, for a plunge into the unknown.~~

Instead, we ~~are going to~~ redouble our efforts to ~~make the present method work.~~ ~~And, in these~~ efforts, I appeal for the patriotic co-operation of all Canadians.

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Many of you will ask why the draftees are not disbanded if they are not to be sent overseas. There are several reasons. The most important I have already given. It is because many of them will go overseas -- as volunteers. They have been enlisting and going overseas in thousands ever since early in 1942. But, there is another reason which is almost equally important. The government is not yet in a position to announce the details of its policy for the demobilization of the army at the end of hostilities. But the general principle is very clear. As far as is practicable, the men who have given the longest and the hardest service will be demobilized first. Obviously that means a first preference in discharge and in employment opportunities for those with overseas service. It would be wholly contrary to that principle to demobilize the draftees before the volunteers have returned to civil life.

That does not mean that the draftees will be maintained in idleness. As long as we have an army overseas, Canada remains the ultimate base of its operations. We must maintain a considerable military establishment for the training of reinforcements, the provision of supply and other non-operational duties. Military garrisons in Newfoundland and on the coasts cannot be entirely abandoned. Many of these duties can be and are performed by volunteers who are not fit for combat service. Some of them will continue to be discharged by draftees.

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~~There is~~ another reason why ~~the conscripts~~ draftees, except those who for physical or other reasons have ceased to be useful as soldiers, should not be disbanded, ~~so~~ but so long as they are in ~~being~~ the army and adequately trained, they will continue to ~~serve as~~ be a potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may have to be reconsidered in the light of developing circumstances.

~~However~~, while we prefer the voluntary system for overseas service, ~~we are prepared to use whatever~~ compulsion ~~is necessary~~ must be resorted to and the will of Parliament to ensure that all fit men of military age perform national service ~~which contributes in some direct fashion to the war effort.~~ required by our ~~Draftees have already been employed for essential labour service on the farms, on the railways and in other ways. Without their labour, the western wheat crop, for example, might have been partially lost both last year and this. The use of draftees for labour service of national importance can be extended as the available military employment declines. Draftees so employed will remain in the army under discipline. From time to time they will be given refresher courses.~~ at present The value of their training will not be lost in case they should be needed for military duties at a later date. By keeping the draftees mobilized and engaged in essential national service, whether military or otherwise, we shall reduce the numbers seeking employment at the close of the war and help to ensure a preference in employment for the fighting men.

draftees employed in national service will remain in the army under discipline, at army rates of pay (over)

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Obviously, it would not be fair to allow drafters preferential treatment by giving them civilian work at civilian rates of pay.

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~~You will also want to know what positive action~~ ~~we propose to take to encourage the recruitment and maintain~~ the flow of infantry reinforcements for the army.

~~We shall maintain the policies which have produced a steady flow of volunteers during five years of war, by continuing~~ to encourage voluntary enlistment ~~and to~~ draft men reaching military age for compulsory training and service. The existing establishment of the army in Canada and in England will be reviewed with the object of freeing every ~~possible~~ volunteer who is fit for combat duty ~~for overseas service.~~ We shall make every effort to have each draftee told individually of the need for his services, and of the practical benefits to his own future of becoming a volunteer and enjoying the full opportunities for successful re-establishment in civil life.

(Appeal to follow here)

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THE APPEAL

The glory of Canada's fight for freedom is the imperishable fact that ~~all our people have done, has been done of our own free will.~~ Every Canadian in uniform at sea, in the air and on every fighting front is there by his own choice. In this war, Canada has produced a race of ~~happy~~ warriors. The light in their eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in their hearts is the fire of spirits dedicated to the service of their fellow-men.

This is not the hour to ~~admit failure~~. ~~It is the~~ hour to kindle the fire of free service in the hearts of all our young men, in the army and outside its ranks, ~~who have not yet responded to the call.~~

~~Let us all, as~~ Canadians, without distinction of race or creed or party join in ~~that appeal as we have joined unitedly in the appeal for the Victory Loan.~~ This is a higher call and it should bring forth a greater response.

~~We must give~~ full support to Canada's army ~~which~~ is doing ~~so much~~ to help win the war and to give Canada a ~~greater~~ place among the free nations of the world.

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The future of our country will belong to the men who are fighting Canada's battles today. They will ~~shape our future destinies.~~ ~~I appeal to all our young men and especially to those in the so-called "home defence" forces.~~ I have told you of the need. ~~I have told you of the~~ opportunity - the greatest you will ever have-to serve your country and bring honour to yourselves and your families. ~~Canada appeals to you to join the splendid company of Canada's happy warriors.~~ You will never regret the decision to do ~~your full part to give freedom to mankind~~ and security ~~and~~ opportunity ~~to~~ your children.

I appeal ~~correctly~~ to the families of our young men. Help ~~them~~ and encourage them ~~to reach the~~ decision which will ~~make them hold their heads high through all the years to come.~~ ~~Help them to see that they will be stronger and better men by doing their part to uphold the strength of their country.~~

~~I appeal [illegible] to all my fellow Canadians.~~ It is ~~the~~ responsibility of ~~your~~ government to make the decision as to the best methods of ~~achieving our utmost~~ effort ~~as a nation. That decision is made.~~ But we need the help and co-operation of all to make these methods work. ~~Do not divide our country in this critical hour. Throw~~

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co-operation. Political controversy and division over the method of conducting the war will weaken, not strengthen Canada's effort. I appeal to all, regardless of party, to leave political controversy until the close of hostilities. Let us first place ourselves unreservedly behind the policy of winning the war.

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~~your full weight into the struggle. Let us all pull together in the great final effort for total victory.~~ If we all do our part, Canada will emerge on the day of victory, free, united and strong. That is the Canada we want to welcome the return of our victorious fighting men.

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ARMY REINFORCEMENTS

The Appeal

I now make an appeal to the men who are serving in the so-called "home defence" army. I have tried to show you that there is a need for a steady and continuous stream of re-inforcements for Canada's army overseas which is doing so much to win the war and to give Canada a greater place among the free nations of the world. Never in your lives will there be a greater call to service. The opportunity is yours to serve your country and the cause of mankind by taking your place at the side of Canada's fighting men in laying the foundations for a better world. ? helping to build the foundations of a better world

The future of our country will belong to the young men who are fighting Canada's battles today. It is they who will shape our future destinies. You are free to join that splendid company. You will never regret the decision to accept a full part in the struggle for freedom. I appeal to each and every one of you to give your full support to the forces of Canada. By doing so, you will be helping to ensure the future greatness of Canada.

I appeal also to all my fellow Canadians to support the policy of the government. After the deepest consideration, the Government has decided that the continued and vigorous application of the voluntary system of re-inforcing the Canadian army will contribute more to the total war effort of our country and to our strength as a nation. But we need your support and your

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We had to ask ourselves one other question: How many additional men would be immediately available if compulsion were resorted to ^ in order to send draftees overseas? I have told you that the present effective total of draftees in the army is under 60,000. Of that number only about 42,000 are considered suitable material for infantry reinforcements. Some 16,000 of these men are trained as infantry. It is estimated that about 8,000 of them are sufficiently trained so that they could be ready for combat at an early date. ~~It is from this number that any assistance would have to be found in meeting an acute situation.~~ immediate ^

Without any compulsion or any intensification of present methods, a considerable number of these draftees would volunteer. We believe many more can be secured by a special appeal. The actual difference in numbers secured by the two methods might be very small indeed. ~~The problem with which we are faced is a temporary problem.~~ an immediate ^ The voluntary system has not broken down. At the moment, it is subject to an added strain which calls for an intensified effort at home. ~~If the problem is met for the period immediately ahead, we know from the number of volunteers now in training that later on the situation will be much easier.~~ in the period immediately ahead; particularly to provide personnel in an advanced state of training.

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potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may, in the light of developing circumstances, have to be reconsidered.

To increase the flow of infantry reinforcements for the army we shall intensify our effort to encourage voluntary enlistment. The existing establishment of the army in Canada and in England will be reviewed with the object of freeing every volunteer who is fit for combat duty. ~~Xxxx

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The glory of Canada's fight for freedom is the imperishable fact that every Canadian in uniform at sea, in the air, and on every fighting front, is there by his own choice. In this ~~war~~ world conflict, Canada has produced a race of noble warriors. The light in their eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in their hearts is the fire of spirits dedicated to the service of their fellow-men.

This is not the hour to destroy that magnificent ~~record~~ effort. It is the hour to kindle the fire of free service in the hearts of all our young men, in the army, and outside its ranks.

I would ask ~~all~~ my fellow Canadians, without distinction of race, or creed, or party, to join with me in the appeal which I now make for full support to Canada's army overseas. I ask all to join no less unitedly than we have joined in the appeal for the Victory Loan. This is a higher call, and it should bring forth an even greater response.

No pride could be greater than our pride in what our armed forces are doing to help win the war, and to give Canada a foremost place among the free nations of the world.

The future of our country will belong to the men who are fighting Canada's battles today. And to those men and women who are serving them they will be the leaders of our country through years to come. ~~are~~ giving their full support.

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To ~~the~~ young men, who are serving in Canada's "home defence" forces, I should like to make a special appeal. Because of the training you have already received, you are in an exceptional position to give service which is particularly needed at this time. I have told you of the need. Let me emphasize the opportunity - the greatest you will ever have - to serve your country and bring honour to yourselves and your families. You will never regret the decision to do all you possibly can to support Canada's fighting army. In doing that, you will be helping to destroy the enemy of mankind, and to provide security and opportunity for yourselves, your children, and your fellow-men. You will be doing more than that. You will be helping to remove a source of misunderstanding, bitterness and division in our own country, and to preserve its strength through years to come. You will be helping to lay the foundations of a better world.

no less earnestly
I appeal to the friends and families of our young men, to help and encourage them in a decision which will mean everything to them through the rest of their lives.

The Government's
It is ~~our~~ responsibility ~~as a government~~ to make the decision as to the best methods of supporting Canada's army overseas. No decision could possibly please everyone. We have made the decision which we believe

~~with best~~

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will ~~best attain that end~~ and contribute most effectively to an utmost national effort in the winning of the war. ~~decision could possibly please every one.~~ We need the help and co-operation of ~~all in supporting Canada's army~~. Partisan controversy and division at this time will weaken, not strengthen Canada's war effort. If we all do our part, Canada will emerge on the day of victory, free, united and strong. That is the Canada we want to welcome the return of our victorious fighting men.

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Disposition of General Service (Volunteers)

G. S. troops in United Kingdom

Effectives	over 50,000
Non-effectives (i.e. hospital patients, detention, etc.)	over 25,000

G.S. troops in Canada over 135,000

Officers	over 15,000
Other ranks	120,000

Breakdown of other ranks in Canada:

Over age, under age and low categories	67,000
Fit for combat service	53,000

(of whom 14,500 are key personnel, provost corps, dental corps, medical corps, instructional staff, medical and dental students, etc.)

Remainder of 53,000 are not all trained or being trained as infantry - and are in all stages of training.

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(TRANSLATION)

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LA PRESSE
Montréal, September 24 1903 p. 1

(from P.G. Roy)

NATIONALISM IN CANADA

La Ligue Nationaliste Canadienne

Its origin and programme, as described by the Montreal correspondent of "Canada" of Paris

We are once more reminded of the truth of the old proverb "It's the shoemaker's wife who is the worst shod", by an article in the Paris publication "Canada", signed by Florandeau and written at Montreal on the 26th of August last, wherein are described the origin and the programme of the Ligue nationaliste canadienne of which we knew so little, even in Montreal.

This article contains so many new things and things that are so new, that it cannot fail to interest the readers of La Presse, following, as they do, upon the session of the Théâtre national français where the Ligue, unknown until then, asserted itself in a resounding way, but kept for a subsequent session the business of explaining where it comes from and where it is going. Here it is:

I was right when I told you in my last article that the Convention of the Boards of Trade of the British Empire had not been absolutely useless. The leaders of this gathering, who had set themselves up as imperialist agents have gone back home as they came, but the daring which they showed in displaying in the very heart of the Canadian metropolis, political theories which didn't concern them, (sic) has provoked, as an after-effect, a popular feeling which will undoubtedly become a powerful weapon in the hands of some political men.

The vote of nationalism had not yet resounded in Canada. This new political expression has been accepted Sunday by the huge gathering at the Théâtre national, who applauded and acclaimed Henri Bourassa, M.P., who was protesting with all the vehemence and patriotism of his ancester Papineau, against the invasion of imperialism, and was recommending resolutely the independence of Canada rather than the sacrifice of an autonomy.

I do not want the severance of colonial ties, Mr. Bourassa said in effect. I believe that for many more years we should continue to grow, to develop under the aegis of the institution of liberal England, but if the triumph of the Imperialists is definitive, if it is true, as Lord Minto claims, that we are at the crossroads of the future and that we absolutely have to choose between fusion in the huge British whole (sic) and a permanent breach, then let the responsibility for this fall on Mr. Chamberlain and his followers! - without hesitating, and because we are free men, we will choose the breech rather than subjugation.

The lamented Mercier had dreamed of a party that he described as "national". One came across the term "nationaliste" here and there, but it is the first time that well-known men have adopted it. And the appearance of this new flag in the sky of Canadian politics has too important a meaning not to describe it.

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Nationalism in Canada means quite simply the autonomy movement. Whilst the partisans of Chamberlain's policy want to tighten more and more, the bonds uniting the different parts of the British Empire, the nationalists undertake to fight any attempt at a closer approach to the metropolis, judging that this centralization movement would delay too much the progress towards complete independence: the logical end of colonial evolution.

Nationalism has always been in a latent state in most Canadians, and in all French-Canadians. The Transvaal war and the explosion of Chamberlainism (sic) have brought this feeling to white heat. The reason for its definite assertion was provided by the Convention of the Boards of Trade. Now youth enlists itself with enthusiasm. Some well-liked M.P.'s are applauded when they criticize English interference and identify themselves with nationalism. The Government press doesn't fail to adhere more or less to nationalism (sic), especially since the Convention banquet, at the Windsor Hotel, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier replied to the Duke of Devonshire by saying that His Lordship was wrong to hope to see any colony - whatever the immediate advantages promised her - abandon part of its independence, its freedom of action in fiscal, commercial and industrial legislation, a freedom to which, from the point of view of their own interests, the colonies seem to attach such great importance.

"I regret, replied Sir Wilfrid, that as far as I am concerned, I cannot subscribe to this doctrine." If we are to obtain from Great Britain a concession that requires an equivalent concession from our part, and that we can't obtain it unless we surrender some of our rights, I will be content with saying: It is useless to go any farther, because we are already absent to separate.

"Canada attaches too much importance to the system which has made her what she is, to surrender gaily any part of it for any consideration whatsoever. And even for the upholding of the British Empire, I think it would be unfortunate if any colony agreed to surrender part of its independence. I do not believe either, that, in order to come to the kind of commercial arrangement to which I referred a moment ago, we should be asked to sacrifice anything of our dignity and our independence."

La Ligue Nationaliste Canadienne is born at the right moment. Its programme has certain features which will certainly be of interest to French political (men).

ANGLO-CANADIAN RELATIONS

1. Political autonomy

a) Full retention of the political freedoms which by right belong to all the autonomous colonies of Great Britain and which the Constitution of 1867, in the minds of its authors, was supposed to guarantee to Canada.

b) Opposition to any participation by Canada to the deliberations of the British Parliament and to any imperial council whether permanent or periodical.

c) Consultation of the Houses of Parliament by the Government on the advisability of participating in the special conferences for countries of British allegiance, and full publicity regarding the deliberations and decisions of these conferences.

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d) Complete freedom to control our immigration from the point of view of our interests exclusively.

e) At each session of Parliament, tabling of all correspondence or official documents exchanged since the last session between the Canadian Government and the Colonial Office or the governments of other British colonies.

f) In case of constitutional conflict between the federal government and the provincial governments, direct appeal to the Privy Council. In all other cases, limitation of appeals to provincial tribunals for provincial laws and federal tribunals for federal laws.

g) Right of representation at any international conference where Canadian interests are at stake, and consultation of the Houses of Parliament on the advisability of letting Canada avail herself of this right.

2. Commercial autonomy:

a) Unrestricted power to conclude and annul commercial treaties with all countries, including Great Britain and her colonies.

b) Freedom to appoint agents who will have the power to deal directly with foreign legations regarding Canadian commercial interests.

3. Military autonomy:

a) Canada's absention from participation in imperial wars outside Canadian territory.

b) Resistance to any attempt England may make at conscription in Canada.

c) Opposition to the establishment of a naval school in Canada with the cooperation and for the benefit of the imperial authority.

d) Management of our militia and of our military schools in peace as in war, for the defence of Canadian territory exclusively.

e) The command of the Canadian militia by a Canadian officer named by the Canadian Government.

FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS

1. Full retention of the rights guaranteed to the provinces by the Constitution of 1867 according to the intent of its authors. Respect of the principle of the duality of language and the right of minorities to separate schools.

2. Amendment of the basis of federal subsidies to the provinces by the following means:

a) Abolition of the subsidy for the maintenance of the legislatures, and proportionate increase of the "per capita" subsidy.

b) Fixing of the "per capita" subsidy for each province, according to the population of the last census.

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4. Nomination of the civil court judges by provincial governments.

DOMESTIC POLICY

1. Determination of our tariff policy in the interests of Canada exclusively.

2. Abolition of the system of state subsidies to private enterprise (railways, water transport, etc.) State participation in these undertakings (if it is essential to public welfare) as shareholder only and under the same conditions as other shareholders or as privileged creditor.

3. A more efficient rise of the government's right to control the transportation rates and to decide on the lay-out and the terminals of railways.

4. Adoption by the provinces of a more active colonization policy more in harmony with their respective needs.- Granting to the Departments of Colonization exclusively, the sale of agricultural lands.

5. A more equitable apportionment among the different parties to confederation of the money voted by the Federal Parliament for immigration and colonization.

6. For the present system of permanent transfer of our hydraulic forces of waterpower, the substitution of a system of long-lease renting by auction.

7. Immediate reform of one system of forest development or farming in order to preserve our forests as a source of public wealth.- Annual publication of a statement indicating:

a) The land grants and the cutting rights given during the year, and conditions under which this was done.

b) The total area of forests in which cuttings are being made and the virgin forests and statement of the kinds of wood, site, etc.

8. Growth in the schools of a patriotic education to give students a more exact notion of the history of our country and its resources.

9. More efficient control of the transactions of insurance companies, mutual aid associations, industrial and financial firms in general, and the workings of the stock market.

10. Passage of legislation which will favour the development of our literary and artistic production - Canada's adhesion to international agreements on copyright and royalties.

11. A stricter enforcement of the present labour laws and the passage of new laws to guarantee the security of labour and freedom of association.

La ligue Nationaliste is born out of the determination of the Canadians to devote their energy to the development of the resources of their country. The "Ligue" fights militarism because this would involve new tones and that would take from agriculture and industry its best manpower. In a word it fights for an economic programme, which it believes, would guarantee and accelerate in a large measure, the prosperity of our country.

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The President of the "Ligue", Mr. Olivar Asselin, said to La Presse:

"The word 'ligue' is perhaps too pompous for an association which numbers only a handful of members as yet. It won't be when we shall have acceded to all the requests for admission that we have received since the meeting of the Théâtre National.

"The Ligue was founded last winter by a certain number of young men from Montreal of varied political pasts. Its programme, the three fundamental clauses of which are the autonomy of Canada in relation to Great Britain, the autonomy of the provinces in relation to the federal government and the adoption,by the whole confederation, of a policy of cultural and economic development essentially Canadian, is the resumé of the soundest views ever expressed on Canadian affairs by Canadian statesmen. Everyone who has read it has admired its simplicity, its clearness and logic.

"The present members of the Ligue are lawyers, students, journalists, artists and financiers. Youth enters the movement with enthusiasm. Our views on federal affairs and provincial affairs form one whole; that is to say that we intend to look after the problems of forestry, colonization and the transfer of waterfalls. There is only one opinion today, throughout the province of Quebec, on these questions; unfortunately, very little will come out of these present quarrels between Conservatives (bleus) and Liberals (rouges). The Ligue nationaliste will try to direct the efforts of men of goodwill.

"The Ligue is not exclusively French-Canadian. Its programme is wide enough to rally all those who believe that the first duty of a Canadian is to Canada, and that in order to prepare the country for independence, we must create a national spirit.

"Furthermore, added Mr. Asselin, our programme will be explained shortly at a public meeting of the Ligue. Meanwhile, I hope that those who are interested in us will be a little patient. We do not aim at domineering over the country, nor over the province either. We have looked for a link between the "blues" and the "rouges" who are open to patriotic sentiments: it is up to the public to say if we have found it.

"Local branches of the Ligue are being organized in several cities of the province of Quebec, more particularly in Quebec city. The 'Manchester Guardian' among other English newspapers, has recently published our programme which it finds very well-constructed."

—

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C244015

The President of the "Ligue", Mr. Olivar Asselin, said to La Presse:

"The word 'ligue' is perhaps too pompous for an association which numbers only a handful of members as yet. It won't be when we shall have acceded to all the requests for admission that we have received since the meeting of the Théâtre National.

"The Ligue was founded last winter by a certain number of young men from Montreal of varied political pasts. Its programme, the three fundamental clauses of which are the autonomy of Canada in relation to Great Britain, the autonomy of the provinces in relation to the federal government and the adoption,by the whole confederation, of a policy of cultural and economic development essentially Canadian, is the resumé of the soundest views ever expressed on Canadian affairs by Canadian statesmen. Everyone who has read it has admired its simplicity, its clearness and logic.

"The present members of the Ligue are lawyers, students, journalists, artists and financiers. Youth enters the movement with enthusiasm. Our views on federal affairs and provincial affairs form one whole; that is to say that we intend to look after the problems of forestry, colonization and the transfer of waterfalls. There is only one opinion today, throughout the province of Quebec, on these questions; unfortunately, very little will come out of these present quarrels between Conservatives (bleus) and Liberals (rouges). The Ligue nationaliste will try to direct the efforts of men of goodwill.

"The Ligue is not exclusively French-Canadian. Its programme is wide enough to rally all those who believe that the first duty of a Canadian is to Canada, and that in order to prepare the country for independence, we must create a national spirit.

"Furthermore, added Mr. Asselin, our programme will be explained shortly at a public meeting of the Ligue. Meanwhile, I hope that those who are interested in us will be a little patient. We do not aim at domineering over the country, nor over the province either. We have looked for a link between the "blues" and the "rouges" who are open to patriotic sentiments: it is up to the public to say if we have found it.

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W.L.MACKENZIE KING

MG 26 J4

Vol. 353

Pages 244016-244025 are missing from this file

C 3805.

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CANADIAN ARMY CASUALTIES

Date	North West Europe.	Italy.
Oct. 18	413	34
Oct. 19	201	37
Oct. 20	236	27
Oct. 21-22	313	202
Oct. 23	29	31

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C244027

ZOMBIES PSALM

MACKENZIE KING IS MY SHEPHERD,

I SHALL NOT WANDER

HE MAKETH ME NOT TO WEAR THE G.S.

HE LEADETH ME NOT TO CROSS THE STILL WATER,

HE RESTORETH HIS VOTE.

HE LEADETH ME ALONG THE PATH OF CANADA, ONLY

FOR HIS PARTY'S SAKE,

YEA, THOUGH I MOVE FROM ONE CAMP TO ANOTHER,

I WILL FEAR NO DRAFT, FOR KING IS WITH ME.

HIS GOVERNMENT AND HIS CABINET THEY COMFORT ME.

HE PREPARETH A TABLE FOR ME IN THE FACE OF MY ENEMIES,

HE DOTH NOT CLIP MY HAIR TOO SHORT, MY GLASS RUNNETH

OVER WITH CANADIAN BEER.

SURELY THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ALTER IT AT THIS LATE

DATE.

I SHALL DWELL IN THE CONFINES OF CANADA FOREVER.

AH/MEN.

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Re [illegible] (122

I. Keep men overseas and what will be best for them <u>foremost</u>.

2. Remember your authority and power comes from Liberal Members in H. of C. and through them from the people.

3. Have said no conscription, conscription <u>if necessary</u> to be interpreted by speech 1942 - see necessary and advisable in light of all the circumstances.

4. Have said <u>no election</u> while war is on and <u>until</u> end of term.

5. Make others take responsibility for bringing on an election in war-time.

6. The King's Government must be carried on - do all possible to this end.

7. May mean turning over govt. to those who are most needed for that purpose.

8. Keep in mind Liberal Govt. Now 2 wings (1) Voluntary enlistment
(a) Conscription.
This division will disappear with end of war.

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9. Be careful who you take into government and about attempting to carry on without men needed in Defence Departments - Finance, munitions - remember what it means to administer a war and conduct an election at the same time over months.

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"I would ask the public appeal for the trained men for service overseas be continued until

---

(three weeks as a minimum).

If at the end of that time, the requisite number of men are not available I will then make way for some other member of the Administration to take over, which will leave the Administration free to pass immediately an order in council under 45 amendment to the N.R.M.A. Act making its provisions applicable to men called up under the provisions of the Act."

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(By this means there will be no necessity of the government going back to parliament for a vote of confidence as the stipulation in that regard related exclusively to myself and it was based on the need for a vote of confidence because of it being assumed that I would not have my heart in the enforcement of the Act.)

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I shall not take any step which will prevent the men who are fighting overseas from obtaining needed reinforcements by any method that is feasible.

I have taken the only method I believe possible.

It is for those who believe in a different method to be given the opportunity.

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Moved by:

Seconded by:

That this House is of the opinion that the full provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act should be put into effect forthwith;

And that all trained troops in the Canadian Home Defence Army should immediately be despatched for reinforcements overseas.

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McNaughton - re Compulsion, Oct. 23rd, Kingston:

"When you come, as you will to places of authority and influence, and you face the acute issues which may divide our country part from part, may I commend this principle of action to your best thought and interest - compulsion is ruled out; we proceed by agreement, or for a time we rest content to not proceed at all"...

- at Arnprior, Nov. 5th:

"fully determined that we will maintain our just part in the great allied effort that is still required"

- at Ottawa, Nov. 6th

"We will maintain our just part in the great allied effort to bring the enemy to final defeat"

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Revised.

The Facts regarding Reinforcements

In his statement to the press on November 12th, the former Minister of National Defence criticized my broadcast address of November 8th on the ground that the summary I gave of the difference leading to his resignation "gives no indication of the necessity of sending additional infantry reinforcements at the earliest possible date."

I have no desire to engage in a battle of words, but I feel I should point out that I did say on November 8th that the speeding up of the flow of fully trained infantry reinforcements was "an immediate problem which had to be faced."

The former Minister pointed out that "in estimating the future position, forecasts have to be made of the anticipated casualties." For obvious reasons, neither the former Minister nor the government can make public the forecasts on which the need for reinforcements is estimated. No more useful information could be given to the enemy.

But I can say that, happily, the infantry casualties for the period which has elapsed since the former Minister made his report to the government have been [redacted] lower

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than were estimated in that report. In forecasting, no account has been taken of a possible lower rate of casualties in November and December, though for a period in November it is now known that our troops were in rest.

The movement of trained infantry reinforcements has been accelerated and the conversion from other arms has yielded somewhat greater numbers than were previously thought practicable, with the result that a larger number will be available before the end of the year.

I do not mean, for a moment, to suggest that the problem has been solved, or that the need for trained infantry reinforcements is not immediate or urgent.

But the date at which a shortage of actual replacements might occur has been pushed back beyond the end of the year. A little more time has been gained in which to place the need before the trained men in Canada and to secure an adequate response.

And the gain of a little time is important, particularly when it is realized that the total number of men involved is so small. Additional men in the training stream become available for combat with each succeeding month.

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Even a short period in which casualties are below the replacements provided for that period, results in a doubling up of trained reinforcements. In such an event, a possible shortage, which "would progressively increase month by month", becomes correspondingly less immediate.

It remains true, however, as the former Minister pointed out, that to safeguard the army against a possible shortage we must "draw on the trained N.R.M.A. infantrymen."

In view of the small number of additional trained infantry reinforcements which may be required, in proportion to our total military manpower, the issue which arose was whether enough of these trained N.R.M.A. men could be persuaded to volunteer or whether they should be compelled to serve overseas.

The alternative is not between 8,000 trained men by conscription and none by voluntary means. As a result of the special appeal, a certain proportion of the 8,000 fully trained draftees will undoubtedly volunteer for general service. The number of additional men who might be secured by conscription to meet the immediate need is, therefore, not large.

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If we can meet the possible shortage in January and February from volunteers drawn from the fully or partially trained draftees, favourable factors enter the situation for March, April and succeeding months.

The most important of these factors are (1) the large number of volunteers already in training (2) the expected response from N.R.M.A. personnel who still require additional infantry training.

The government realizes that hon. Members will want more than a general statement such as I have given. If we were consulting our own inclinations and had no thought of our army overseas or of our allies, we would prefer to give all the facts and figures on which this statement is based in public session.

But the Minister of National Defence has written to me to point out the considerations of military security which make this course inadvisable. I should like to read General McNaughton's letter.

(Read letter)

In the light of the views here expressed, in which the government concurs, I intend before we adjourn today to propose that a joint meeting of both Houses be held tomorrow to which the public will not be admitted, at which the Minister of National Defence will be invited to be present for the purpose of disclosing all the relevant facts.

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"That this House will aid His Majesty's Government in its policy of maintaining a vigorous ~~and balanced~~ war effort."

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"That this House will aid (~~or uphold~~) ~~the~~ Government in its policy of maintaining a vigorous and balanced war effort."

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C244041

A coalition to enforce conscription can only be justified on 2 grounds.

(1) conscription necessary - - not proven contrary in fact proven as proposed basis of coalition presupposes delay in enforcing measure,

(2) to avoid an election in war time Premier's proposal contemplates an election before inforcing conscription.

An election can be avoided by a referendum on the subject of conscription itself. A referendum for this purpose could be held much more expeditiously than a general election.
Once the country has expressed its views all parties should combine to give effect to nation's wish.
Consider - Let opposition agree to grant an extension of term of parliament if government concedes a referendum on conscription.

If government does not agree to referendum on these terms it will find it impossible to endorse conscription if it attempts to do so without a general election.

If the government dissolves after this proposal is offered it will have to carry a double onus for forcing an election in war time
(1) by making an election a necessary preliminary to its policy of conscription as a basis of coalition.

(2) by preferring it to an extension conditional on a referendum.

The government's measure

(A) goes too far
(B) not far enough

A/ It goes too far

1. In being contrary to the government's expressed intentions and pledges conscription not to be resorted to unless "the only effective method to preserve the existence of the state and the institutions and liberties we enjoy."

2. In being unnecessary:

Conscription can only be justified on grounds of
(a) imperative need in matter of time
(b) " " " " " numbers of men
1. to serve at front
2. to fill gaps
(c) " " " " " methods of raising men

Re (a) time - No such need shown Government's proposal to hold measure in abeyance till after next parliament shows it does not exist.

Re (b) numbers of men (1) serve at front.

When 500,000 men promised, Canada believed to be only part of

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North America in war. Has raised 4000,000 +. The United States not less interested in ultimate triumph of same principles. If army of same proportions raised would mean an addition of 4 to 5 millions of men. Has government sought to ascertain from U.S. how many men it will put in field? This fact important in estimating numbers to be put in field.

2. <u>to fill the gaps</u>.

A properly organized campaign for this purpose would receive a patriotic response./Recruiting has fallen off owing to failure of government.

(1) to give facts and figures as to need.
(2) to account for the men already enlisted.
(3) because of dissatisfaction with appointments, graft, extravagance, etc. etc.
(4) because of partizan attitude of government since commencement of war.
(5) direct discouragement by government (see Hughes' correspondence).
(6) lack of confidence in administration as a whole.
(7) National service scheme - conveying idea of sufficiency.

Re (c) <u>Methods</u>

Let government as a government commence recruiting for this purpose, and see what results will be!

3. In giving people no opportunity to pronounce upon a policy of vital concern and which without support of public opinion it would be impossible to enforce without provoking internal dissension fatal to unity and effective service.

B/ Does <u>not go far enough</u>

(1) in stopping short at securing enlistments <u>for overseas service only</u>, meets no regard to <u>Canada's productive industries</u> upon which in the last analysis depends this supply of available resources to meet existing need, and present and future taxation (see Lloyd George's speech in asking for more food and ships).

(2) in taking no account <u>of the appeal of the allied nations</u> for (1) more ships / more munitions
as well as
more food / more men
essential in the winning of the war.

(3) in taking no account <u>of domestic needs of the Dominion</u>, neglect of which may produce grave and critical situations.

e.g. fuel famine - through present neglect in production
harvesting - failure to supply men in sufficient numbers
transportation - " " " " " " "

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In not considering effect of further cost of living failure to produce proper supplies of food and arrange for proper distribution.

(4) In proposing to conscript men only and taking no account of wealth - profits due to war conditions etc.

War resources as well as man power - wealth - profits, excessive incomes, food.

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RE:CONSCRIPTION

AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA.

Australia: Conscription for service with Australia since beginning of the war. Expeditionary forces sent to Africa, Europe - all volunteers. Since Pearl Harbour area in which Australian conscripts could be sent on active service was extended, North to the equator, West to 110° East and East to 159° East. This area includes all of New Guinea, part of the Netherlands Indies and the Solomon Islands.

New Zealand: Conscription for service anywhere instituted on July 22nd, 1940.

South Africa: No conscription even for service within the Union. Volunteers originally enlisted for service only in Africa. All troops sent to Europe (Italy) volunteered a second time.

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DROPS VOLUNTARY PLAN

Australian Militia to Be Composed of Conscripts

Canberra, December 5. (C.P. Cable)

The Australian militia will be composed entirely of men obtained through the compulsory system, it was learned today, following a decision of the Commonwealth Government to retire all members of the voluntary militia to the reserve at the end of the financial year, June 30.

The army will be maintained probably at not under 50,000. The 21-year group already has been called up and additional groups of the ages of 18, 19, 22 and 23 may be called also.

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Australia -

"Citizens Military Forces"

- Southwest Pacific zone
- boundaries - west - 110° E
  north - Equator
  east - 159° E
- includes all of New Guinea; parts of the Netherlands Indies and the Solomon Islands.

New Zealand -

- conscription to serve anywhere.
- Conscription began July 22/40.

South Africa

- no conscription
- original volunteers limited to service in Africa.
- now may "re-volunteer" for service anywhere.

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SUPPLEMENT

re - Attitude of Canadian Newspapers towards Conscription.

May 1st to 7th

The Canadian newspapers have been continuing their discussion on the problem of conscription, during the last week. The Toronto Press has been more active than ever in this particular field. While the Toronto Star continues to defend the policy of the Government, the Toronto Globe and Mail and the Telegram seem to be making an all-out effort in favour of conscription.

Pre-election Pledges

During this last week, all this campaign was directed at the pledges given by the Prime Minister and equally by Dr. Manion prior to the elections that there would be no conscription for overseas service.

The Star resumes the attitude of the two party leaders in an editorial entitled "Two Kinds of Conscription".

> "Premier King and Dr. Manion both pledged themselves against conscription for service outside of Canada, but not otherwise. In conscripting trainees for service on Canadian soil, Mr. King is not violating either the spirit or the letter of his pledge."
>
> (May 2, 1941)

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In another editorial published May 9th, the Toronto Star adds that it is doubtful if Mr. King would consider the breaking of his pledges.

> "He would probably feel a reversal of a pledged policy to be justified only by a new mandate by the electors such indeed as was secured in 1917 when no pledge was in existence."

The Vancouver News-Herald reaches another conclusion when it writes :

> "The only way we shall lay this conscription bogey in Canada is for Mr. King to ask the people, particularly the people of Quebec to release him from his pledge. If he tells them frankly of the need there is no reason why the Canadian people should not respond."
>
> (May 7th, 1941.)

On the other hand, the Globe and Mail minimizes those pre-election pledges in an editorial entitled "How much for old pledges?".

> "The importance of pre-election pledges bearing on a war which has changed momentously and gravely since they were made does not rate high. The Government has departed in many ways from its war program as originally announced, stepping it up and expanding it.....
>
> "If the Ottawa Government ultimately decides that conscription is necessary for a total Canadian effort the realistic people of this country will not expect old pledges to hamper action.....
>
> "Those who urge conscription cannot be accused of thinking of party politics. They have higher ideals, including the conviction that any leader who doesn't accept his responsibility in a grave crisis is untrue to his trust...." (May 8th, 1941.)

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General criticism

The Toronto Telegram writes that the Canadians are being misled when they are told by the Ministers of Defence that there are 250,000 Canadians on active service. This newspaper concludes an article entitled "Government much too fond of good round figures", by these words:

> "Before criticism that more men should have been sent overseas, the Government falls back on the dog-eared reply that they have always done just what the British Government wanted. There has, unfortunately, never been anything in black and white to support that statement. It is difficult to believe that at any time the British Government refused an offer of more men from Canada. And after having been turned down on their request to be allowed to locate their own air schools in Canada, it is hardly likely that the British Government would ask for more men." (May 8th, 1941)

This same attitude can also be found in an article of the Victoria Colonist :

> "What is happening, or probably it is more correct to say what is not happening, is a sorry spectacle of the lack of appreciation of the issues at stake that prevails at Ottawa. It is becoming clearer every day that nothing short of an explosion of public opinion will shatter the complacency of the Government and make it face the realities of a situation that everyone knows is increasing in gravity." (Apr. 27th, 1941.)

- - - - - - - - - -

Most of the other Canadian newspapers realize the difficulty of the situation but seem to have reached the conclusion that more and more men will be necessary,

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and that the citizens of Canada are ready for a greater sacrifice.

> "The Government is not ahead of public opinion in putting into effect this form of compulsory service. Indeed, many Canadians will regard this move by Ottawa as not going sufficiently far. They would like to see a great conscript army for overseas service."
> (Regina Leader-Post, April 29th,1941.)

> "The Government with prudence has done its best to avoid unnecessary adjustment and dislocation of the national life by refusing to try and raise more men than there was either immediate need or equipment for. Now we are reaching the stage when the need becomes steadily nearer and when the detailed equipment that modern armed forces require is available in increasing quantity. Now therefore Mr. Ralston makes his appeal - or rather his request - for men.
> "Nor should it be forgotten that if this approach fails, others remain to be tried and will be tried; for nothing is more certain than our national determination to play a full and honorable role in victory."
> (Winnipeg Free Press, April 28th, 1941.)

The Montreal Star, while pointing out that the word conscription has taken an ugly connotation in this country, particularly in the province of Quebec, indicates that no campaign for securing men "based on the idea of conscription could be inaugurated without causing some dissension and heartbreak", and it concludes:

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"If the Government should decide to draftsmen for military service, it might very well launch its draft for more ment under the slogan "Selective national service". It could thus establish whether a man would fit best into the military or industrial services and send him where his ability would be of greatest use to the country".
(May 1st, 1941.)

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

The French Canadian Press has not changed its approach to the problem, which is : No conscription for overseas service. However, l'Action Catholique, of Quebec, in recent issues has been asking very strongly the French Canadians to join the army.

Le Droit, of Ottawa, continues the same policy when it writes:

"Canada has declared war on Germany for the defence of our territory and our interests, which does not logically mean that we should send an expeditionary corps in Great Britain or in Egypt, nor does it mean that we should have conscription for overseas service."

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SUPPLEMENT

re - ATTITUDE OF CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS TOWARDS CONSCRIPTION

May 7th to 17th

1.- Major M. A. MacPherson - May 9

Declaration

Reactions

2.- Colonel Ralston over the Radio - May 11

3.- Messrs. Bruce and Ralston in the House - May 12

Declarations

Reactions : National Unity

Lack of leadership

Attitude of the French Press

4.- Mr. Lapointe over the Radio - May 15

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SUPPLEMENT

Re - ATTITUDE OF CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS TOWARDS CONSCRIPTION

May 7th to 17th

Vigorous appeals for and against conscription were made during the last few days in and outside of Parliament, appeals which were diversely and widely discussed in the Press of the country.

1.- Major M. A. MacPherson - May 9

Declaration

On the 9th of May, Major MacPherson, contender for conservative party leadership in ~~May~~ July 1938, addressed a public meeting in Regina called by the Northside Conservative association, and asked for the immediate institution of national service or conscription. According to the "Regina Leader-Post", he said that

> "National service was the fairest way of establishing an army. It would be a tonic for hard-pressed Britain to know that all of Canada's man-power was available for service. It would be a tonic for the United States and a tonic for Canada. Above all, it is necessary now - not six months from now."

Reactions

The "Toronto Telegram" avails itself of this declaration to insist once more on the necessity of conscription.

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"Even though the department secures the 32,000 required at present there will undoubtedly be new calls in the future. If they fail to fill the ranks, what then ?

"The only answer is conscription if Canada is to maintain her armies in the field and not fail in her present commitments." (May 12, 1941)

And the "Telegram" adds :

"Yet, in manpower at least, Canada is pursuing a limited policy, and Ernest Lapointe, the Minister of Justice, is one of those responsible. Mr. Lapointe made a great show of denouncing the anti-war speech of Maxime Raymond, M.P., last week, but the difference between the two is only one of degree. Raymond said we must limit our war expenditure; Lapointe says we must not use our utmost in manpower." (May 12, 1941)

After having analyzed Major MacPherson's speech, the "Windsor Star" reaches the conclusion that the Conservatives seem to think that Canada is going to have a wartime election on the conscription issue.

"Tories are talking of conscription a couple of months before the party chooses a new leader. It is possible that before the snow flies the pressure on the Dominion Government for conscription may be so heavy, Prime Minister Mackenzie King will make an issue of it. He might decide to go to the country on the question of compulsory service for overseas service." (May 14, 1941)

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2.- <u>Colonel Ralston over the radio - May 11</u>

The address made by the Minister of National Defence over the radio at the opening of Canada's first

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recruiting campaign of the present war, received most favourable comments in the Press. A great number of newspapers indicated that the Minister's appeal for 32,000 men will meet with a full and eager response. The French Press also gives its entire support to the campaign. Answering the question: "What is the need now?" the "Ottawa Morning Journal" writes:

> "It may be well that all of us try to look at this thing sanely; try to see that on the basis of our physical and financial capacity, we have got to make a choice between raising more divisions and sending Britain things that Britain needs desperately.
>
> "Our choice here, it must seem, should be dictated by Britain. If Britain believes that guns and tanks and ships are her most vital present need, then it would seem to be our first and most urgent task to give her what she wants. To put war supplies for her first and more Canadian divisions afterwards." (May 13, 1941)

- - - - - - - - - -

3.- Messrs. Bruce and Ralston in the House of Commons May 12.

Declarations

The issue of full military conscription was directly put before the House by Honorable H. A. Bruce (Parkdale) who called upon the Government to take

> "immediate steps to meet the present urgent situation and make available by a national selective process the men necessary to bring our armed forces up to the strength that represents the fighting might of Canada."
>
> (Unrevised hansard, May 12, p.2945)

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Mr. Bruce concluded his speech by these words:

> "I venture to suggest that this session should not close until we have disposed of this urgent business."(Unrevised hansard,May 12,p.2946)

Mr. Ralston immediately replied to Mr. Bruce and said in part:

> "I cannot understand why at this time, just after I have launched a recruiting campaign, my hon. friend should interject this discordant note into our national unity."....
>
> "I say to my hon. friend in all seriousness that at this time there is no need of advocating a system such as he suggests."....
>
> "We have unity in this country, and I ask my hon. friend to try to help us preserve it, rather than attempting to drive a wedge of disunion into a war effort of which I think Canada ought well to be proud."
> (Unrevised hansard, May 12, pp.2946-7)

Later on during this same debate, Mr. W. F. Kuhl (Jasper-Edson) declared his opposition to conscription because

> "The people expressed themselves definitely on that question (in March 1940), and the government has no right to resort to forceful enrolment of man-power, until it ascertains the will of the majority, either through a plebiscite or through some other similar means."
> (Unrevised hansard, May 12, pp.2952-3)

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Reactions

The declaration made by Colonel Ralston was criticized by the "Globe and Mail", the "Toronto Telegram" and the "Ottawa Citizen" because of his reference to ... national unity.

a) - National Unity

> "We feel Colonel Ralston showed no great wisdom in reviving the crude bogy of national unity, immediate parade of which, as soon as anybody expresses views on compulsory service unpalatable to Ministers, has become very tiresome." (Toronto Globe and Mail, May 14, 1941)

> "When Mr. Ralston says that conscription would be a wedge driven into national unity, what he means to say is that Quebec wouldn't stand for it, even if the rest of the Dominion thought it necessary."
> (Toronto Telegram, May 14, 1941)

b) - Lack of courageous leadership

> "There exists a real danger that a failure, caused by lack of courageous leadership, to give expression to the views of a substantial majority of the Canadian people may prove just as serious a threat to national unity as the rejection of these views through fear of offending a compact minority."
> (Toronto Globe and Mail, May 14, 1941)

> "Canada's greatest handicap at this moment is lack of national leadership because of the blind adherence of the government to party policies."
> (Ottawa Morning Citizen, May 14, 1941)

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"French-Canadians have been the victims of Liberal politicians who induced them to believe that limited participation in this war was a possible role for Canada to play."
(Toronto Telegram, May 14, 1941)

e)- The French newspaper, "Le Droit", writes as follows:

"The Minister of National Defence has declared his opposition to military conscription for overseas service at this time because there is no need for it; but what will be his opinion on this subject in six months or one year from now? He did not commit himself. Nevertheless, what ever happens, national unity will be as important then as it is to-day."
(May 13, 1941)

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

4.- Mr. Lapointe over the radio - May 15

The address, delivered in French, by the Minister of Justice, on Thursday, was also very favourably commented by the Press. In the course of his speech, Mr. Lapointe made the following reference to conscription :

"I am still in favor of voluntary enlistment for overseas service. Those who advocate compulsory service are doing a disservice to our national war effort and to the great cause of Canadian unity, so essential in this great crisis." (Montreal Star, May 16, 1941)

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The Pledges
re Conscription

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Mr. Mackenzie King -

"One political fact is equally clear: in a war to save the liberty of others, and thus our own, we should not sacrifice our own liberty or our own unity. Planning and coordination would be essential, but the necessary coordination could be made, and if this government were in power it would be made, without sacrificing those vital ends and conditions of our existence. Profits could and would be rigidly controlled, and profiteering suppressed. But men's lives and men's wills cannot be put on the same basis as goods and profits. The present government believes that conscription of men for overseas service would not be a necessary or an effective step. Let me say that so long as this government may be in power, no such measure will be enacted. We have full faith in the readiness of Canadian men and women to rally for the defence of their country and their liberties, and to resist aggression by any country seeking to dominate the world by force. There is in our people, in every part of Canada, a deep sense of duty, a power of facing realities, a tenacious courage, that would rise to any emergency."

(House of Commons Debates,
March 30, 1939, page 2426)

"I wish now to repeat the undertaking I gave in parliament on behalf of the government on March 30 last. The present government believe that conscription of men for overseas service will not be a necessary or an effective step. No such measure will be introduced by the present administration. We have full faith in the readiness of Canadian men and women to put forth every effort in their power to preserve and defend free institutions, and in particular to resist aggression on the part of a tyrannical regime which aims at the domination of the world by force. The government, as representing the people of Canada, will use their authority and power to the utmost in promoting the most effective organized effort toward these imperative ends."

(House of Commons Debates,
September 8, 1939, page 36)

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Mr. Mackenzie King:

> "One of the questions that was put was: Would the government indicate what it intends to do with the powers that are being given to it under this bill? But before I answer that, in case I should overlook it, may I refer to the other matter to which I alluded a moment ago, namely, the powers we already have under the Militia Act. Under the War Measures Act we have powers to go very far in what we may wish to do, but under the Militia Act we have also powers, and they relate to the conscription of men, not to the conscription of wealth or to the conscription of property, or materials or whatever other entity you may wish to designate, but to the conscription of men in Canada. Here is the law as it stands today. I quote section 8, subsection 1 of the Militia Act. It makes provision for the conscription of man-power in the following terms:
>
> > 'All the male inhabitants of Canada, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, and under sixty, not exempt or disqualified by law, and being British subjects, shall be liable to service in the militia: Provided that the governor general may require all the male inhabitants of Canada, capable of bearing arms, to serve in the case of a levee en masse.'
>
> That is part of the law today. One or two of my hon. friends who have spoken this afternoon and have been talking about conscription, as if we were introducing something new, forget altogether that when it comes to the defence of Canada the law of this country has given the government that authority by statute ever since the first year after confederation. There is one difference between our law as also the power we are seeking in the present bill, and the authority as it exists under the British law. It is a difference which limits rather than extends our power. Under British law conscription of man-power is conscription for service anywhere. As in the Militia Act we have in the present bill purposely by a special clause in this measure kept a pledge which we on this side of the house made before

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Mr. Mackenzie King - (Continued)

and at the beginning of the war, that we would not, while this administration was in office, enact a law for the conscription of men to be sent overseas. We have kept that promise by a clause which is specifically set forth in the bill that is before the house today. In other words, we have in this particular measure gone no further in the right of mobilizing man-power than we had authority to go under the law of this country as it has been since 1868.

(House of Commons Debates,
June 18, 1940, page 900)

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Mr. Mackenzie King -

There has been a great deal of talk lately about conscription. I want to make perfectly clear what is in my mind when I speak of conscription so that there will be no misunderstanding as to my attitude in relation to it. So far as conscription stands for compulsory selective national service, that is a principle which this government has embodied in its National Resources Mobilization Act passed at a previous session of this parliament. As to how rapidly that principle should be applied and how far it should be extended is a matter which the government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting them.

I want it to be distinctly understood that so far as the principle of compulsory selective national service is concerned for Canada, in Canada, I stand for that principle. I have never taken any other stand. It is the position that I have held all along. It has been applied in connection with military training and applied in a number of other directions I might mention. How much further it will be applied the house will learn as the government takes its decisions on that matter.

But so far as conscription for service overseas is concerned in the armed forces of Canada, that question was submitted to the people of Canada at the last general election, an election which was held in war-time, and in which the leaders of all political parties made their statements to the electorate, and the people of Canada decided against conscription for overseas service. So far as I am concerned, without any consultation of the people on that subject, I do not intend to take the responsibility of supporting any policy of conscription for service overseas.

(Unrevised Hansard, Nov. 12, 1941, page 4672)

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GORDON GRAYDON, M.P.

Feb. 5, 1940 As Peel candidate of National Government Party: I will not support conscription if I am a member of a National Government. - - - In the last war conscription raised only 10,000 men for overseas service, and created a national disunity which I hope will never again be used in Canada.
(Toronto Telegram, Feb. 5, 1940)

July 22, 1941 At Edmonton, declined to comment on conscription.
(Edmonton Bulletin, July 23, 1941)

July 22, 1941 At Edmonton, said he was not interested in mere partisanship, and that anything in a public way done in the Dominion now must be definitely related to Canada's war effort.
(Edmonton Bulletin, July 23, 1941)

Oct. 23, 1941 At Fredericton, N.B., "There is only one issue facing the Canadian people to-day, and that is the winning of the war. Any movement at this time to be justified in my opinion must be related to a more effective prosecution of the conflict."
(St.John-Telegraph Journal, Oct. 24, 1941)

Nov. 25, 1941 At Brampton: "Under the War Measures Act we have placed the reins of power in the Ministers of this Dominion. Any other course would be wrong. This is an emergency, and men in authority must be in positions to legislate with the greatest possible efficiency.
(Toronto Star, Nov. 25, 1941)

Dec. 8, 1941 At Hamilton: "There is only one issue in Canada - the winning of this war."
(Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 9, 1941)

Feb. 27, 1942 At Toronto: Said that during a recent 8-month tour across Canada he found a war-conscious people. Few were interested in partisanship. The only issue in which they were interested was winning the war. "Political power", said Mr. Graydon, must be relegated to a position secondary to that of real, worthwhile service in the interests and welfare of the nation, empire and their peoples."
(Toronto Star, Feb. 28, 1942)

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GORDON GRAYDON, M.P. (Cont'd)

Mar. 31, 1942 At Toronto, enjoins Conservatives to make sure that "when this Party appeals to the people that it does so not simply from the brains of a brain trust, but from the heart of the people."
(Globe and Mail, Apr. 1, 1942)

Nov. 4, 1942 At Toronto, referring to meeting of Conservative Party to be held in Winnipeg in December: "Our intentions at the meeting will not be to seek power, but to seek to do that which is best in the interests of the Empire; Canada and democracy. We are to-day beyond thinking in terms of partisanship. - - - Whatever might have been the faults of the Conservative Party since the war started, its members could at least say they had a proud record in support of a greater and more comprehensive and effective war effort."
(Toronto Telegram, Nov. 5, 1942)

Feb. 1, 1943 In House, said his attitude would be to"avoid narrow, old-fashioned partisan politics.

Nov. 17, 1943 At Kentville, N.S. - "We as a Party, while shadows are still spread over the democratic world, feel that our job is not to criticize for political advantages."
(Halifax Herald, Nov. 18, 1943)

Oct. 21, 1943 At Victoria, B.C. - "It is not fitting while Canadians are fighting abroad to have unnecessary political warfare behind the scenes."
(Victoria Times, Oct. 22, 1943)

Mar. 3, 1944 In House of Commons - Policy of the Progressive-Conservative Party in the House of Commons was one of co-operation with the government towards the end of a 100% war effort.

Dec. 11, 1944 At London, Ont.: "This country will carry greater weight for international peace if it stands united at home."
(Journal, Dec. 12, 1944)

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HOWARD GREEN, M.P.

March 22, 1940 At Merrisdale, B.C. - Declared he was opposed to conscription, not only because it was a failure in Canada in the last war, only 10,000 conscripts going to France, but because it might cause civil war.
(Vancouver Sun, Mar. 23, 1940)

The same Mr. Green a year and 9 months later:

Nov. 17, 1941 At Winnipeg: "Canada must adopt a total war effort - not only conscription of manpower but conscription of everything, including possessions and even time.
(Winnipeg Tribune, Nov. 18, 1941)

Jan. 12, 1942 At Vancouver: "Let us put our minds to this war and keep them there until we have seen it through."
(Vancouver Province, Jan. 13, 1942)

Apr. 12, 1942 At Vancouver: Urged total mobilization. B. C. Conservative Association endorse Conservative stand at outbreak of war: war effort must come ahead of every other consideration.
(Vancouver Sun, Apr. 13, 1942)

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J. G. DIEFENBAKER, M.P.

Jan. 20, 1942 At Winnipeg, referring to referendum, and its alternative, the calling of a General Election:

Dismissed the advisability of a general election as "too costly to merit thought in wartime, and consider the disastrous effects on Canadian unity if you run the risks of a negative result."

(Winnipeg Tribune, Jan. 21, 1942)

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CONSCRIPTION

Topical Summary of Arguments
raised in the Press and in Correspondence

1. Essential to an "All-out" War Effort.
2. Emphasis on Army Should be Avoided.
3. Farm Labour and Conscription.
4. Why Should Overseas Service Alone Be Voluntary?
5. "Overseas Conscription" not Essential to Selective Service.
6. Voluntary System a Failure.
7. Volunteers are Better Soldiers.
8. Equality of Sacrifice.
9. Compulsory Recruitment is More Efficient.
10. The Only "Democratic" System.
11. National Unity.
12. A Political Issue.
13. A Referendum.

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14. The Imperialist Campaign.

15. Local Option for Quebec.

16. Hon. Adelard Godbout's Position.

17. C.C.F. Policy.

18. Lack of Conscription Helps U.S. Isolationists.

19. Preparation Necessary for Conscription.

20. Analogy with Compulsory Payment of Taxes.

21. Pledges re Declaration of War and Conscription.

22. Compulsory Service for Home Defence Unrealistic.

23. Conscription Essential to National Prestige.

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C244009

ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT

"Without conscription we cannot have true national service, without national service we cannot have an all-out war effort and without an all-out war effort we cannot pull our full weight in the war. That is why conscription must come and is coming."

(Western Producer quoted by Ottawa Morning Citizen, November 11, 1941)

Compulsory service overseas is another matter. Those who urge it in the interests of our war effort and not for political ends, do so, no doubt, in the belief that it is the only way to secure an all-out war effort. The spirit and the purpose may be commendable, but the advocacy, at the present time, of immediate conscription for overseas service is ill-advised. It assumes that there is clear, unquestionable need now at the fighting front for every possible man that Canada can put in uniform. No decisions have yet been made by authorities who are responsible for the war effort that would justify that assumption."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 19, 1941)

"Army volunteers are not coming forward, and that is the reason why some system of selective compulsory service must be adopted at once. Our slender resources in man power must be fully utilized for the war effort, both industrial and armed, if we are to win and to win quickly."

(Financial Post, December 6, 1941)

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ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT (Cont'd)

"The issue to be faced by the Dominion Government is right in front of it. There is little time to decide whether it will participate in the war on the same basis as the other nations, or continue as a limited partner, with its own political hide a chief concern. Its anomalous position is not hidden from any one, foe or friend. It protests that it is making an all-out effort, but leaves it to the individual to volunteer for active service where this will count for victory."

(Toronto Globe & Mail, Dec. 23, 1941)

"The vital question is not, of course, whether or not overseas conscription should be adopted but how Canada can most effectively achieve and maintain maximum striking strength. If it can be shown that this can best be done by extension of our present system of compulsory service, then there should be no hesitancy about doing it. But if on the other hand it appears likely that such a move would involve dislocation to the extent that our general effort would be retarded rather than accelerated, weakened rather than strengthened, then obviously we should proceed with great care"

.....

"To make a false step at this crucial stage of our war effort would be disastrous. We must first of all make sure that we are right and then proceed to carry out whatever decisions are reached in the way best calculated to bring about the desired result."

(Regina Leader-Post, Dec. 3, 1941)

"If I were convinced that conscription of men for overseas service was the best contribution Canada could make to win the war, I would be for it, as I was for it in 1917. But I do not believe that it is.

"It was wrong to try to judge the size of a country's war effort by the number of men it had in uniform. He recalled that in the conference with British and American

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ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT (Cont'd)

representatives, Joseph Stalin made an urgent appeal not for men, but for tanks and planes. Only this week there was criticism in Australia because Britain had not provided Singapore with sufficient aircraft and as a result lost the Prince of Wales and Repulse.

"The Canadian Legion had asked for an army of 40 divisions. With this he disagreed. It is no use putting a huge army in Britain for some future war on the continent if it means that in the meantime we cannot give Britain the supplies that are as vital to the winning of the war as men in uniform.

"Whatever you do, don't overlook the supreme importance of equipment. I don't care if I am driven from public office tomorrow, I am going to say this emphatically tonight.

"To put 40 divisions inthe field would take 1,000,000 or more men out of production. The greatest need in Canada today was for more and still more metals of all kinds. He recalled that in 1914 Canada produced no metal. Today it was producing enormous quantities and was expanding production in all directions."

(Hon. T. A. Crerar as reported in Winnipeg Free Press, Dec. 20, 1941)

"The University of Chicago Round Table which is so widely listened to, dealt yesterday with the question of selective service for war purposes which has become as urgent a question in the United States as it is in Canada. General Hershey, who is the head of the Government Board which directs the selective draft for the United States, made some statements that had considerable bearing upon the discussion that is going on in Canada. He dealt for instance with the much-debated question of the number of non-combatant workers and administrators who, in war as it is waged today, have to serve the fighters in the field. The General said that in the American civil war one civilian to one soldier was the ratio; in the First Great War this rose to five to one; in the war of today the ratio, at the minimum calculation was fourteen to one. That is to say, there could not be a fewer number than fourteen; it might be necessary to have more.

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ESSENTIAL TO ALL-OUT WAR EFFORT (Cont'd)

"These are figures that cannot be ignored in fact, but they can apparently be overlooked in argument. What do they do to the orators and the newspapers that demand, often in accents of hysteria, a fighting army for Canada of a million men? They make the whole contention meaningless.

"These figures are limited to the civilian support which a country must give to its own army in the field. They take no cognizance of the manpower that is required for the production of weapons and war supplies that a country may produce, not for its own army, but for the armies of its allies. If fourteen to one is the ratio in Canada and the United States for their own armies, what addition to the fourteen suppliers must be added to provide for the production of the war material that these countries are supplying to the British countries, to Russia and to China? Plainly the proportion has to be raised to provide for the production of airplanes, metals, ships, tanks, lumber, motorized vehicles, guns, not to mention such an essential article as food which also calls for manpower on a large scale for its production.

Honest consideration of these facts of course disposes of the hysterical outcry which is raised that anyone who is not in favor of an overseas army, which is far beyond the possibilities of the ratio, is seeking to prevent Canada from making her maximum effort. That is why there is a resort to abuse, denunciations, insinuations and mendacities whenever the attention of the public is directed towards these facts and consideration of them is suggested."

(Winnipeg Free Press, Dec. 22, 1941)

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C244073

EMPHASIS ON ARMY SHOULD BE AVOIDED

"There are too many advocates of conscription in this country who are living the last war over again, when all that Canada needed was to reinforce its infantry divisions on the western front. Today the scene has greatly changed. We not only need an army, our navy grows rapidly, the demands of the air force will prove to be insatiable as the projected expansion of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan shows. There is in addition the extreme need of men in war industry, in our munitions plants, in our shipbuilding yards, and in agriculture.

"If we need conscription we need it to be applied all down the line, applied as scientifically as possible in the light of a broad plan which will take all our manpower needs into account."

(Winnipeg Free Press, July 22, 1941)

"What is needed much more than the conscription of men now being blindly advocated in many quarters in Canada is the immediate establishment of priorities in the use of our now rapidly dwindling unemployed resources in both men and material for war. Already, as was pointed out in this column yesterday, more than 40 per cent of the national income is being applied to the war effort. The remaining margin that can be harnessed to war is an additional 10 or 15 per cent at the very most. But it is likely that more organization will be needed to employ that margin than has been needed up to now and that more difficulties will be encountered in making that margin effective.

"If, as a result of public pressure, conscription becomes politically essential, there is a good chance that our additional effort may not be directed into the channels that are most valuable for victory. It is much easier in war to do unwise things than to be wise. Hence we should have with as little delay as possible the lay-down of some kind of plan which would direct our still unemployed resources to the most effective ends.

"A good part of the present agitation in Canada, the visible token of which is the conscription drive, is due to the belief that our resources in men and material are limitless. This is not so. There are only so many men and so many machines and so much material available to us for immediate use. Those totals can be increased in time, but only if certain resources now employed in current production are diverted to capital expenditure; and in war it is always

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EMPHASIS ON ARMY SHOULD BE AVOIDED (Cont'd)

a nice question whether the urgencies of the present should be to some extent sacrificed to the needs of the future."

(Winnipeg Free Press, August 5, 1941)

""Therefore we, the Manitoba Federation of Agriculture, ask the Dominion Government that in the event of conscription of manpower, we also have national conscription in Canada of wealth and natural resources."

"Therefore be it resolved that the Government of Canada should forthwith seek to strike a balance between enlistments in the armed forces, movement of men from agricultural to industrial areas, and employment of men in unessential industries."

(Extracts from Resolutions of the Directors, Manitoba Federation of Agriculture, November, 1941)

"So great is the demand for labor and materials that two men must go into war industries for every man who goes into the armed forces. And on top of our own armament requirements we are committed to the manufacture of enormous supplies for Britain and are even going to ship some armaments to Russia.

"The question posed by these facts is simply this: How many men can we afford to put into our armed forces and how many must we reserve for our war industries? It is the basic question in our whole war program. It is the question which most Canadians refuse to face when they talk about conscription for war service as if our problem could be solved by building up a few more infantry divisions. It is the question which the government itself has not yet faced. But soon it must draw a line.

(Vancouver,Sun, November 24, 1941)

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EMPHASIS ON ARMY SHOULD BE AVOIDED (CONT'D)

"Serious, but not necessarily alarming, is the situation outlined by Prime Minister Churchill, which has led to the decision in Great Britain to widen the basis of compulsory service.

.....

"It is well to study carefully what the Prime Minister proposes. There will be those in this country who will seize on it as a prop for the argument in favor of conscription. They will glibly talk of Britain's dire need for soldiers, while we continue to depend on voluntary enlistment.

"Mr. Churchill, however, was not simply telling the people that more men are needed in the Army.

.....

"Some of them, it is true, are to go into the Army. The needs which Mr. Churchill mentioned, however, also included the staffing of new factories, particularly for the supplying of material to Russia, and the maintenance of the civilian defence of Britain. To say that the Old Land has been brought to the desperate pass of putting her "old men" into uniform would be to draw an entirely distorted picture of the situation."

(Windsor Star, Dec. 5, 1941)

"Compulsory war service within Canada is likely to be supplemented by compulsory war industry service and agricultural service. Expanding production calls for augmented staffs in war factories. Agriculture, which is also a war industry, has suffered through the enlistment of agricultural labour in military forces and industrial forces, and must be provided with additional manpower and womanpower."

"Direction must be given to manpower, by some means or other if industry, including agriculture, is to meet the requirements of this war."

"Whatever the cost may be, Canada must devote her industrial strength to the production of war mechanisms. There will be smaller supplies of consumer goods, but the price of them will be under government control."

(Toronto Star, December 5, 1941)

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EMPHASIS ON ARMY SHOULD BE AVOIDED (Cont'd)

"There is so much hypocrisy about the conscription cry, it is laughable. The Globe thinks it was proper to delete the references to industry, wealth and natural resources. (That might have been a hint to the Dominion Government to take over the gold mines and operate them.)

If this war goes on, we will have conscription in Canada. That is an accepted fact and the Dominion Government will have to bring in conscription legislation, if men can be secured in no other way.

But, let's be sensible about it. If the Government is going to go to a young man and tell him he must don a uniform and go and fight, then surely that young man has a right to expect that the Government will also go to each individual and each industry and say these services are also needed. The hypocrisy or conscription is that so many think the only thing the Government should do is conscript men to send them to battle."

(Windsor Star, December 19, 1941)

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C244077

FARM LABOUR AND CONSCRIPTION

"The common sense method would be to exempt from military training those young men who are really needed on farms and in other occupations similarly important in relation to war production. Even under conscription for overseas, as in the last war, that exemption would be provided for as long as feasible. In this war, we have so far no conscription for overseas, yet we have one of the most illogical and distasteful features of conscription in that young farmers are being taken from their work with precisely the same effect."

(Woodstock Sentinel-Review, July 8, 1941)

Adoption of a national selective service plan under which agriculture would be recognized as a war industry was generally approved by a farm labour conference at Queens Park, according to the Globe and Mail of November 29, 1941.

"A large number of men have already left the farms for the war industries or to enlist in the armed forces, and one of the things the Government must determine is the number of men to be retained in agriculture in different parts of the country to maintain food production for our own and Britain's needs."

"The Government will no doubt obtain the facts as nearly as possible in regard to all the men who have left the land, and the effect in different parts of the country, as a guide to the retention of the necessary manpower in food production."

(Winnipeg Free Press, December 5, 1941)

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FARM LABOUR AND CONSCRIPTION (Cont'd)

"The government must see that labor is available to the farmer even if it has to provide that labor by compulsion. If able-bodied boys are taken from the farms for the army they must be replaced by men of non-military age or by women. It may well be that the first need of conscription is not in overseas service, for which thousands of men are volunteering, but on the farm, where most men do not wish to go. By conscription or otherwise we must mobilize the soldiers of the soil before spring."

(Vancouver Sun, December 12, 1941)

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4
C244079

WHY SHOULD OVERSEAS SERVICE ALONE BE VOLUNTARY

"The principle of conscription has been recognized by our Government in the mobilization of our economic resources, in the control of our industrial structure, in the levying of high taxation on income, in the control of our currency, in the limitation of our travel to the confines of our own frontiers, and, more recently, in the freezing of price and wage levels. Why should this principle not be extended to the most vital of all our assets, to the greatest contributing factor in this war--our manpower?"

(J. S. Duncan quoted in Ottawa Morning Journal, November 3, 1941)

"Recognizing the dangers to national unity involved due to the record of the past quarter-century, I am convinced there are better ways of approaching the problem than in parliamentary debate and on the political hustings.

"Latest news advices from Ottawa indicate that early, vigorous steps will be taken to mobilise manpower and womanpower of the nation in the war effort. This implies compulsory selective service, and the Government is well advised to press this policy without delay. If recruiting of voluntary enlistment for active service in the armed forces is pressed forward at the same time leading military authorities are agreed that there will be no shortage of men coming forward to fill the ranks of the fighting forces."

(Letter by E. S. Bates in Montreal Herald, November 18, 1941)

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"OVERSEAS CONSCRIPTION" NOT ESSENTIAL TO SELECTIVE SERVICE

"The demand for national selective service which is being made in some quarters is a disguised demand for compulsory service overseas, since the Government is already fully authorized to establish selective service within Canada by the National Resources Mobilization Act of last year. This is a fact of which the public does not seem to be fully aware. There is no basis whatever for the assertion being constantly made that there can be no selective control over available manpower in Canada until Canada takes power to conscript men for overseas service. This is a falsehood which is being widely spread for the purpose of misleading the public."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 29, 1941)

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C244081

VOLUNTARY SYSTEM A FAILURE

"So far, Mr. Ralston has not faced the issue as to how the growing and imperious need for manpower is to be met; how the proper division is to be made between the three services, and of equal importance, between those services and the war factories.

"Mr. King has been wholly silent.

"From an increasing number of Canadians of all classes comes the demand for 'compulsory selective service.'

"What does that phrase mean?

"The implication, over and over again, by those who use it, is that the government must accept responsibility for allocation of the nation's manpower for whatever tasks are necessary to win the war. It is not just a case of telling a man he must shoulder a rifle. Actually, the authorities must decide how the services of every man, and woman too, must best be utilised in winning the war. It may be in the armed services at home or overseas, it may be in the factory, it may be serving in some humble capacity at home.

"This clearly is the issue that must be faced and faced without delay. Instead of meeting the challenge, too many of our leaders have remained silent or have tried to confuse the issue. Party leaders, both in government and opposition, have raised the bogey of 'conscription,' have nurtured and coddled the old feeling of 1917.

"There are those both in and out of parliament who have urged time and again the responsibility of political leaders to prepare Canadians for the day when inevitable compulsory service might be necessary. This has not been done. As a result the nation today faces a crisis and one that may grow desperate overnight, with a sudden change in the international situation.

"After more than two years of war we are still not fully mobilized; still not prepared to take full advantage of any new opportunities; still not prepared to combat any sudden onslaught."

(Financial Post, November 15, 1941)

"The possibilities of voluntary enlistment are not by any means exhausted, as some seem to think, and the opinion that we should provide the largest possible force that can be drawn from our available manpower for overseas forthwith is not supported by declaration as to need from responsible quarters."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 19, 1941)

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VOLUNTARY SYSTEM A FAILURE (Cont'd)

"Permit me to assure you once more that the desires outlined above are not the thoughts of political enemies. So far as the war is concerned you have no political enemies. There is nevertheless a profound conviction among men and women throughout the land that Canada is not doing her full duty in this struggle for freedom. They want you to know that they will back you to the point of any sacrifice. They agree with you that there is no nobler cause than a "call to arms" for one's country. It is a simple truth, however, that if the soldiers of the Empire were all permitted to man the second line of defence they would but await their doom. We want fighting soldiers, Mr. King, and if there are those who do not see the path of duty we Canadians look to you to show them the path."

(Open Letter from Brig.-Gen. J.A. Clark, Vancouver, July 2, 1941)

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Conscription 7

VOLUNTEERS ARE BETTER SOLDIERS C244083

"When we meet the Germans we will need a good army, the best we can create. At least this much can be said for our voluntary system, man for man Germany will have nothing to compare with our force comprised of men who have offered their services without compulsion in the fight for freedom."

(Prince Albert Herald, November 15, 1941)

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C244084

EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE

"To veterans of the first Great War conscription is the only way the problem of manpower can be satisfactorily solved, and it is the only democratic way because, properly administered, it gives that equality of sacrifice which is completely missing from our present system.

"And when the Legion talks about conscription it means for service at ... the front line of the British commonwealth, wherever it may be."

(Alex. Walker, Dom. President, Canadian Legion at Wetaskiwin, Alta., Calgary Herald, October 14, 1941)

"This matter of conscription raises the question of equality of sacrifice and we know that in conscription those fit to go overseas would go while the unfit would stay home and make their ninety cents an hour, so there you have the question of equality of sacrifice. Even selective conscription does not mean equality of sacrifice. The problem is how to provide enough men and at the same time have this equality."

(W. A. Fraser, M.P., at Cobourg, reported in Toronto Telegram, November 13, 1941.)

"Selective compulsory service, if it means anything at all, means that everybody has to do the job for which he or she is best suited in an economic structure entirely designed for efficiency in war. In such a system it is impossible to think of compelling one man to risk his life for $1.25 a day and another man to work in a well ventilated and comfortable factory for, say, $5 a day or whatever better rate his union may have managed to extract from a harassed management."

(Saturday Night, November 22, 1941)

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EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE (Cont'd) C244085

"We view with alarm the policy of begging man by man for recruits regardless of whether they are married, with children and business responsibilities, while young men without responsibilities are encouraged in the belief that their duty takes them no further than a second line of defence in Canada. Nor do we lose sight of the fact that there are those less worthy citizens who will not do their duty except through compulsion and who will be glad of the opportunity of establishing themselves in Canada at the expense of those who give their services voluntarily."

(Open Letter from Brig.-Gen. J.A. Clark, Vancouver, July 2, 1941)

"... As long as Canada retains compulsory service for her own shores and limits service abroad to volunteers there cannot be the equality or sacrifice with other nations.

This acceptance of limited liability is discreditable to the country in so many respects that it must be removed. The Government has built up its own case and should be the authority to tear it down. But will it?"

(Toronto Globe & Mail, Dec. 20, 1941)

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COMPULSORY RECRUITMENT IS MORE EFFICIENT

"As for conscription, there is a good deal of confusion. Because recruiting is slow there are many who seem to believe that that is the one and only reason for supporting compulsory military service in some form. The lack of sufficient men would, of course, be the one unanswerable argument for conscription. But it is not by any means the only one. Even if men were coming forward in ample volume by the voluntary method conscription would still be the only efficient, fair and democratic method of recruiting the fighting services in an all-out war for survival."

(Western Producer, reprinted by
Ottawa Citizen, November 11, 1941)

"In theory, the case for conscription, is perhaps unanswerable, but we do not live in a world of theory, but in a very practical one where the best policy to adopt by any government is the one which works best and not the one that works best on paper."

(Huron Expositor, July 18, 1941)

"Amid all the clamor for an immediate resort to conscription, whatever that term may mean to its proponents, the discussion of the question by Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services, should clear the air considerably. He demonstrates that he has been thinking about the matter, and presumably the Government has also been giving the subject consideration, but from the thoughtful, practical viewpoint, and not swayed by emotionalism.

.....

"Those who want the Government to plunge into this method of raising men will find it difficult to answer Mr. Thorson's argument, for instance, that men cannot be drafted as fliers.

.....

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COMPULSORY RECRUITMENT IS MORE EFFICIENT (Cont'd.)

"As to the Navy, Mr. Thorson says the number of volunteers exceeds the requirements, so the matter is settled in respect to that service.

"What, then, of the Army? More and more, it is becoming an Army of specialists. The call for highly trained technical men, or those with special capabilities for training, is constantly being intensified. It is simply beyond reason to suggest that men be picked up haphazardly and attempts made to fit them, regardless of their qualifications, for such specialized employment.

"The conscriptionists, of course, will say that they advocate "selective" service. If that term means anything, it means that the best of our men shall be pressed into the armed services. In other words, the men best fitted for highly technical jobs are to be shoveled into the Army, leaving the misfits and the untrained to staff our vital industries.

"The time for that may come, but not until we are in much more desperate straits than at present."

(Windsor Star, Dec. 5, 1941)

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THE ONLY "DEMOCRATIC" SYSTEM

C244088

Conscription, said Mr. Baxter, has been the biggest democratic influence in Britain in a decade, because "the duke's son and the butcher's son stand side by side in the ranks."
.....It is by no means uncommon for Canadians who have chosen to live in Britain to find that they cannot understand the complex social organization of that country ... Is Mr. Baxter a victim of the same complaint? Why else should he talk about duke's sons and butcher's sons to Canadians who are unlikely to be the former, and experience no sense of unworthiness if they are the latter?

(Toronto Saturday Night, Sept. 27, 1941)

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NATIONAL UNITY

"Conscription may have to come, may actually come, but it would be a mistake to bring it into effect until the nation as a whole is ready for it without harming the existing national unity. In wartime a balanced judgment is often lacking in our consideration of war issues; public opinion is easily stampeded. We oftentimes fail to think seriously whether the end in view is justified by the policies we advocate. In our view we would suffer more than benefit by introducing conscription at this moment. The break-up in national unity would provide fodder for the enemy. As the war progresses, events may develop to convert those now violently opposed to conscription. In the meantime it is best to leave well enough alone. We have Mr. Churchill's attitude in respect to Ireland, and the example of Australia to satisfy us that unity is preferable to policies that would create dissension and bitterness."

(Lethbridge Herald, July 8, 1941)

"If the voluntary system can raise the necessary forces everyone will be delighted, but there is a growing belief that this is not possible even if the present recruiting campaign has been successful. What then? Will Canada slacken her efforts?

"To argue that Canada is for making war resolutely and to the end with all her power and resources, and then to argue that conscription - if it should be the only way to keep our forces in the field at full force - would destroy national unity does not make sense. It is very evident that Mr. King, remembering the last war, fears Quebec. However, the people of Quebec have shown in this war that they are just as whole-heartedly behind the war effort as Ontario or any other part of Canada. If conscription is the only way that the war can be won, we believe that Quebec would support it just as loyally and just as patriotically as Ontario."

(London Free Press, July 15, 1941)

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"Conscription, an issue fraught with the greatest degree of danger of any of the domestic issues that have faced us since war broke out, should not be faced until we know that the Allied plan of victory involves a drain upon our manpower which the voluntary system of recruiting fails to produce.

"Let us not have conscription of men until we know that they will be needed to spend usefully that additional 10 per cent of the national income that at present stands between our present war effort and what represents the theoretical maximum."

(Winnipeg Free Press, August 4, 1941)

"But the fact that Britain and New Zealand are the only empire countries with conscription for overseas service is hardly the determining factor in Canada. Each nation has its separate problems. For those who believe in the fairness of conscription, as The Star does, the question is whether the net effect of conscription upon Canada's war effort would be favorable or otherwise; whether conscription with a degree of national disunity would be greater than voluntary service plus the degree of national unity which now exists. This involves the question of how many more men voluntary service can raise, the question of how many conscription could raise, the question of how many can be drawn from agriculture and war industry, the question of how great the demand for manpower is likely to be in comparison with the demand for machine power, and finally the question of how widespread and dangerous the disunity consequent upon conscription would be."

(Toronto Star, September 25, 1941)

"There is nothing to be gained by minimizing the disunity it would create. On the other hand, if circumstances should arise in which a gain in desperately needed fighting manpower would more than offset the loss in national unity, and if it seemed likely that men could be secured more rapidly and in greater numbers by compulsion than by voluntary enlistment, conscription, always the fairest method, would become the most desirable method as well."

(Toronto Star, November 28, 1941)

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NATIONAL UNITY (Cont'd)

The New York Times of November 22, 1941, reported the Prime Minister of Australia as warning Parliament that no issue could be so ill-timed and detrimental to the unity of Australia as the demand for conscription for overseas service.

"When Mr. Menzies was directing Australia's war effort there was no suggestion that conscription was desirable; and the present Prime Minister, John Curtin, has made an explicit statement that removes all possibility of the issue of conscription arising at any time in the immediate future. The ground upon which Mr. Curtin based this issue was plainly stated; it would weaken the war effort by "splitting the country." To this view apparently all the political leaders in Australia are agreed."

(Winnipeg Free Press,
November 29, 1941)

"The peremptory demand which is being made in some quarters for immediate compulsion for overseas service is resulting in a serious division of opinion; and this division is not, as some appear to claim, limited to any particular section, either of the country or of the people. There is danger that the controversy will get out of hand and do serious injury to the national unity that has made possible those Canadian war activities that have attracted favorable attention throughout the non-Nazi world.

"When the situation is made clear and the needs are known, Canada will send overseas all the men that should be sent--preferably by voluntary action; but if necessary by compulsion. Let there be no mistake about that. This is Canada's war and the issue is life or death. Nothing will be allowed to stand in the way of the effort that is necessary to ensure victory."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 19, 1941)

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"If the urgency of an unmet need for more men overseas were at any time to outweigh the ill effects of compulsory service, such men as could be spared from war industry might have to be obtained by that means. It is the fair means, but those who suggest that it would not involve serious consequences are unfamiliar with what happened last time. There is no reason to think that the result would be otherwise today."

(Toronto Star, December 4, 1941)

"The question of whether or not Canada is ready for compulsory selective service for overseas duty is answered in the negative in today's release of the Gallup Poll of Canada, which appears elsewhere in this issue of The Herald.

.....

Had the vote on conscription for overseas service cut across provincial boundaries with each section of Canada voting approximately as the nation as a whole voted, the logical conclusion would have been that the time for conscription for overseas service was ripening, if it was not quite ripe yet. As it has turned out, the conclusion is that Canada is not yet ready for compulsory overseas service.

Canada is ready for the conscription of manpower for industry, farming and home defence, which is a long step--most of the way, in fact--toward the goal set by the advocates of all-out conscription. The Federal government has the nation behind it in its proposal to utilize the nation's human resources at home for the maximum effort possible of achievement by selective compulsory home service.

We must be content to creep before we can walk, and walk before we can run. We are now emerging from the creeping into the walking stage and could not be ready for the final one for at least two years."

(Prince Albert Herald, December 27, 1941)

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C244093

A POLITICAL ISSUE

"Political opponents of Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King think they have discovered a way to get him out of office. They are clamoring for immediate conscription."

(Windsor Star, July 4, 1941)

"Noting that The Star 'believes that conscription is the fairest way of raising men for overseas service,' the Stratford Beacon-Herald asks: 'then why keep on trying to justify the political manoeuvring which keeps this "fairest way" from being attained?' The answer is that 'political manoeuvring' does not describe the government's action in adhering to a pledge on which it was elected only a year and a quarter ago; and that the national disunity which conscription would involve must be considered as well as its fairness."

(Toronto Star, July 7, 1941)

""If we have a conscription election in Canada, there will be some fun deciding who is to lead the conscription party. Hon. R. B. Hanson thinks he is grooming himself for the job, but Hon. W. D. Herridge thinks he is the man for the post.

"Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King would take the wind out of their sails, if he moved for conscription, when the need is recognized."

(Windsor Star, August 11, 1941)

"Liberals pressed for Union Government and for conscription in the last war, but they were not alone. There are a great many Liberals of the same mind now, and again they are not alone. In 1917 they got what they wanted, and that history seems also likely to repeat itself, at least in so far as compulsory service is concerned."

(Montreal Gazette, October 30, 1941)

"If Mr. King could be convinced that conscription is the popular policy in Canada, he could come out in support of it and thus cut the ground from under Mr. Meighen's feet. The Conservatives would be left with little by way of an issue, except perhaps National Government, and they have had one unfortunate experience with that platform."

(Windsor Star, November 14, 1941)

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A POLITICAL ISSUE (Cont'd)

"It is almost an open secret that our military experts are agreed that it will be impossible to maintain our fighting forces at the requisite strength without extending the principle of compulsion to overseas service, and not a few members of the King Cabinet and a substantial contingent of its Parliamentary supporters must by the exercise of their free judgment know in their hearts that such a move is inevitable if our solemn pledges are to be fulfilled. If they could escape from the shackles of partyism they would openly proclaim their honest views, and the scene at Ottawa would speedily change. If the House of Commons were allowed to function freely as the committee of the nation, we feel confident that there are enough honest-minded Liberals to ensure a transformation in the personnel of the Cabinet similar to that accomplished in Britain, without plunging the country into untimely political warfare. If such a deplorable outcome occurs, then partyism will bear the blame."

(Globe and Mail, November 15, 1941)

"Canada has undoubtedly done, and is now doing its part in this war and is shirking nothing. But agitation, purely political, has never ceased in certain quarters to compel the government to adopt conscription of manpower, mainly for its embarrassment and that of the premier in particular, because he maintains that his election last year with a following of 180 of 245 members of parliament was on his pledge that there would be no such conscription."

(Letter to the Editor, in Sarnia
Canadian Observer, November 15, 1941)

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A POLITICAL ISSUE (Cont'd) C244095

"If, therefore, the Government and Parliament are in agreement that a particular policy is necessary to the safety of the state, not only is an election not necessary but a resort to it could not but be injurious to the public interest.

An election could only be justified if a deadlock should develop in Parliament making definite action of any kind impossible. An election would then become a desperate but inescapable expedient. The probability that any such state or arfairs will develop at Ottawa is so remote that it is hardly worth considering.

.....

The case against a referendum may not be quite so conclusive; but justification for such action does not readily emerge from consideration of the question. A referendum without a clear indication by the Government of the verdict that it desires is unthinkable. Eliminating this kind of a referendum, the necessity for any other kind of a referendum is certainly not immediately apparent.

The Free Press is here discussing the best means of dealing with a situation, should it emerge and demand action. The issue that could create this situation has not yet taken definite form; and the Government, by making use of powers and resources at its disposal, may prevent its emergence. This is much to be desired; since Canadians can put their time and energy to better purpose than squabbling over a difference of opinion as to policy which is not nearly so vital as the alarmists would like Canadians to think."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 25, 1941)

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A POLITICAL ISSUE (Continued) C244096

"Are all the fathers of fighting sons who sit on the Cabinet Council content to watch their bachelor Prime Minister play chess with the various political elements in Canada - sacrificing pawns to get bishops and carefully protecting his castles? A substantial proportion of the personnel of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan is composed of American citizens who will want to return to the United States. How are these to be replaced?

"We know that Mr. King is cooking up a new scheme for mobilizing manpower, a scheme which is designed to mollify the critical without offending those who oppose conscription. These hypocritical half-measures won't do. This is a world war which knows no boundaries or artificial divisions. We are fighting with Russians and Chinese, with Hindus, Cubans and Sudanese fuzzy-wuzzies. Posterity is not going to thank Mr. King for setting artificial boundaries to where a man may fight. British Columbia will not love Quebec the more for opposing a measure which would make the West Coast defenses more effective, and the Canadian unity which the Prime Minister considers it his first duty to preserve will crumble before his eyes.

"The time has come for plain speaking. It is neither patriotic nor democratic to sit in silence, while your chosen representatives compromise with principles and ignore an important body of public opinion. Party politics are bad enough in peacetime when the most serious question which Governments admit to their consideration is one of tariff policy or the distribution of taxing power. Mr. King's policy of leaving well enough alone may have something to commend it in time of peace, but he is no better fitted than Mr. Asquith was to lead a nation in peril and at war."

(Globe and Mail, December 10, 1941)

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C244097

A POLITICAL ISSUE (Cont'd)

"The only argument against compulsory selective service, anywhere on earth, is that the present Prime Minister has set his face against it, and promised certain of his followers that it will not be introduced under his leadership. Those followers control more than sixty seats in the House of Commons, and apparently this argument carries much more weight with the Government than all the cogent reasons why Canada should be at least as vigorous and wholehearted in the prosecution of the war as her new ally, the United States."

(Toronto Globe & Mail, Dec. 18, 1941)

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A REFERENDUM

C244098

"The suggestion that such a question should be put to the people without leadership from those who are most aware of the world situation today and of what it is necessary that Canada shall do is unthinkable even from the King Government. No political leader worthy of the name could shirk his plain duty to take his stand and to do his best to carry his views into effect with the electors."

(Toronto Telegram, July 15, 1941)

"Apparently a majority of the daily newspapers of the Dominion are convinced that conscription for overseas service will be necessary in the not distant future, but it is by no means certain that the people themselves are overwhelmingly in favor of securing recruits by compulsion; and their verdict would be doubtful unless they were given the confidential information upon which to reach an intelligent decision.

.....

The Government at Ottawa has an overwhelming majority in Parliament and should have the courage to pronounce its policy without resort to the buck-passing device of a referendum."

(Globe and Mail, July 15, 1941)

"Should the time come when in the judgment of parliament voluntary enlistment will not secure the necessary number of men, the course is clear. In such circumstances, political honesty and democratic procedure demand that the matter be referred back to the electors."

(Edmonton Bulletin, November 15, 1941)

"It is suggested in some quarters that the King government was elected on the pledge of an all-out war effort, that it should therefore adopt conscription, and that it shows fear of the ballot box when it does not do so. Such an argument ignores the fact that the government was elected on a no-conscription pledge, and that, instead of fearing the ballot box, Mr. King has said that he will not adopt conscription unless the people by their ballots so decide. On the other hand, there is not much force in his argument that the people voted against conscription in 1940, for those who favored it at that time had no chance to express their wishes at the polls in an election where both Liberal and Conservative leaders had declared against it."

(Toronto Star, November 21, 1941)

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A REFERENDUM (Cont'd) C244099

"There was no question of a reference to the people when war was declared; yet Mr. King talks of consulting the people now before building up an army without which the already declared war cannot be waged successfully."

(Montreal Gazette, November 22, 1941)

"In the early days of the war both of our chief political parties pledged themselves to avoid conscription. We do not believe that there is any body of Canadians today who would demand that these pledges be maintained. Every Canadian must realize that these were promises given in different days, when it seemed that our part in this war would be to supply a token force and, for the rest, that we should devote ourselves to providing the munitions for the defensive war we imagined."

("Liberty" Magazine, December 6, 1941)

"If the Government, which must accept full responsibility for military policy, is agreed upon the course that ought to be followed and can command the support of Parliament, there is no need either for an election or referendum.

"This argument, we contend, holds good irrespective of the nature of the policy which the Government may pursue. It rests upon the firm unchallengeable foundation that the Parliament of Canada cannot be bound by anything which seeks to limit its power when the exercise of this power in a particular form is necessary for the effective protection of the country's highest interests and perhaps of its very existence."

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 25, 1941)

"Before a Referendum is held it is the duty of those who are demanding it to explain clearly to the people of Canada just what they mean by "Conscription" with full details. How is the conscripting to be done? Who is going to make the decisions as to those who are to be conscripted and those who are not, and for what purposes they shall be conscripted? Who shall be liable to be conscripted? When

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A REFERENDUM (Cont'd.)

it comes to Conscription, will any regard be paid to the numbers from some of the races in our country who have voluntarily enlisted, when deciding how many shall be conscripted further out of those races?

"Then, why do they want Conscription? Is it because we are short of manual labour in our war work of any kind? Or because we are short of men for our army, navy or air force? Or is it because men and women of certain races in our country are flagrantly failing to enlist for the various services and so are sending forth an undue proportion of the men and women of other races in our country into various war works or into the dangers of army, navy and air services?

"Compel those who are trying to make an issue out of Conscription to make known clearly, honestly and definitely the details of the Conscription they want and their reasons for it. They should not be allowed to get away with the glittering generality of the name or word "Conscription".

"I suggest that Conscription is a matter for the people to settle; and that your Government ought not to have the responsibility of settling this matter thrust upon you without a Referendum.

"This is no time to waste the energies of, or centre the attention of, your Government on the question of Conscription (whatever that means), or no-Conscription (whatever that means)."

(Letter from J. G. Harvey, K.C.,
Winnipeg, Nov. 25, 1941.)

"I feel that after promise given by you in March 1940 (that there would be no conscription) we - the people - are entitled to request a referendum on the question: Conscription or Not: Yes or No.

"I believe there are few, if any, who are opposed to conscription for Home Defence on any portion

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A REFERENDUM (Cont'd.)

of Canadian soil but conscription for invasion of other countries is totally different.

"We seem to be in grave danger of dictatorship by a "controlled" press which seeks to make it appear that the opinions of said Press are those of the people and this I do not believe, judging by the daily comments I hear around me."

(Letter from Mrs. M. I. White,
Manor, Sask., Dec. 1, 1941.)

"From the declaration made in the House of Commons by Mr. King, nothing permits us to conclude in the affirmative, That point remains Mr. King's secret. But in view of the trend of events, we are inclined to believe that the Canadian Government will consult the people after consulting Parliament.

"That would be in conformity with the declaration which Mr. King made in the course of his Western trip during the summer, when according to the newspapers, he said that if it was necessary to modify the existing policy he would consult Parliament and the people.

"This consultation does not necessarily signify general elections. Many reasons militate against it. If Mr. King believes that military selective service for overseas is necessary he will not make a political question of it exposing himself to the risks which a general election involves. He will probably have recourse to a plebiscite, so that whatever may be the decision of the people he can continue to administer the country."

(Le Droit, Ottawa, quoted by
Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph,
Dec. 1, 1941.)

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C244102

A REFERENDUM (Cont'd)

"This referendum device would be an incredible departure from the principle of responsible government as it has been practised in Canada. Especially at this time, when leadership is more than ever needed, the government would be giving no direction to the nation's war effort.

"It would mean that the government of Canada had no heart for the task. So-called responsible government would be standing in the sidelines, with no guidance to offer. Or some ministers would perhaps be urging the electorate to vote Yes, while others urged No. Otherwise, a united government with clear vision would take the responsibility of putting the law of national service into force through parliament without the hocus-pocus of a referendum."

(Ottawa Citizen, Jan. 8, 1942)

Toronto, Jan. 8--Premier Hepburn expressed his opinion today that the Dominion government should decide itself on the question of conscription and should not submit the question to the people in a referendum.

"It is the responsibility and duty of the government in power to make the decision," Mr. Hepburn said. "If they are not prepared to make the decision they should step out or appeal to the country rather than submit a referendum."

Mr. Hepburn said a referendum would "divide this country as it has never been divided before."

(Ottawa Citizen, Jan. 9, 1942)

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THE IMPERIALIST CAMPAIGN C244103

"The imperialistic campaign in favor of conscription for service overseas becoming more and more active, Quebec farmers must express their opposition to any form of conscription by their association, their newspaper, their congress, their resolutions. The union chiefs should multiply their efforts in the course of the coming year."

(Abel Marion, President, Catholic Farmers Union, quoted in Montreal Gazette, October 23, 1941)

"It appears from recent political developments that you may face a test of strength from our opposition. I have no sympathy with the viewpoint of these men, who in my opinion are sodden with colonialism, and are blind or indifferent to the dangers to which they are exposing our own country.

"I do not believe the people will support their views at all; and if they propose to make a mass levy on our manhood every generation, and to place on us war burdens far beyond what the country's strategic position demands, or far different from what it demands, then the future will inevitably bring up a reconsideration of our relations with the Empire."

(A letter from Nelson McFarlane, Toronto, November 14, 1941)

"It has sometimes seemed to me that the first word of "British Empire" is dwelt upon with too much emphasis. "Commonwealth of Nations" is perhaps a name more agreeable to a people not of British origin, but sprung from another race. "Why," they may say, "should we fight for anything merely British?" But they might be ready to fight for a commonwealth in which they are all full partners. It should perhaps be pressed with more clearness and force than heretofore that this present war is not for the glory of any race, or for the profit of any particular people, but for the right to live in peace in that part of the world in which God has placed us."

(Sir Alfred Morine in Globe and Mail Nov. 17, 1941)

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Conscription 15-

C244104

LOCAL OPTION FOR QUEBEC

First suggested by B. K. Sandwell in Saturday Night.

With regard to the suggestion that conscription be applied in all provinces except Quebec, the Toronto Star commented on July 9, 1941:

"It may be pointed out that the very purpose of conscription is to provide for equality of service, and that the omission of Quebec from its application would be the negation of this. Nothing would more outrage the young men of Ontario than to be told that they must go, while the young men of a sister province would be free to stay home. Disunity is inherent in such a proposition."

"We continue to feel that it would be politic to accord to the province of Quebec a measure of something like local option regarding compulsory service; and if that policy were adopted it would go without saying that a province which refused to join in the measures of defence considered necessary by the rest of the country would have no right to share in the social benefits associated with them. But we believe also that the province of Quebec, if allowed to make its own decision for itself and thus relieved of the feeling that it was being dragooned against its will, would join willingly and whole-heartedly in the concerted national effort. If this happy result were achieved, the Canadian minority problem might almost be said to have disappeared."

(Toronto Saturday Night, September 13, 1941)

"The institution of a referendum in the Province of Quebec alone on the question of conscription would only have meaning if the Federal Government engaged itself in advance to respect the verdict. None of the eight other provinces of Canada would accept without protest that such a democratic privilege should be accorded to Quebec and refused to the rest of the population on a question so grave as that of the levy of blood. That is why no one has suggested a plebiscite limited to the Province of Quebec.

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LOCAL OPTION FOR QUEBEC (Cont'd)

"Mr. Sandwell is less astonished at this than at the fact that no one in Quebec seems to approve his suggestion of letting French Canada itself say whether it wants to be exempted from conscription in case the rest of the country should favor this measure. We cannot admit this last hypothesis even for the sake or argument."

(Translation in Montreal Gazette, December 2, 1941, of editorial from Le Canada of November 29, 1941.)

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HON. ADELARD GODBOUT'S POSITION

C244106

"My attitude, with regard to conscription, has not changed any more than has that of those who govern us at Ottawa. Have not Prime Minister King and Minister of Justice Lapointe just stated that, if they ever believe that conscription has become necessary, they will consult the people of Canada to obtain their opinion about it."

(Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, July 18,1941)

"I am anti-conscriptionist today more than ever, because events have shown that the voluntary service is by far the best way of assuring national unity, while procuring to the Allied cause all the necessary resources."

(Speech at Riviere-du Loup, reported in Montreal Star, July 21, 1941)

"The merits or demerits of conscription as a method of raising men are one question. The Star believes it to be the fairest method. The attitude of Quebec and the disunity which conscription would involve in that province and elsewhere in Canada constitute another question, to which Mr. Lapointe and Mr. Godbout have given emphatic answers on behalf of Quebec. The attempt to create an impression that there is a difference of opinion between these two is disposed of by Mr. Godbout's Riviere du Loup pronouncement."

(Toronto Star, July 31, 1941)

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C244107

C. C. F. POLICY

"Unless wealth, industry and resources are also conscripted, we shall resist conscription of men for overseas service by every legal means at our disposal."

If a referendum is held on conscription of men, "a vote will be taken at the same time on complete conscription including wealth and resources."

(C.P. report of resolutions at National Convention, Edmonton, July 16, 1941.)

"Senator Meighen and the Conservative party are seizing upon the general dissatisfaction with Canada's war effort to raise the issue of conscription. The C.C.F. reiterates its opposition to conscription of manpower for overseas service before there has been an effective conscription of finance and industry.

"The most urgent need in Canada today is to produce the equipment and material needed to arm those who are already in the fighting services. Of the six divisions contemplated now for the Canadian Active Service Force only two are sufficiently equipped to take the field, and then only because they have drawn upon Britain's meagre supply of tanks. In addition to providing for her own forces, Canada ought to be supplying greater quantities of material and foodstuffs to Britain, Russia and our other Allies.

"In view of these facts, the C.C.F. insists, as it has from the start of the war, that the urgent need for an all-out war effort is a carefully planned mobilization of Canada's financial and industrial resources.

"To clamor for conscription of man-power under such circumstances is to confuse the issue and to lose sight of the fact that this is a mechanized war requiring huge quantities of supplies.

"Those raising the cry do so deliberately because they fear the interference with profit-making which effective war planning demands."

(Statement by National Executive, Ottawa Evening Journal, November 17, 1941.)

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C. C. F. POLICY (Cont'd)

"There has been an outcry for the conscription of men, and the time may come when that may be necessary, but far more important than the conscription of men at the present time is the organization of our industrial strength. The next step in the mobilization of this country for a total war effort is the mobilization or conscription of wealth. Then, when we've got that, I don't believe we'll have much trouble getting the men."

(M. J. Coldwell, M.P., at Massey Hall, Toronto, Dec. 1, 1941, as reported in Toronto Star Dec. 2, 1941)

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LACK OF CONSCRIPTION ~~HELPS U.S. ISOLATIONISTS~~ May Cause Misunderstanding in the United States C244109

"The plain truth--and a very ugly truth--is that United States isolationists are capitalizing on Canada's failure. Where this country should be leading, as the only belligerent on this hemisphere, it is falling back. If American manpower is going to be needed, and General Wavell says that it will be needed, how much more is the manpower of the only British nation in North America--the foremost of the Dominions--going to be needed? Even if there were nothing else at stake it is time that Canada stopped this business of feeding isolationists propaganda in the United States. The responsibility is upon the Prime Minister."

(Montreal Gazette, July 7, 1941)

"Critics of Mr. King's course in relying upon voluntary enlistments for overseas service have been saying that it leaves a poor impression upon the people of the United States, since their own young men are being conscripted. But now from Washington comes an Associated Press dispatch which says that the conscription is probably going to be for service in the western hemisphere only. Canada, of course, also has conscription for home defence. The A.P.'s informant said the view was that "if it ever should be necessary to send a United States force outside this hemisphere, it would be more effective, and have better morale, if its members were regular army men or selectees who had volunteered to go abroad." This is reminiscent of Mr. King's pronouncements in the Canadian West with respect to our own forces."

(Toronto Star, July 11, 1941)

"Those who belittle Canada's troops and Canada's war effort keep saying that the United States has conscription, but Canada has not got conscription. That is not true.

"The United States has conscription for home defence and Canada has conscription for the defence of Canada. Besides, Canada has a large overseas army and many of those called up for defence training have volunteered for overseas service.

"Let's not be so anxious to blackguard Canada and Canada's brave soldiers that we don't stick to facts about what Canada is really doing."

(Windsor Star, September 17, 1941)

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LACK OF CONSCRIPTION HELPS U.S. ISOLATIONISTS (Cont'd)

"Every time we reject all-out manpower mobilization, we place another barrier in the way of all-out American aid. We say, in effect: "This isn't really our war. So why should it be yours?"

(Calgary Herald, November 14, 1941)

"Canada and Australia, parts of the war-harried British Empire, refuse to draft men for overseas service in this war. Their people, consulted on the question, refuse.

"Our draft law, enacted by Congress, has been with us since October, 1940, and we have raised a medium-sized Army under it. Our President is already sending Regular Army contingents to far places--Greenland, Iceland, Dutch Guiana. Though he is forbidden by law to send draftees out of this hemisphere, he is also forbidden by the Constitution to declare war but has got us into actual war with Germany on the seas nevertheless. Wonder if there'll be Congressional elections in 1942."

(New York News, November 27, 1941)

"However, quite apart from the army's need of men, and the rival claims on manpower made by war industries, agriculture and the three armed services, which can only be satisfied in equity and justice by a compulsory selective system that apportions the available manpower on a systematic basis; apart, too, from the obvious fact that the enemy must be sought out and brought to battle wherever it is most expedient to do so, irrespective of national boundary lines, there are other reasons plain for all to see why the Government should alter its policy without delay.

"To the one hundred and thirty million people of the United States, now allied with us against the Axis, Canada is the show-window of the British Empire. Any faint-heartedness,

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LACK OF CONSCRIPTION MAY CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING (Cont'd)
IN THE UNITED STATES

any sign of a spirit less ardent and self-sacrificing than their own, will weaken their regard, not only for the Dominion of Canada, but for the whole British Empire. We can afford to leave no chink in our armor through which we may be assailed in the days to come when the war is over and the terms of peace are being discussed. We cannot have it said in the United States that they gave everything they possessed for victory, while their neighbors, members of the British Commonwealth and Empire, gave something less than their all, set limits to their undertakings and bargained with their proffers of aid. We could never lift up our heads again, never boast of our unique combination of qualities derived from the Old World and the New and blended happily in this rich and smiling land, if it should come to pass that American selectees were called upon to defend Singapore or Vancouver Island while our own selectees could not be sent to help American forces in Seattle because sectional prejudices have written limits into their contracts of service."

(Toronto Globe & Mail, December 30, 1941)

"In this growing complex of the English-speaking peoples, Canada has a unique role. For Canadians are Americans and yet members of the British Commonwealth. Canada is the bridge between us from Australia to the British Isles. Canada is the show-window of the new order of free co-operation.

"There is but one fact about your part in our common effort that it is difficult for us in the United States to understand. That is that you have not yet instituted a system of selective compulsory service for overseas.

"All of us know fully the extent of the Canadian War effort, and it fills us with admiration. The Canadian troops have been an ornament to the British troops, and a testimony to Canadian hardihood and valor. Yet, your overseas army still remains voluntary, and your youth, unlike ours, can choose whether or not to serve away from home. This disparateness seems to me unfortunate; for I greatly desire to see an absolute community of aim, an absolute community

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LACK OF CONSCRIPTION MAY CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING (Cont'd)
IN THE UNITED STATES

of sacrifice; an absolute community of brotherhood between Canadians and ourselves.

"It is the more to be desired if we look at the possible role of the American continent in bringing to this world a great peace. The Americans, in the largest sense of that word, the New World, will meet one day their greatest opportunity. When that moment comes, the deeper our community of sacrifice in the war, the greater will be our solidarity of effort in the peace.

"It would be a cause for the greatest regret if there should arise amongst us at some future time those who would find any factual support, with however poor justification, for denigrating the Canadian effort in contrast to ours; who would try to break our peoples' community by vaunting our sacrifice above yours, pointing to the fact that we adopted, even before the war, general compulsory service wherever the foe might be brought to battle, while you went into the war without it. There might be such persons; there usually are men of such minds. I am anxious that they should be given no ammunition."

(Miss Dorothy Thompson "On the Record"
- Montreal Gazette, December 31, 1941.)

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C244113

PREPARATION NECESSARY FOR CONSCRIPTION

"Have we the machinery to handle conscription for overseas service? If the question is taken out of the fog of political strife and placed in the spotlight of calm analytical thought, it will be seen that conscription for overseas service will not give us the answer at this stage for an all-out war effort.

.....

"I again therefore draw attention to my plan, published in your paper of Oct. 14 last, for military units in every community, in which all physically fit men from 18 to 50 would be called up for part-time training - exemption accorded only in relation to vital industries. This can be accomplished under the present act for mobilization in Canada.

.....

"If, as and when we have this plan complete and if the situation still warranted it, conscription for overseas can be brought it. We will then have the machinery for selective service, and those men who are still to be called will have been partially trained.

"Then, and not until then, will we be ready for conscription for overseas.

(Letter by K. A. Grant in
Globe and Mail, Dec. 2, 1941)

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C244114

ANALOGY WITH COMPULSORY PAYMENT OF TAXES

Mr. Ralston said:

> "I want to say with all the emphasis and all the sincerity I can that this is not a matter to be left simply to the Department of National Defence and civilian recruiting committees, but it is up to the members of this House and the people they represent to put their hearts and wills and energies to this task of convincing the young men of this Dominion that their place is in the Canadian Army."

"Is Mr. Ralston's great war heart really in that statement? Does he really believe it?

"Let us look at it. Can any of us imagine the Minister of Finance or the Minister of National Revenue saying to Parliament:

> "I want to say again with all the emphasis and with all the sincerity I can that this is not a matter to be left simply to the Department of National Revenue and its staff, but it is up to the members of this House and the people they represent to put their hearts and wills and energies to this task of convincing the people of this country that they should pay their war taxes."

"What a madcap performance that would be! Yet it is precisely the performance that Mr. Ralston presents to us with respect to the infinitely more sacred obligation of Canada--and of the Government--to secure recruits for our army. The most solemn task and duty of the Government--the most absolute responsibility of the Government--is to be left to the whim of the individual, passed on to the "members of this House and the people they represent". Is that responsible government? Is it leadership? Is it common sense? It is none of these things. It mocks professions about "total war".

(Ottawa Journal, Nov. 7, 1941)

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ANALOGY WITH COMPULSORY PAYMENT OF TAXES (Cont'd) C244115

"And when my hon. friend speaks of going by the back door instead of by the front door, I say to him that he might as well tell the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) that he ought not to go by the back door and form loan committees throughout Canada to ask for loans, when he asks the people to lend their money to Canada. He might as well say that the Minister of Finance ought to go by the front door and put a compulsory levy on everybody in Canada, requiring each to subscribe a definite amount to its war loan, regardless of whether they want to or not."

(Hon. J. L. Ralston, House of Commons, April 28, 1941. Unrevised Hansard, p. 2500)

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Conscription 21

PLEDGES RE DECLARATION OF WAR AND CONSCRIPTION C244116

"The Canadian Government gave an unqualified undertaking that it would never declare war without consulting the Parliament of Canada, but the Canadian Government has declared war on four nations within the past twenty-four hours without Parliament even being in Session. It was very proper that the Canadian Government should declare war as it did. But in doing so the Canadian Government recognized that the safety of the nation cannot be jeopardized by undertakings given under circumstances entirely different to those which now exist.

"The Government has recognized the necessity of acting promptly upon the basis of facts as they really are. The Canadian Government is therefore under an even greater duty than ever before to take such steps as are necessary to supply adequate manpower for the armed forces, for industry and for agriculture. They know that we have not sufficient reserves in England at the present time for the armed forces already there, and that the present system of raising men will not supply them. They know how serious the situation is in agriculture. They know how great the needs will now be in industry.

"Upon the basis of that information it is their duty to act without further delay. This is not and must not be a political issue. There must be neither Liberals nor Conservatives. There must only be Canadians. In this problem there is only one policy - victory for our cause."

(Col. George Drew at Orillia,
December 8, 1941, as reported
in the Globe and Mail, December 9, 1941)

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C244117

COMPULSORY SERVICE FOR HOME DEFENCE UNREALISTIC

"Major General Kenneth Stuart, Chief of the General Staff, who spoke in Vancouver last week, said:

> 'One of the objectives of the enemy is to create confusion in Canada and bring about a diversion to home defence of troops which would otherwise be sent overseas. We must not forget that this war will be won outside Canada, and we must send our main forces to the places where they are needed most.'"
>
> .....
>
> "The men who are immobilized in Canada for so-called home defence are not working in war industries. They are available for overseas service, and it is in overseas service they should be. That is the only place where they can really defend Canada."

(Ottawa Journal, December 22, 1941)

"True we have adopted a system or military conscription for defense in Canada. But that is not enough. Today international borders mean nothing to an invading force and in modern war in any case the best defense is an attack pushed home far beyond the frontiers of the home country. Successful war against Japan is going to tax the resources of Canada without the handicap of an obsolete Act which would prevent our forces giving full co-operation to our new and powerful Ally."

(Financial Post, December 13, 1941)

"Mr. King has been preparing a plan of total war. It must not be longer delayed. If we are to aid our Allies and defend ourselves the last ounce of National energy must be mobilized.

"This may raise the conscription issue in acute form, but not necessarily. Canada's immediate need is for more soldiers to defend our soil. This can be secured under the present conscription law. Canada may be compelled to conscript labor for factories and for farms. This also can be done under the present law. Canada will certainly demand of its people large new sacrifices in money, in reduction of living standards, probably in rationing. All these things can be done

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COMPULSORY SERVICE FOR HOME DEFENCE UNREALISTIC (Cont'd)

under the present law. If conscription is finally needed to provide men for overseas service, Canada undoubtedly will adopt it, but at the moment we have more than 100,000 trained soldiers in Canada who can be sent overseas at any moment if they are required there.

"They may be more urgently required here. Thus, the overseas conscription issue may not be as urgent now as it was before our own soil was endangered.

"The immediate issue is something else. It is the necessity of making a master war plan for Canada which will finally divide our available manpower between the fighting forces, the factories and the farms."

(Vancouver Sun, December 10, 1941)

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C244119

CONSCRIPTION ESSENTIAL TO NATIONAL PRESTIGE

"Any formula for conscription for home service which would be put forward with the argument that we are training soldiers who will ultimately be induced to enlist in the active army for military operations abroad is unworthy of a great nation. Any plan to coerce men by subterfuge or high-pressure methods is based on the same sort of reasoning as the suggestion that if you can get a man into a barroom you can get him drunk.

"The issue in Canada is perfectly clear. Regardless of any other contribution we may make to the victory of Allied arms, we must have some regard for our reputation as a nation. We cannot leave the raising of reinforcements for the Canadian Corps to caprice. What is needed is a scientific and effective plan based on equality of sacrifice. If that cardinal principle is kept in the forefront, there is no answer to the argument for compulsory selective service."

(Globe and Mail, January 3, 1942)

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Conscription
Promises

C244120

Mr. Mackenzie King -

"One political fact is equally clear: in a war to save the liberty of others, and thus our own, we should not sacrifice our own liberty or our own unity. Planning and coordination would be essential, but the necessary coordination could be made, and if this government were in power it would be made, without sacrificing those vital ends and conditions of our existence. Profits could and would be rigidly controlled, and profiteering suppressed. But men's lives and men's wills cannot be put on the same basis as goods and profits. The present government believes that conscription of men for overseas service would not be a necessary or an effective step. Let me say that so long as this government may be in power, no such measure will be enacted. We have full faith in the readiness of Canadian men and women to rally for the defence of their country and their liberties, and to resist aggression by any country seeking to dominate the world by force. There is in our people, in every part of Canada, a deep sense of duty, a power of facing realities, a tenacious courage, that would rise to any emergency."

(House of Commons Debates,
March 30, 1939, page 2428)

"I wish now to repeat the undertaking I gave in parliament on behalf of the government on March 30 last. The present government believe that conscription of men for overseas service will not be a necessary or an effective step. No such measure will be introduced by the present administration. We have full faith in the readiness of Canadian men and women to put forth every effort in their power to preserve and defend free institutions, and in particular to resist aggression on the part of a tyrannical regime which aims at the domination of the world by force. The government, as representing the people of Canada, will use their authority and power to the utmost in promoting the most effective organized effort toward these imperative ends."

(House of Commons Debates,
September 3, 1939, page 56)

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Mr. Mackenzie King:

"One of the questions that was put was: Would the government indicate what it intends to do with the powers that are being given to it under this bill? But before I answer that, in case I should overlook it, may I refer to the other matter to which I alluded a moment ago, namely, the powers we already have under the Militia Act. Under the War Measures Act we have powers to go very far in what we may wish to do, but under the Militia Act we have also powers, and they relate to the conscription of men, not to the conscription of wealth or to the conscription of property, or materials or whatever other entity you may wish to designate, but to the conscription of men in Canada. Here is the law as it stands today. I quote section 8, subsection 1 of the Militia Act. It makes provision for the conscription of man-power in the following terms:

> 'All the male inhabitants of Canada, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, and under sixty, not exempt or disqualified by law, and being British subjects, shall be liable to service in the militia: Provided that the governor general may require all the male inhabitants of Canada, capable of bearing arms, to serve in the case of a levee en masse.'

That is part of the law today. One or two of my hon. friends who have spoken this afternoon and have been talking about conscription, as if we were introducing something new, forget altogether that when it comes to the defence of Canada the law of this country has given the government that authority by statute ever since the first year after confederation. There is one difference between our law as also the power we are seeking in the present bill, and the authority as it exists under the British law. It is a difference which limits rather than extends our power. Under British law conscription of man-power is conscription for service anywhere. As in the Militia Act we have in the present bill purposely by a special clause in this measure kept a pledge which we on this side of the house made before

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Mr. Mackenzie King - (Continued)

and at the beginning of the war, that we would not, while this administration was in office, enact a law for the conscription of men to be sent overseas. We have kept that promise by a clause which is specifically set forth in the bill that is before the house today. In other words, we have in this particular measure gone no further in the right of mobilizing man-power than we had authority to go under the law of this country as it has been since 1868.

(House of Commons Debates,
June 18, 1940, page 900)

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Mr. Mackenzie King - (Continued)

> and at the beginning of the war, that we would not, while this administration was in office, enact a law for the conscription of men to be sent overseas. We have kept that promise by a clause which is specifically set forth in the bill that is before the house today. In other words, we have in this particular measure gone no further in the right of mobilizing man-power than we had authority to go under the law of this country as it has been since 1868.

(House of Commons Debates,
June 18, 1940, page 900)

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C244123

Mr. Mackenzie King -

There has been a great deal of talk lately about conscription. I want to make perfectly clear what is in my mind when I speak of conscription so that there will be no misunderstanding as to my attitude in relation to it. So far as conscription stands for compulsory selective national service, that is a principle which this government has embodied in its National Resources Mobilization Act passed at a previous session of this parliament. As to how rapidly that principle should be applied and how far it should be extended is a matter which the government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting them.

I want it to be distinctly understood that so far as the principle of compulsory selective national service is concerned for Canada, in Canada, I stand for that principle. I have never taken any other stand. It is the position that I have held all along. It has been applied in connection with military training and applied in a number of other directions I might mention. How much further it will be applied the house will learn as the government takes its decisions on that matter.

But so far as conscription for service overseas is concerned in the armed forces of Canada, that question was submitted to the people of Canada at the last general election, an election which was held in war-time, and in which the leaders of all political parties made their statements to the electorate, and the people of Canada decided against conscription for overseas service. So far as I am concerned, without any consultation of the people on that subject, I do not intend to take the responsibility of supporting any policy of conscription for service overseas.

(Unrevised Hansard, Nov. 12, 1941, page 4672)

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National Resources Mobiliziation Act (1940)

Passed House of Commons June 20, 1940

Received Royal Assent June 21, 1940

National Resources Mobiliziation Act - Amendment (1942)

Passed House of Commons July 23, 1942

Received Royal Assent August 1, 1942

National Selective Service

Manpower and a Total War Effort
August 19, 1942

(printed copy attached)

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	Enrolments	Conversion to gen. service	Conversions to other services	Discharges	Total	Strength at end of year
1941*	31,500	7,500	4,200	3,300	15,000	16,500
1942	69,500	18,000	1,300	8,200	27,500	
Total including 1942	101,000	25,500	5,000	11,500	42,500	58,500
1943	34,000	6,500	300	11,000	17,800	
Total including 1943	135,000	32,000	5,800	22,500	60,300	74,700
1944†	15,000	10,000	200	11,000	21,200	
Grand Total	150,000	42,000	6,000	33,500	81,500	‡68,500

*Commencing March †To end of September ‡At end of September

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4. Montreal, March 4/40
5. Toronto, March 15/40
6. Ottawa, March 25/40
7. House of Commons, May 28/40 (Unrevised Hansard, p. 300)
8. House of Commons, June 18/40 (Unrevised Hansard, p. 932)
9. House of Commons, June 18/40 (Unrevised Hansard, pp. 979-81)
10. House of Commons, June 19/40 (Unrevised Hansard, pp. 1002-4)
11. House of Commons, June 20/40 (Unrevised Hansard, p. 1051)
12. Calgary, June 27/41, Page 7
13. Vancouver, June 30/41, Page 9
14. Prince Albert, July 7/41, Page 9
15. Winnipeg, July 10/41, Page 6 and Page 23
16. House of Commons, November 11/41 (Unrevised Hansard, pp.4601-2)
17. House of Commons, November 12/41 (Unrevised Hansard, pp. 4671-2)

(Pus wind papers re referendum matter)

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Unrevised Hansard
March 30, 1939, pages 2620-21

Mr. King:

The change in the world balance of power, the change in the strategic conditions, the change in economic needs and in relative industrial capacity, have brought about a marked decentralization of defence activities in the British commonwealth. They have brought about a greater preoccupation of each part with its own defence, a greater responsibility for that defence, a greater self-containment in the provision of the means of defence. Anyone who has followed the discussion of defence not only in the United Kingdom but in Australia and South Africa, is familiar with that fact. One strategic fact is clear: the days of great expeditionary forces of infantry crossing the oceans are not likely to recur. Two years ago, I expressed in this house the view that it was extremely doubtful if any of the British dominions would ever send another expeditionary force to Europe.

One political fact is equally clear: in a war to save the liberty of others, and thus our own, we should not sacrifice our own liberty or our own unity. Planning and coordination would be essential, but the necessary coordination could be made, and if this government were in power it would be made, without sacrificing those vital ends and conditions of our existence. Profits could and would be rigidly controlled, and profiteering suppressed. But men's lives and men's wills cannot be put on the same basis as goods and profits.

The present government believes that conscription of men for overseas service would not be a necessary or an effective step. Let me say that so long as this government may be in power, no such measure will be enacted. We have full faith in the readiness of Canadian men and women to rally for the defence of their country and their liberties, and to resist aggression by any country seeking to dominate the world by force. There is in our people, in every part of Canada, a deep sense of duty, a power of facing realities, a tenacious courage, that would rise to any emergency.

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Unrevised Hansard
September 8, 1939, page 41

Mr. King:

I wish now to repeat the undertaking I gave in parliament on behalf of the government on March 30 last. The present government believe that conscription of men for overseas service will not be a necessary or an effective step. No such measure will be introduced by the present administration. We have full faith in the readiness of Canadian men and women to put forth every effort in their power to preserve and defend free institutions, and in particular to resist aggression on the part of a tyrannical regime which aims at the domination of the world by force. The government, as representing the people of Canada, will use their authority and power to the utmost in promoting the most effective organized effort toward these imperative ends.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the task before us may be long and terribly difficult. It is a task that will require all the strength and fortitude, all the effective organization of our resources, that we can achieve. There can be no doubt of the final outcome of the war. Whatever may be the initial trends in local actions, the resources, military and economic, on which the countries fighting for freedom can draw are fortunately greatly preponderant.

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EXTRACT from
Radio address by the Prime Minister
February 7th, 1940

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

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EXTRACT from
Prime Minister's speech at Montreal
March 12th, 1940

"Under the Borden Government both the members and the policy -- conscription -- were known before the election.

Dr. Manion has in effect a Union Government in mind, but neither its policies not its prospective members are known."

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C244132

EXTRACT FROM
Toronto Star, March 15th, 1940
(Massey Hall Meeting)

"The Government of Sir Robert Borden was formed and put through the policy of conscription, and it was formed out of men on both sides of Parliament for that reason, men who differed in their political views, but who felt conscientiously that conscription was the thing that was necessary at that time. What I want to point is this: Sir Robert Borden led his party in those years."

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EXTRACT from
Ottawa Citizen, March 26th, 1940
(Auditorium Meeting)

No Need for Coalition

"Three years after the beginning of the last war the situation arose where it was thought advisable to have conscription. Sir Robert Borden said he believed the issue was one which could be put through only by joining the men of both parties and they went to the country on it."

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Unrevised Hansard
May 28th, 1940, page 300.

CONSCRIPTION

PRESS REPORT AS TO ASSURANCE GIVEN AT LIBERAL CAUCUS—QUESTION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

On the orders of the day:

Mr. J. S. ROY (Gaspe): Before the orders of the day are called I wish to direct a question to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). My question is based upon a news item published in yesterday's *Le Canada*, Montreal Liberal paper, wherein it is reported that the hon. member for Mercier (Mr. Jean) stated at a public banquet that Liberal members of this house, at a secret caucus of the party, have been given the assurance by the leaders of the party that conscription will not be enforced and that no national government will be formed. Is the hon. member's statement based on truth?

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Those of us who have been in parliament for some time have been accustomed to regard the proceedings of caucus as matters wholly confidential to the parties concerned. If it once became the custom to disclose what had been said at a caucus, or to deny or confirm what it is alleged to have been there stated, I am afraid that very erroneous impressions might readily get abroad. I will say to my hon. friend that proceedings of caucus are private and I intend to set an example to members of all parties by doing my utmost to keep them so.

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Unrevised Hansard
June 18, 1940, page 932.

Mr. King:

The bill is intended to remove any doubt as to the power of the government and the will of parliament that the whole material resources of the country should be available whenever they are required to meet the needs of the war. The operation of the measure will be confined to the period of the war.

Recruitment for service overseas will be maintained on a voluntary basis. No difficulty has been experienced and no difficulty is anticipated in raising by the voluntary system all the men required for service outside Canada. The bill to be introduced to-day in no way affects the raising of men to serve in the armed forces overseas. Once again I wish to repeat my undertaking, frequently given, that no measure for the conscription of men for overseas service will be introduced by the present administration.

A complete inventory of Canada's man-power and other resources, properly classified, affords a necessary basis for some of the further essential measures of home security and defence, which I have announced. A national registration of Canada's man-power will accordingly be instituted at once. Let me emphasize the fact that this registration will have nothing whatever to do with the recruitment of men for overseas service.

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Unrevised Hansard
June 13th, 1940, pages 979-81.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am grateful to hon. members for having given permission for the bill to be passed through its various stages to-day, and I should like to show my appreciation by seeking to answer, before I conclude, some of the questions which have been asked.

One of the questions that was put was: Would the government indicate what it intends to do with the powers that are being given to it under this bill? But before I answer that, in case I should overlook it, may I refer to the other matter to which I alluded a moment ago, namely, the powers we already have under the Militia Act. Under the War Measures Act we have powers to go very far in which we may wish to do, but under the Militia Act we have also powers, and they relate to the conscription of men, not to the conscription of wealth or to the conscription of property, or materials or whatever other entity you may wish to designate, but to the conscription of men in Canada. Here is the law as it stands to-day. I quote section 8, subsection 1 of the Militia Act. It makes provision for the conscription of man-power in the following terms:

> All the male inhabitants of Canada, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, and under sixty, not exempt or disqualified by law, and being British subjects, shall be liable to service in the militia: Provided that the governor general may require all the male inhabitants of Canada, capable of bearing arms, to serve in the case of a *levée en masse*.

That is part of the law to-day. One or two of my hon. friends who have spoken this afternoon and have been talking about conscription, as if we were introducing something new, forget altogether that when it comes to the defence of Canada the law of this country has given the government that authority by statute ever since the first year after confederation. There is one difference between our law as also the power we are seeking in the present bill, and the authority as it exists under the British law. It is a difference which limits rather than extends our power. Under British law conscription of man-power is conscription for service anywhere. As in the Militia Act we have in the present bill purposely by a special clause in this measure kept a pledge which we on this side of the house made before and at the beginning of the war, that we would not, while this administration was in office, enact a law for the conscription of men to be sent overseas. We have kept that promise by a clause which is specifically set forth in the bill that is before the house to-day. In other words, we have in this particular measure gone no further in the right of mobilizing man-power than we had authority to go under the law of this country as it has been since 1868.

I may be asked, "Why, if you have that law, do you find it necessary to introduce this?" I will give you one reason. The law as it now stands, provides that when selecting men by compulsion, they are to be chosen by ballot, which means that, no matter how well-fitted a man may be for one calling and how unfit for another, he may be chosen by ballot to render a service which he is less well-qualified than is some other to render. Under the power we are asking to-day we seek to remedy that state of things, by giving the government the power to decide what particular work is to be performed by particular individuals should the occasion arise to make a selection. From the beginning of this war up to the present moment, if one thing more than another has been impressed upon the administration by those who have counselled us from other quarters, it has been, that the outcome of this war is going to depend upon the output of the resources of the country in the form of food, of munitions, of aircraft and other armaments, quite as much as upon the men who serve in the active forces, and that so long as sufficient men can be found for combatant duty, no greater mistake can be made than to take a valuable mechanic, highly skilled and trained, out of some industry where he is capable of making, say, aircraft and put him into a regiment where he will have to serve instead of some other person far better qualified as a soldier than he may be. Now, under the measure we are introducing to-day, we have the power to make that kind of selection if it is necessary, and I think it is a very wise discretion to give to the administration.

I come now to the inquiry as to how we are going to exercise this power. I would say, in a word, that we shall continue to exercise all the powers we have or may be given, just as we have from the beginning of the war when exceptional powers were first given to us. We are not going to exercise all these powers—put into effect the provisions in their entirety—within the next twenty-four hours. We need enabling legislation—for that is what it is—to enable the government to meet each situation as it arises in the most effective way it can possibly be met. The need to-morrow may be for one thing in one

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place; the need the day after may be for something else in another place. We do not know how the situation will develop in the next little while, but we want to be in a position to take the most effective action in the shortest possible time.

Under the defence of Canada regulations, what was the criticism that was made against us by hon. gentlemen who this evening have been again expressing their doubts about us? Their criticism was along the line that we had gone too far in our defence of Canada regulations. To-day, from one end of the country to the other, if there is any criticism at all, it is that those regulations do not go far enough. We have proceeded step by step, adopting the courses which we felt were necessary, and seeking to avoid a step which would make the last condition worse than the condition we were trying to remedy.

Here I come to the wisdom of exercising judgment in the matter of the time within which some measures are to be put into effect. My hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) remarked this afternoon that perhaps we were a little late in the time we were introducing a system of registration now required to enable us to carry out more effectively some of the measures mentioned to-day. May I remind my hon. friend—I do not do this except to illustrate my point—that it was three years before the government which was in office at the time of the last war introduced registration. It took the administration of that day all of three years to arrive at the time when they believed that they might with wisdom take that particular step.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That does not prove anything with relation to the present government's effort.

Mr. ROWE: At that time there were already 400,000 men "over there".

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend will find, when three years have gone by, that the number of men in this country's active service will not be surpassed by anything done in the last war.

Mr. MacNICOL: Overseas, or here?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Please allow me to go on for a moment. I hope that I have not introduced a note which will be controversial. I was simply illustrating the point that another administration in previous years had to wrestle with exactly the same kind of problems with which we have to deal, namely, the best or the right time at which to do certain things. The debate we have had in this house this afternoon and evening is sufficient to illustrate that, if a measure making provision for registration had been introduced before to-day, it would most certainly have been regarded or construed as a measure intended for the conscription of men for service overseas. We would then have had a division of feeling in this country the like of which fortunately we have not had for many years. As I said the other day, we considered this matter in the past; we here consider it in the present, and we would continue to consider it. When the situation became what it has now become, when France had been defeated by Germany, and the whole picture had changed, when it was only too apparent that we were in another phase of the war, where measures of a different character would be immediately required, we felt we could rely upon the understanding of the people of this country as to why a system of registration should be introduced at this particular time. I venture to say that, having waited until this moment, instead of having created dissension, confusion, unrest, and what not, we shall find that in the way of opposition, the adoption of a system of registration will now meet with general acceptance from all parts of Canada.

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Unrevised Hansard
June 19th, 1940, pages 1001-5

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Chairman, I doubt if I am able to recall the several points mentioned by my hon. friend, but I think I got the general drift of his remarks. As I listened to him it seemed to me that all of them might pretty well be answered by saying that what he regards as applicable to the present government is equally applicable to the British government with respect to the measure which was enacted at Westminster, on which our measure is based. When Mr. Attlee introduced the bill giving emergency powers to the British government, in addition to the great powers the government already had, the British parliament was in session. It was expected that parliament would be in session from day to day from then on; that fact was known to all hon. members. Notwithstanding that fact Mr. Attlee asked on behalf of the government of the United Kingdom that they be given powers of mobilizing human and material resources which would be as extensive as, in fact almost identical with those set forth in the present bill. There was no suggestion in the British house that any regulation made under that enabling measure should be discussed in the House of Commons or the House of Lords before it was taken, and the reason is wholly apparent. The reason is that any action that will have to be taken under this measure will of necessity be of such an emergent character that it might defeat the whole purpose of the legislation if the government were obliged to wait for a discussion on a particular regulation before it was passed. Moreover it would disclose in advance the means being taken to cope with a critical situation, to meet which might require the utmost secrecy. This house adjourns on Friday night until Monday. What may transpire between any Friday and any Monday no one in this house can say, any more than they could have anticipated what has happened between a Friday and a Monday in Great Britain. But the length of time the British legislation has been on the statutes has shown, I think, the wisdom of giving to the government in London the opportunity of taking immediate action with respect to any situation that might arise at any time, and of placing thereafter before parliament at the earliest opportunity the regulation that was made.

The bill now before the committee itself contains a provision that at the earliest possible moment parliament shall be informed of the regulations that may be passed under it. Section 5 of the bill states:

> Every order or regulation passed under the authority of this act shall be tabled in parliament forthwith if parliament is in session and, if parliament is not in session, within two weeks of the opening of the session next following the making of such order or regulation.

What is the procedure that would be followed? If a regulation were passed under this measure to-day that regulation could be tabled at the next sitting of the house, to-morrow. In the action it might wish to take the government would be well aware that any regulation passed might become immediately the subject of discussion, and would not be tempted to pass any regulation unless it thought there was full justification for it. If parliament adjourned on Friday night the regulation if passed on Saturday would be tabled on Monday. But I venture to say that if the situation on either of our coasts should become anything like it has become on the coasts of some countries in the old world, there may be need for the passing of a good many regulations between a Friday night and a Monday, which I submit it would be impossible for parliament to discuss before they were enacted.

In this matter it is very easy to say, "Oh, yes; parliament should deal with all these things." Every time I have asserted the authority of parliament as being supreme over the ministry; every time I have expressed the desire to keep parliament informed in all particulars, I have based what I have said on my belief in the wisdom of the British system and methods of government. No

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parliament in the world is more zealous of preserving the liberties of the individual citizen than is the parliament at Westminster. But if the parliament at Westminster has found it necessary to ask for special powers to meet an emergent situation in a time of war it has done so, not with a view to destroying in any way the liberties of the individual, but rather to seek to preserve them in the most effective way possible.

And it is exactly on the same basis that the government of to-day is asking that these powers be given to it. It is for exactly the same reason that we are asking that this enabling power be given to us to deal with an emergent situation.

I believe my hon. friend has over emphasized one particular aspect of this measure. Anyone coming into the house and listening to the discussion would have thought that we had before us a bill with respect to conscription, and conscription only. My hon. friend dwelt at some length upon a comparison between this measure and the military act passed in 1917. That act had to do only with the conscription of men, and, moreover, conscription for overseas service.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Both.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, it had to do with both. But the references my hon. friend has made to tribunals and the like all had their particular bearing on the matter of overseas service. Nobody had in mind at that time the necessity of the young men of this country having to defend their own country on the soil of Canada itself. Parliament was discussing what was essential in connection with sending of more men overseas —conscripting them to send them overseas to do service in Europe. This bill does not touch conscription overseas, beyond setting forth that its provisions shall not be applicable to conscription for overseas service. That is a most important distinction to be kept in mind in any comparison which may be made between legislation with respect to conscription passed during the last war, and the measure before us. It is altogether a mistake to designate this measure as primarily a conscription measure. It is a measure with respect to the mobilization of human and material resources.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): You can skate over that thin ice all you like, but this is for conscription of men and materials.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I repeat that it has reference to the mobilization of human and material resources—in other words is applicable to the entire resources of Canada. It does not relate to men only. It relates to every phase of the economic. financial and social life of the Dominion of Canada.

In that particular may I say that here again it follows exactly along the lines of the British measure. And in this connection, since there has been frequent reference to Mr. Attlee, I have gone to the trouble of preparing a brief statement which sets forth essential features of the British measure, as Mr. Attlee saw and presented them to the British House of Commons. I refer to Mr. Attlee's remarks at this point in order to make clear that it is exactly the same sort of thing that is contemplated under this measure. Speaking on May 22 Mr. Attlee said he did not want anyone to jump to the conclusion that all of a sudden everybody was going to be ordered to do something different from what he was doing now. The essential thing in an emergency was that everybody should continue at his job until he was ordered to do otherwise. What was proposed was that there should be control over persons and over property. The Minister of Labour would be given power to direct any person to perform any services required of him—to prescribe the terms of remuneration, the hours of labour and the conditions of service. With regard to conditions and pay, it was proposed to carry out wherever they existed industrial agreements which had been arrived at already, and wherever such agreements had not been arrived at to observe the rates normally paid by good employers. If people were required to shift from one district to another, there would be payment for that, et cetera.

Dealing with control over property, Mr. Attlee said that some establishments would be controlled altogether right away. Others might be controlled later. They would, in effect, be working on government account. Other establishments might be ordered to carry on, perhaps at a loss—for which apparently remuneration would be given. There might be cases where firms would have to close down with interim compensation.

There would be control of the finance of the country and of the banks. It might be done centrally, or through regional commissioners and financial advisers.

The Minister of Labour had been given the responsibility of supplying the labour required for the programmes of the various departments. He proposed to set up a production council consisting of representatives of the chief government departments concerned with munition supplies. A director of labour supply would be set up, training facilities would be established, et cetera. What I have set forth illustrates the scope of the measure as it was

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put through. It gave the government power to deal with any and every situation which might arise at a moment of great crisis or emergency.

Mr. COLDWELL: Is it the intention of the government to do what has been done under the bill in Great Britain? If so, then it removes a great many of our objections.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In reply may I say to the hon. member that already the British government has done certain things under this act, and I have no doubt it will do many more things under it. What they have done under their authority has been what they deemed to be necessary in view of particular situations at the time they arose. It is precisely the same sort of thing that this government purposes doing. When my hon. friend the leader of the opposition asks me to tell him all the government purports to do under the measure he knows very well I cannot begin to give an encyclopaedic reply to that question, because the powers which will be exercised will be so exercised as occasions arise. One day there may be something which affects labour, from the point of view of observation of its standards. It may be that on another day there may be something with respect to the manufacturing of particular commodities. Another day there may be something with respect to matters of finance. The action taken would be dependent upon what situation may arise, and how it may be most effectively met. In order to have the powers as broad as possible they have been made all-inclusive, to include the mobilization of human and material resources. Thus far in Great Britain, although they have had a situation with which fortunately thus far we have not been faced, they have not found it necessary to exercise many of the additional powers granted. But from day to day new situations arise, and the government is able to meet those situations by having the necessary powers to do so already in its hands.

By way of illustration we may find that within a few days some attack may be made upon our own coast. We might wish to direct a branch of industry of this country to perform a function which would necessitate helping to meet that situation in an extremely rapid manner. In trying to deal with a situation of the kind on a moment's notice we might be confronted with some employers who would be wholly loyal and anxious to do all they could, and we might meet with others who would wish to bargain, to learn what particular profits were to accrue before any step could be taken. Under the provision of this measure an individual could be told by the government of the day that he is to serve the state, not merely from the standpoint of profit. There would be authority here, were it necessary, to make him do what we are asking.

As I said yesterday we will exercise our powers in the light of our responsibility to parliament. The country will know that whatever we do will have to be done with the full knowledge that on the afternoon of the day on which it has been done, if parliament is sitting on that day, the whole question may be reviewed publicly in the house. I believe under those circumstances there is every reason for feeling that whatever powers may be exercised will be exercised with due regard to the preservation of the liberties of the individual, so far as they can possibly be preserved in a crisis.

May I add these words: I feel that already through headlines in the press, and I would say the same of the speech of the leader of the opposition this afternoon, the impression has been left that the measure is in reality little else than the old-fashioned measure of military conscription. I say it is nothing of the kind. I wish to make it perfectly clear that the mobilization is intended to provide men for all kinds of war work, of which service in the military forces is only one. As is natural at this early stage of the discussion, there seems to have arisen a different impression in many quarters. It is important therefore that I should make it quite clear that the essence of the measure is that the government is to be empowered to direct the men and the material equipment of this country into the work most urgently needed in the present crisis. That, I believe, may just as well require that some men go into the factories, farms and training centres as into the armed forces.

An hon. member on this side of the house made the statement publicly this morning that he felt he could go into his constituency and, by making it known to his constituents that this measure had to do with the protection of Canada and our own Canadian soil, bring forward in a very short time men from the forests, from the fields and from the factories, all prepared immediately to join the Canadian forces to resist any possible invasion, and that he would be prepared to guarantee that that could be done in constituency after constituency throughout the country, once it was understood that there was the necessity of defending our own Canadian shores. I pointed out to him that in doing that he might be making the greatest mistake possible with respect to the national interest; that, to win this war, we might wish to keep at work in the forests the men

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who are now working in the forests, to provide the timber which will be required for docks and wharves and required immediately; that the men who are working in the factories may be a thousand times more useful to the government of this country in giving their skilled labour to the manufacture of aircraft, munitions, or other weapons of war than they could possibly be in lining up and presenting themselves for military service; equally that on the farms, if we are to perform what will be expected of us, we shall need all the production that can be effectively and rapidly carried out on the farms of our country.

As the situation has developed, it will be necessary for the British isles to look more than ever to Canada for supplies of many kinds, for food, for munitions, for aircraft, and a great variety of other things. No longer can Great Britain hope to get some of these supplies from any other country of Europe, nor indeed can she hope to receive them, via the Mediterranean, from Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere. The one route above any route in the world which will have to be kept open is that which runs from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the ports on the western coast of Great Britain. The efforts of Germany will be directed more and more to blocking that route, to cutting it off, in order that Britain may be starved of food, munitions, equipment and much else. Does not that raise a problem which this government will have to face, as to how we are to get men to do, in the way they should be done, the things which are required before all others and will give the greatest immediate service? I contend that that cannot be done unless the administration has enabling powers which will put us in a position where, if we see that a certain course of action rather than some other is urgently necessary, that particular course will be taken.

This measure does not mean that the manhood of Canada as a whole is to be conscripted at once, that every man in the country is immediately to be put into uniform and shoulder a rifle. The moment may come when it will be necessary to call out the young manhood of the country to help save our soil because of invasion. We pray that that day may not come. On the other hand it may come, and we want to be sure that, if anything of the kind ever happens, those who will be called upon to serve will be properly trained and will know how to perform their duties as soldiers defending their own country. This measure gives us the opportunity to call out, in such numbers and at such times and places as may seem wise, the men between certain ages for the purpose of training, so that when, later on, it may become necessary to put them into active service, they will know how to perform at least the elementary duties of men in arms.

I submit that, if all this is clearly understood, there should be a disposition to allow the government the discretionary power which is absolutely essential when measures have to be taken in very quick order with respect to situations which an hour before were not known, and that there should not be any effort to limit the government's power in that particular by placing any false emphasis upon the exceptional powers which this bill will give to the administration.

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Unrevised Hansard
June 20th, 1940, page 1051

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Those who were anti-conscriptionists were against conscription for service overseas, and as long as this government is in office we are going to maintain that position and see that effect is given to it. That is just one of the reasons why, in carrying out the will and the wishes of the people, we do not propose to take into this government any of those whose object in coming into the ministry would be to see that conscription overseas was again made one of the issues in this country.

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ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA - "CALL TO ARMS PARADE"
CALGARY, June 27, 1941.

I should like my opening words to be an expression of the pleasure it gives me to be again in Western Canada. Since the outbreak of the war, I have constantly sought an opportunity to make visits to different parts of the country, to see with my own eyes the magnificent effort being put forth by the Canadian people. Unhappily the relentless pressure of the duties of my office have kept me in Ottawa almost without respite. I managed to snatch a few brief days at the end of last year to visit the defences on our eastern coast. I made a firm resolve that, as soon as Parliament adjourned for a sufficient length of time, I would, if circumstances permitted it at all, begin the longer journey to our Canadian West.

My first duty tonight, and it is a most agreeable one, is to express on my own behalf, and on behalf of my colleagues in the government, our deep appreciation to the citizens of Calgary and through them to the people of the whole province of Alberta, of the splendid response they have given to every appeal, and to every demand, that has been made in the furtherance of Canada's war effort. Canada's effort is a democratic effort in the best sense of the term. It is the achievement of the people, by the people, for the people. In this war which threatens the existence of all free peoples, I am sure the people of Canada will do their full part.

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Visit to Britain

I know there are some who today are saying that I should not be visiting Western Canada, that, instead I should be in Britain. Had I left for Britain, instead of visiting different parts of Canada, now that a brief opportunity so to do has at last presented itself, the same persons would be telling you, tonight, that I had no business to choose this particular time to visit Britain, but should be paying attention to the situation in my own country. They would have been telling you that the people of Canada had just shown by their over-subscription of the recent Victory Loan their eagerness to help provide Mr. Churchill with the tools; that it was my business when the recruiting campaign was on, to help provide him with men.

I have, of course, fully hoped that the moment might come when it would be of advantage to Canada, to Britain and to the common cause, for me, as Prime Minister of Canada, to join in conference, in London, with other Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. When the right moment comes, I shall not hesitate to cross the Atlantic for purposes of conference. But, as Prime Minister, I must myself be the judge of what, in the light of my responsibility to the Canadian people as a whole, is a time which will permit of my absence from Canada, while Canada is at war. This is a responsibility that cannot be shared or placed upon other shoulders.

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As Prime Minister, my supreme aim will always be, what my supreme duty is, to strive ever for the unity of our country. While forces are gathering which would not hesitate to use the absence of the Prime Minister to foment divisions and create dissential, what would it profit Canada, what would it profit Britain, what would it profit the cause of freedom for me to leave Canada only to return to find a country divided against itself. For a visit to Britain of the Prime Minister of Canada to serve a useful purpose, it is essential that he be able to speak with confidence for a united people.

Before I go to Britain, to tell the Government and the people there what Canada is doing, I wish to see with my own eyes, as far as that may be possible, what is being accomplished in Canada from coast to coast. When I go, I want, if that is possible, to do full justice to Canada, and to Canada's effort. I want to speak with the full authority which can only come from personal knowledge. If I had still needed convincing that in this my judgment is sound, what I have seen in Calgary today would have more than convinced me.

Total effort.

We all know that Canada is faced with the greatest task in her history. In the last war, we had a proud record, but our task relatively was very different from what it is today. Speaking broadly what we then did was to raise an army; almost all we asked for was men. We depended upon

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Britain's navy; we had no air force of our own; Britain made the greater part of our military equipment and supplies, and Britain even helped Canada to finance Canada's part in the war.

This time we have a far bigger job. True, our army is not quite as large as it was at this time in the last war, but it already numbers 200,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world. Over 70,000 men, an army corps of two divisions with reinforcements, are already in Britain. These will be supplemented during the present year by a tank brigade and two more divisions, one an armoured division. Our rapidly growing navy already of 200 ships and 20,000 men has been helping the British navy on both sides of the Atlantic. We have 55,000 men in Canada's Air Force. The greater part of the air training for the whole British Commonwealth is being done on Canadian soil. Instead of Britain making war supplies for Canada, Canada is making war supplies for Britain, and helping Britain to pay for them, too. Already the war effort has been developed on such a scale that it is costing about 45 cents out of every dollar of the income of the Canadian people.

Last February, I told the people of Canada that there was only one way to meet the total war we face and that is by total effort - not for a day, or a week, or a month,

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but every day until victory is won. Total effort means that every man, woman and child does and keeps on doing everything possible to help. I want to repeat that Canada's war effort, insofar as government policy can make it such is a 100% war effort.

National Unity

Let me, however, make this perfectly clear. Total effort is impossible except on a foundation of national unity. You and I know only too well that issues have been raised and are being raised that threaten our unity and, if permitted to develop, might destroy our unity. I am not going to elaborate that point; we all know in our hearts what those issues are. But this I do say, and I say it with all the emphasis at my command: We cannot have a total effort and indulge in domestic disputes and quarrels. We cannot have a total effort if no effort is to be put forth till each man has things done, only in the way that he, himself, thinks they should be done. Our effort will become total as every man and woman does all they find it possible to do, and all they can persuade, not coerce, others into doing. The job of the Canadian people today is to fight Hitlerism. They cannot fight Hitlerism and fight one another.

The government is determined that our effort shall be a maximum effort. That means we must put first

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things first and national unity comes first of all. On it everything else depends. May I add this word in all modesty. The Prime Minister and the government at Ottawa are in touch with all parts of the country; we must seek at all times to view the whole situation from a national standpoint. Our policies are nation-wide. Different policies might suit particular localities viewed in isolation. But it is our responsibility and our duty to see that the wisest and most effective policies are adopted so that a maximum result will be attained in the whole of Canada.

Let me say this further word. We are partners with Britain in this war. Throughout there has been the most complete harmony and understanding between us. What we are doing and the reasons for doing what we have undertaken are based on this understanding. Those who say we should do more of this and less of that cannot have the same complete information as is available to the government.

The people of Canada entrusted my colleagues and myself with the duty of directing Canada's war effort. We have a mandate to organize the utmost effort of which Canada is capable. As Prime Minister, I have a special responsibility to do all in my power to maintain our unity as a

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people, to maintain the unity of our war effort and a proper balance between its many aspects. In that task, I need, and the government needs all the confidence, all the good-will and all the support our people can extend to us.

Conscription

I have in my hand a circular - an anonymous circular - which I am told has been broadcast throughout this city today. It contains a question which I am going to answer right now. The question is: How can we fight a total war without conscription? This is my answer: If every man does his own duty first, before he concerns himself about the duty of his neighbour; if having done his own duty, every man tries to help his neighbour to reach a personal conviction of his duty, instead of wishing to compel him, Canada will have no need of conscription for overseas service and Canada will not be divided on any conscription issue.

No small part of our strength, as the one nation in this hemisphere fighting today in this war, is the fact that our country's participation is a voluntary participation; that our effort is a free effort, and that every man enlisted in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience. I do not think we begin to realize what a moral strength that gives us in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of the enemy.

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What is true of Canada is true alike of Australia and South Africa. These young free British nations freely took up the cause of freedom, and they too are freely giving their utmost to save everything all of us value in this world.

Suppose instead we had conscription for service outside Canada. Who would be the first to say that the Canadians had to be dragged away unwillingly from their homes to fight across the seas? That is what the radios in Berlin would blare forth to the world. Instead the enemy is faced with a people whose greatest strength flows from the unity which comes from a free effort willingly made.

The people of Canada have just responded generously and quickly to an appeal for the greatest war loan in our history. We are also making a special appeal to our young men to enlist in the legions of freedom. There has never been a nobler cause. This "call to arms" going forth today is a call to Canada's sons to play their full part in the greatest struggle the world has ever seen.

We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity

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of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens; the right of old men and women to the tranquility of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship, in our own way, the Gold in whom we believe.

Here is a "call to arms" worthy of the best of which every young man is capable. I appeal to every young man within sound of my voice and to every one who may later read these words to heed that call in his own interests, in the interests of his future, in the intrests of his country's future and in the interests of all mankind.

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Address by the Prime Minister

Vancouver Board of Trade, June 30, 1941.

My first duty today, and it is a most agreeable one, is to thank the Board of Trade for this opportunity to express deep appreciation to the people of the whole province of British Columbia for the splendid response they have given to the many appeals that have been made in the furtherance of Canada's war effort. This I do on my own behalf, and on behalf of my colleagues in the Government of Canada.

I wish, indeed, it were possible to express this word of thanks in person in different parts of the province. Unfortunately the relentless pressure of the duties of my office since the outbreak of the war has been such, in these anxious times, that visits to different parts of Canada, to say nothing of different parts of any province have been well nigh impossible. At most, I have been able to see but one or two of the training establishments in central Canada and, at the end of last year, to snatch a few brief days to inspect the defences of our Eastern coast. I am glad, at last to have an opportunity to visit, however briefly, the other provinces of Canada and particularly to have a chance to inspect the defences of our Western coast. I wish I could tell you the delight it is to me to be once again within sight of the waters of the Pacific.

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My present tour has, as its main objective, seeing at first hand, in the necessarily limited time at my disposal, as much as I can of our war activities and of those engaged upon them. Canada's war effort, as you know, is daily expressing its momentum in the increased number and extent of our various military, naval and air establishments, in the vast increase in the production of war supplies, the enlargement and development of facilities for the transport of those supplies and in many other ways. I particularly welcome the opportunity, brief as it is, of viewing at first hand, some of the war time developments which are taking place in and about the great cities of the Pacific coast.

It affords me particular satisfaction to recall that at Ogdensburg, in August of last year, I was able to join with the President of the United States in concluding an agreement to establish the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The work of this Board, I should like to remind you, is related not less to the defence of the coasts of the Pacific, than to those of the Atlantic. In the same connection, I am also pleased to recall that at Hyde Park, in April of this year, I was able again to join with Mr. Roosevelt in concluding another agreement. Under the Hyde Park Agreement, the effort of the two countries

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in war production is rendered vastly more extensive and expeditious.

While I have been denied the opportunity of going about the country, the attention which, day by day, over the past three years, I have been obliged to give to the events leading up to the outbreak of war, and the amazing developments which have marked its progress, has given me a conception of the frightfulness and magnitude of the war itself, and an insight into some of its world encircling trends which would not have been otherwise possible. This world picture I feel I should share with my fellow-countrymen, on occasions such as the present, where, by the spoken word, it is possible to come again more immediately into touch with the country itself.

At the time of the Munich Conference, less than three years ago, Czechoslovakia seemed so remote from Canada that there were doubts in the minds of many as to whether this country could be persuaded to participate in another war on the continent of Europe, should Nazi designs on Czechoslovakia lead to war. The year which followed Munich helped to make clear the motive, and nature, and the terror of the Nazi menace. When the attack on Poland came, there was no longer doubt in the minds of thoughtful observers that an ambition much larger than German expansion in central Europe existed in the mind of Hitler, and that his aim was, at least, the domination of Europe. Today we know, beyond all shadow of

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doubt, that aggression, in Hitler's mind, has no limit; that world domination alone will suffice to satisfy the ambition of Nazi Germany.

It is I believe, fitting that I should take the opportunity afforded by my visit to Vancouver to emphasize the world wide character of the danger which in this war now threatens us all. Having seen the area of conflict spread, month by month, with a rapidity which defied imagination, no thoughtful man can continue to doubt that the encircling danger is closing in on the Western hemisphere.

The world has been slow to learn the reality and the extent of the menace. For too long, men deluded themselves with the belief that this was some far-off danger from which a safeguard could be found in neutrality. But the whole world is discovering today that this is one of those rare turning points in history when the security of each has become the need of all, and when neutrality on the part of any nation or of any individual is no longer possible.

As Miss Dorothy Thompson has so forcefully and yet so accurately said: "Before this epoch is over, every living human being will have chosen, every living human being will have lined up with Hitler or against him, every living human being will either have opposed this onslaught or supported it. For if he tries to make no choice, that, in itself, will be a choice. If he takes no side, he is on Hitler's side; if he does not act, that is an act -- for Hitler."

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We have witnessed the fate of those who sought to avoid the choice. We have seen disaster come to those who tried to isolate themselves from the Nazi menace. Their efforts have failed. One by one, the smaller countries of Europe which stood aloof have been divided, outflanked, and swallowed up. The grim and tragic march of Nazi conquest has proceeded relentlessly from Austria through Czechoslovakia to Poland; from Denmark through Norway; from Holland and Belgium through France; from Hungary through Roumania and Bulgaria to Yugoslavia and Greece.

Today, Hitler seeks to outflank Soviet Russia through Finland and Roumania, while delivering a frontal blow across prostrate Poland. In the Middle East, he threatens Suez from Greece, from Crete and from Libya; at the other end of the Mediterranean, he threatens Gibraltar and its straits through infiltration and outflanking in Spain and French North Africa. From the North Cape of Norway to Cape Finistere in northwestern France, the Nazi forces for a full year have formed a great half circle around Britain. Through Russia, Hitler threatens the whole continent of Asia.

As the months have passed, the Nazi menace has crept closer to this hemisphere. Nazi penetration into Morocco and West Africa brings the danger ever nearer to South America, where for years, Nazi and Fascist agents have plied their

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treacherous trade. The Bismarck sank the Hood just off the coast of Greenland. German submarines have followed in her wake to infest the very waters that hitherto we have looked upon as the surest protection of our Eastern coasts.

The magnitude of the war is matched by the magnitude of its battles. The local character and limited extent of earlier wars is clearly disclosed by the names of their battles. Here physical features of localities were adequate for identification as, for example: the Plains of Abraham, Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane, Crysler's Farm. Where local features were inadequate, the name of the locality itself sufficed to meet the need: Hastings, Yorktown, Waterloo stand out in our memories. Ypres, Verdun, Mons are names of but yesterday.

But this war began with the Battle of Poland. Then came the Battles of Norway, of the Low Countries and of France. After that the first repulse of the enemy in the Battle of Britain. Today the world is in the midst of battles of continents and of oceans: the battle of Asia, the battle of Africa, the battle of the Atlantic.

Unless the Nazi tide can be turned, we shall face tomorrow a battle of hemispheres. If that comes about, the whole Western hemisphere will soon be an armed camp. For years to come, all our energies will be absorbed in continued war, or in preparation for the renewal of war. As more and more of

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our resources are poured into a feverish race of armaments to which no end can be seen, the standard of life and of civilization will steadily fall.

This is the world danger which Canada saw on the horizon in 1939. Seeing it, we went out as a united people to meet and combat it. Today this whole continent has awakened to that danger.

Canada's total effort.

The Canadian people may well be proud that, of all the peoples in the new world, they were the pioneers in resisting Hitler's attempt at world domination. When war came, we did not hesitate to take up the struggle for freedom in the old world, and in all the world. For the second time, in a generation, our country is in the vanguard of freedom.

In the last war, Canada played a large part. This time we have a far greater task, and a very different task. Let me recall some of the differences. Then, our main task was the raising of an army: almost all that Canada asked for was men for the army. On the sea, we depended almost entirely on Britain's navy. Neither had Canada an air force of her own. Canada's industrial effort was comparatively small. Britain produced most of our equipment and supplies. Britain even helped Canada to finance Canada's part in the war.

Today, Canada's army already numbers 200,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world. Over 70,000

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men, an army corps of two divisions with reinforcements, are already in Britain. These are being supplemented during the present year by a tank brigade and two more divisions, one of them an armoured division. Our soldiers are also serving in Newfoundland and the West Indies; and, for nearly a year, there was a Canadian garrison in Iceland. Detachments of Canadian Engineers have strengthened the defences of Gibraltar.

The army of today is, moreover, a very different kind of army than that of a quarter of a century ago. A modern mechanized force is far more difficult to bring into being, far more costly to equip and to maintain. Experience has taught us that men without machines have no place in warfare today. Canada must make the machines as well as train the men, if her army is to play its full part in total war.

Today, Canada has a navy of which we may all be proud. Our navy has done increasing and effective work since the first day of the war. Its expansion has been rapid. We already have 20,000 men and 200 ships in the navy. More men are being added as fast as ships can be built. Canada is also building the ships. We in Canada are doing our share to make this continent not only the arsenal of democracy, but also the shipyard of the freedom of the seas.

Today in Canada's Air Force, we have 55,000 men. The greater part of the air training for the whole British Commonwealth is being done on Canadian soil. For nearly a

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year we have maintained three air squadrons in Britain entirely at Canada's expense. Several additional Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons have recently been formed from graduates of the Air Training Plan. As rapidly as they are available, ground crews are being sent from Canada to service these new squadrons.

Instead of Britain making most of the supplies for Canada, Canada, in this war, is making war supplies for Britain, and what is more we are helping Britain to pay for them. Already the war effort has been developed on such a scale that it is costing about 45 cents out of every dollar of the income of the Canadian people.

Conscription

Knowing the magnitude of the danger as I have outlined it to you; knowing how steadily and to what extent our war effort has expanded, and how splendidly national unity has been maintained throughout, it is with the gravest concern that I view the raising of any issue which may threaten the unity on which our war effort and our security alike depend. I want to say just a word to you of this.

The war time policies of Canada cannot be designed to suit particular localities, special interests or individual inclinations. Viewed in isolation, some localities and some interests might be better suited by different policies. But the policies of the government are necessarily nation-wide.

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They should strike a right balance between all localities and all interests. The government alone has the facilities for keeping in touch with all parts of the country. My colleagues and I must seek to view all problems from a national standpoint. We must chart the course which we believe will achieve a maximum war effort in the whole of Canada. We ourselves must avoid and we must do all in our power to have others avoid the kind of action which might threaten Canadian unity, and divide the Canadian people.

The people of Canada entrusted the present government with the duty of directing Canada's war effort. This they did in the course of the war itself, in a nation-wide campaign, when war policies were freely discussed from every point of view. We were given a mandate to organise the utmost effort of which Canada is capable, and to do this in accordance with policies clearly stated and admitting of no misunderstanding. We are determined that in so far as government policy can make it such, our effort shall be a maximum effort.

I am sorry to say that in our country, there is a minority which, though small is exceedingly vocal, which has let no chance pass to belittle Canada's war effort and to discredit the splendid achievements of their fellow-countrymen. I am told that there are even those who are taking advantage

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of the present recruiting campaign to seek to bring about a change of policy which will substitute force for freedom in the matter of enlistment for service overseas. Today some are going even farther than this, and are demanding that, without any prior consultation of the people, the policies themselves should be changed. For example, notwithstanding the fact that our armed forces have reached the splendid proportions they have today on land, at sea, and in the air, without a suggestion of compulsion, it is now being said by some that the young men of Canada will not voluntarily respond to an appeal for recruits, and that we must force them into the army by the immediate adoption of conscription for overseas service. In other words, there are evidences that, in certain quarters, the recruiting campaign is being made, not so much a campaign to see what more can be accomplished by voluntary effort, as a deliberate effort to force the hand of the government and to effect a change in its policies.

In Calgary, on Friday, I was given a circular - an anonymous circular. It is not surprising that so many of those who sow the seeds of dissention prefer to conceal their identity. That circular was broadcast throughout the city. It asked one question. That question I answered the same day. The question is: How can we fight a total war without conscription? Let me repeat the answer I gave in Calgary.

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Here it is: If every man does his own duty first, before he concerns himself about the duty of his neighbour; if having done his own duty, every man tries to help his neighbour to reach a personal conviction of his duty, instead of urging compulsion, Canada will have no need of conscription for overseas service, and Canada will not be divided on any conscription issue.

The policy of the government regarding conscription has been made abundantly clear. We have taken the position that every young man who is physically fit should be liable for military training and service in Canada for the defence of Canada. This policy is designed to provide our country with a second line of defence should the country be subject to direct attack. In the same way, Parliament has put at the disposal of the nation, all the material resources of the country.

My colleagues and I, expressing, as we believe, the will of the Canadian people as expressed by themselves in a war-time election, have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the armed forces of Canada at sea, on land and in the air - service undertaken in the cause of freedom - shall be freely undertaken.

Before war came, the government gave a solemn pledge that in the event of war, we would follow that policy. When war came the pledge was solemnly re-affirmed. At the

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general elections during the war itself, that policy received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada. Indeed, no political party can be said to have advocated conscription for overseas service. The leader of the Official Opposition could scarcely have been more emphatic than he was in declaring that conscription was not an issue; that, having regard to the memories of the past, and experience in the last war, anyone who might raise that issue was not true to the highest interest of his country.

The present unhappy state of the world is in large part the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will are the very forces against which Canada is fighting today. That being so, I wish the more emphatically to affirm the government's intention to keep the pledge repeatedly given to the people of Canada.

How best the voice of the people may again be heard, should a situation develop where the people's representatives in Parliament believe there should be a reversal of policy, there will be time enough to consider when Parliament itself has declared its views. I hope, however, that no one will expect me to go behind the back of Parliament itself, by adopting any course of political action which, at one stroke, would sabotage our free political institutions,

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at a time when we are fighting to preserve their very existence.

Apart altogether from this, I doubt if those who today are advocating a policy of conscription have begun to realize how much Canada's strength is increased by the fact that, as the one nation in this hemisphere fighting in this war, our country's participation is a voluntary participation; by the further fact that our effort is a free effort, and that every man enlisted in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience.

The people of Canada, a million of them, responded quickly and generously to the Victory Loan. It was oversubscribed freely by a free people. Does anyone think Canada would have been stronger today in her own eyes, in the eyes of Britain, yes and in the eyes of the enemy if the government had taken that money from our people instead of giving them the opportunity to offer it. You all know how much stronger our cause is today because of that great voluntary demonstration of patriotism.

Canada is now appealing to her young men freely to join the legions of freedom. There has never been a nobler cause than the "call to arms" going forth today. No weaker excuse for failure to answer that call has ever been given than the excuse some give that they are prepared to serve if

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others are compelled to serve. That is the spirit of those who already have half-surrendered to dictatorship. It is a denial of freedom. It is the very negation of freedom. No -- I shall never believe that the young men of Canada will not respond in any numbers to any service which may be demanded of them by their country, once the nature of the service they are being asked to perform is placed before them in its true light. Once let them realize that it is their freedom, their future, their country's freedom and their country's future, that is in peril today, and you will see how quickly they will be prepared to answer the country's call to arms.

But the appeal must be a single, not a divided one. Moreover, it is an appeal that must not be left to the military forces alone. They have set the example, which it is for others to follow, and all others must join them, wholeheartedly, in the appeal. Responsibility for any shortcoming or failure will lie, through the years, not so much with those who have not understood the issue, as with those who have stood in the way of others who are seeking to make it clear or who themselves have failed to do their utmost to see that it is clearly and fully understood.

Let me, then, repeat, once more, the issue in this war as I understand it. The "Call to Arms" as I interpret it. I give it not to the young men only, whose services we seek to enlist in our armed forces today. I give it to every man,

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woman and child in Canada for it affects the lives of every one of us.

We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens; the right of old men and women to the tranquillity of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship, in our own way, the God in whom we believe.

Give that "Call to Arms" a place in your minds and hearts; post it where all can read it on bill-boards of our cities and towns; hang it on the walls of your homes; and see how long you will have to wait for the response it will evoke.

Never forget that every man in uniform today is a champion of that great cause. Never forget that he has offered his services of his own free will. Never forget that the glory of Canada's fight for freedom in this world struggle is the imperishable fact that all she has done, has been done of her own free will. Keep these things in mind, and we shall

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need no conscripts in Canada's overseas army. Instead, we shall produce a race of happy warriors, the light in whose eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in whose hearts is the fire of their souls dedicated to the service of their fellow-men. Here is a wall of defence which no enemy can tear down or destroy, and which, if maintained, will be the strength of this young nation in this hour of the world's peril, and its glory through ages to come.

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ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT PRINCE ALBERT

July 7, 1941.

I should like my opening words tonight to be an expression of the pleasure it gives me to be again in Prince Albert, among those whom I have the honour to represent in Parliament. It has been to me a source of great regret that I have not had an earlier opportunity personally to thank you all for re-electing me to the House of Commons. It is now more than fifteen years since I first became the Member for Prince Albert Constituency. No honour could be more prized than to enjoy over so long a period of time, so uniform an expression of confidence. For all that it has meant to me in my public life, and above all in these years when responsibilities of office are what they are today, I thank you from my heart.

May I, at the same time, express my pride in the splendid place that the City of Prince Albert and the Constituency of Prince Albert, have made for themselves in the furtherance of Canada's war effort. To the call for money and the call for men there has been a splendid response. It was with feelings of the greatest pride I learned while at Ottawa of Prince Albert's over-subscription to the Victory Loan at a comparatively early stage of the campaign. I have experienced an equal pride, since my arrival in Western Canada, at the figures of Prince Albert's enlistment in Canada's armed forces.

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At Dunburn Camp on Saturday last, I had the honour of seeing the Prince Albert Volunteers under canvas and in the open. Tonight I have had the pleasure and inspiration of witnessing the demonstration given by the Mechanized Convoy which is here, in Prince Albert, to aid in the recruiting campaign. During the afternoon I had the honour of inspecting the Elementary Flying Training School and the Air Observers School, and of meeting at these schools young airmen from Britain, New Zealand and the United States, as well as from many parts of Canada. I have been immensely impressed by all I have seen and I should like to take this opportunity of extending warmest congratulations to officers and men alike on what is a truly remarkable achievement.

The people of Canada are engaged in a great democratic effort to make secure our own freedom and to uphold the cause of freedom in the world.

I do not need to tell you that, in the prosecution of this war, Canada has undertaken the greatest task in her history. Having taken up the task, the Canadian people have given unmistakable evidence of their determination

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to put forth the utmost effort of which our country is capable. It is the duty of the government to plan and direct Canada's wartime activities, so as to achieve the most effective results from every ounce of effort which is made by our people.

A review of the war effort

The making of modern war requires the most careful planning. That is something which some people seem wholly to forget, if indeed the thought ever enters their mind. Some seem to think that, because twenty-five years ago things were done in a certain way, the old ways are the only ways. What is more the same people often feel that they alone know what should be done, and that unless the government proceeds only in accord with their views, it is not proceeding at all, or is proceeding in the wrong way.

In a conflict which may last for years, there is demanded at every stage, the most efficient and economical use of resources, both human and material. If there is one truth above another which has impressed itself upon me in what I have seen in the course of my present tour, it is that a maximum war effort must be a balanced war effort. It cannot be an effort which is going to seek to satisfy only

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the clamour of today. It must meet the needs of tomorrow, and have in view the possible demands of a future which may, in some respects, be wholly different from the present. It cannot be an effort made to serve individual inclinations or local interests. It must seek to meet what in the long run will best serve the national interest.

In our war effort we must be careful to maintain a proper balance between the raising and training of men, and the production of machines and munitions of war. The right emphasis as well should be given to each of the three branches of the armed forces. Most effective use must be made of our limited manpower. The present is a war of machines as well as of men. It would be worse than folly to send men into battle without machines. The demonstration we have all witnessed tonight gives us some indication of what is meant by modern mechanized warfare. The machines of modern war require men to make them. I do not need to tell you that the same man cannot make guns and fire them, or make tanks and drive them, or make ships and sail them, or make planes and fly them.

Canada has every reason for pride in her war production. Canadian farmers, miners and forest workers; Canadian manufacturers and Canadian factory workers have responded splendidly to the demands made upon them. We are building, indeed, we have already all but built, an aircraft industry from the ground up. I wish you could have seen with

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me the huge new Boeing plant at Sea Island, Vancouver. It is but one of several plants but it would have sufficed to give you a new conception of what Canadian labour and Canadian industry can do. We are developing a large shipbuilding industry. We have already built a large number of corvettes and minesweepers for Canada's navy and for Britain's. Canadian corvettes have given Canada a new fame on the sea. Most of these small vessels are commissioned on the Atlantic. At both Vancouver and Esquimalt on the Pacific, I saw corvettes ready to put to sea. Canada is also building cargo ships so desperately needed for the present phase of the struggle. The shipyards at North Vancouver are humming with the activity of the men who are making ships to deliver goods to Britain.

For months, Canada has turned out motor transport vehicles, by hundreds daily, both for her own forces and for Britain's. Practically all the motor transport used by the British forces in the North African campaign were made in Canada. Canadian factories are making machine-guns, trench mortars, bombs for aircraft, great quantities of shells and ammunition, electrical apparatus and radio equipment. The latest development is the making of field guns; the first of these were turned out at the huge new plant at Sorel, Quebec, on Dominion Day. Before the year ends, Canada will be making naval guns, anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns and infantry rifles.

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Universal carriers have been in production for months; both Mark-III tanks and cruiser tanks are now being delivered from Canadian workshops. In old factories, in new factories and in converted factories, Canada is making machines and munitions for Britain's armed forces as well as our own.

The output of steel and of the base metals and other raw materials of war production has been greatly expanded to meet the growing proportion of Canada's war industry.

We are sending all the food to Britain that ships can be found to carry.

The tremendous expansion of productive activity has absorbed great numbers of men; many thousands more will be needed.

From our limited manpower in Canada, we must recruit the men required to make the tools, as well as the men needed to use them.

Let me now give you very briefly the record of expansion of Canada's armed forces. At the outbreak of war there were less than 10,000 men in the three branches of the permanent armed forces; today there are some 300,000 men in Canada's armed forces at sea, on land and in the air. This figure does not include the numbers, about 170,000, enrolled in the Reserve Army.

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In the navy, at the outbreak of war there were some 20 ships and less than 2,000 men; today there are 200 ships and 20,000 men.

In the permanent active militia there were, at the outbreak of war, 4000 men; today the active army contains over 200,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world. In addition, the young men called up for training under the National Resources Mobilization Act will be retained under arms for duty in Canada. This will relieve enlisted men for service elsewhere.

When war began, there were 4,000 men in the air force; today there are 60,000. Apart from coastal patrol and convoy duties, ships and men of Canada's navy have been sharing in the defence of the coasts of Britain. Thirteen Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons are already serving in Britain; many additional Canadian graduates of the Air Training Plan are serving with the Royal Air Force. Thousands more Canadian pilots and airmen will follow them to Britain before the year is out. The defenders of Britain now include 82,000 of the soldiers in Canada's active army. The Canadian Corps of two divisions with corps troops and many thousands of re-inforcements, together with specialized units, such as forestry troops, and the tunnelling companies which have been improving the defences of

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Gibraltar, have been overseas for many months. They have now been joined by an army tank brigade and detachments of the third infantry division. The rest of the third division and an armoured division are scheduled to go to Britain this year.

In addition to the armed forces Canada is sending to Britain, there are Canadian garrisons in Newfoundland and the West Indies. You may possibly have learned that, in a special message President Roosevelt informed Congress today that the United States could not permit "the occupation by Germany of strategic outposts in the Atlantic to be used as air and naval bases for eventual attack against the Western hemisphere". At the same time, the President announced that United States forces have occupied Iceland. You will be interested in knowing that for a year, we had a Canadian garrison in Iceland. Only recently, it left for Great Britain. In its year in Iceland, it was engaged upon work of construction as well as other duties of defence. Canada, too, has been sharing for some time in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland. We must not forget that we have as well to provide for the defences of our Pacific coast.

I do not need to tell anyone in Western Canada how immense is the programme of Air Training we have undertaken in this country. The evidence is all around us on

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these western plains. It was, as I have already mentioned, a source of especial satisfaction to me to see today what splendid work is being done right here in Prince Albert. Air training in Canada today hasnexpanded far beyond the wide limits set in the original Air Training Plan. The greater part of the Air Training for the whole British Commonwealth is concentrated on Canadian soil.

Recruitment of the armed forces

The strength of all three branches of the armed forces is being steadily increased. Men are being enlisted in the navy as fast ws we can get the ships to man. The air force is being constantly recruited up to the limit of the steadily growing facilities for training. We are at present in the midst of a campaign to recruit the active army up to the full strength of the present establishment. Here may I pause to extend my congratulations to the Province of Saskatchewan which already has passed the three-quarter mark on the way to achieving its quota of recruits.

Canada is appealing to her young men freely to join the legions of freedom. The men who have enlisted in Canada's armed forces foroverseas service have offered their services of their own free will. They have taken up arms as champions of freedom prepared to uphold the cause of freedom in whatever part of the world their services are needed. They have accepted the

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call because they know that the security of freedom in Canada depends upon the maintenance of freedom in the world.

It is well, I think, that we should keep always in mind that Canada's strength in this war, and the force of our example, is increased by the fact that, as the one nation in the new world at war with Nazi Germany, our country's participation is a voluntary participation. Canada's effort is stronger because it is a free effort, and because every man who has enlisted in the armed forces of Canada for service in any part of the world is there of his own free will, and at the dictates of his own conscience.

There are those I know who are saying that we cannot get our young men, in the numbers required, to volunteer for service outside Canada. I shall never believe that the young men of Canada will not respond in the numbers needed for any service demanded of them by their country, once the nature of the service they are asked to perform is placed before them in its true light. Once let them realize that it is their freedom, their future, their country's freedom and their country's future, that is in peril today, and we shall all see how quickly they will be prepared to answer their country's call to arms.

But we must not be content to leave the appeal to the military authorities alone. It is the duty of every citizen, and the especial duty of those who are the natural

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leaders of each local community, to join with the military authorities, wholeheartedly, in making known the necessity, the appeal, and the issue. Responsibility for any shortcoming, or failure will lie, through the years, not so much with those who have not understood the issue, as with those who have stood in the way of others who are seeking to make it clear, or who themselves have failed to do their utmost to see that it is clearly and fully understood.

Thousands of people in Saskatchewan, or their fathers, have come to Canada from countries that today lie prostrate under the heel of a ruthless invader; others from countries occupied by Hitler's armies; still others, from countries threatened with the loss of their existence. There are some too, from countries whose present rulers in order to satisfy an evil passion for domination, have, like Cain of old, risen to slay their brothers in other lands. All came to Canada that they might be free men in a free land.

These new Canadians should not need anyone to tell them that the security of freedom in Canada depends upon the preservation of the world's freedom. They must know that there can be no islands of freedom in an enslaved world. They surely know what is at stake in this war.

May I say to those who cherish their new-found freedom in this new land, that never in the lives of men

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has such an opportunity been given to translate into action, the gratitude and devotion they owe to the land which they have made their homeland. Never has there come to men of any race, an opportunity to render a like service to the ill-fated brothers of the homelands of their race. No defence of Canada's freedom can be nobler than that which Canada's adopted sons are asked to undertake. No higher hope can be given to the enslaved peoples of Europe than the knowledge that Canada's call to arms is being answered by free men of their own race.

Let none of us mistake the issue. Whatever we may think of the past errors or present systems of other countries, Canada's freedom and freedom everywhere have but one deadly enemy today. That enemy is Nazi Germany. Let us welcome all the help we can get in this struggle from whatever source. It will take all the strength that can be mustered to match and surpass the might of Hitler's legions of evil.

We know that Hitler boasts of his plan to create an empire that will last for a thousand years. Let us then, first of all, ask ourselves the question: Suppose Hitler were to go no farther, what would be the consequence for Europe of a complete Nazi triumph in Europe alone?

The economic design of this so-called "new order" of Hitler's has already begun to appear. Its foundation

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is the development, in France and other of the subdued countries, and, particularly in the Russian Ukraine, if the Nazis succeed in occupying those rich and fertile plains, of agricultural production on a scale great enough to meet the need for food in the whole continent of Europe. On the foundation of adequate food production in the outlying slave countries of Europe, and with access to the raw materials of Africa and of Asia, Germany would itself become the arsenal and workshop of the continent. Within Germany's borders, or, at least, under her direct political and military control in nearby countries, the highly technical industries of strategic and military significance would be concentrated. The outlying occupied countries would be left only with the simple industries, and the production of food and raw materials. Foreign trade would become, throughout the world, what it was in Europe before the outbreak of war, an instrument of pressure in the military and economic interests of Nazi Germany. With her control of all heavy industries, Germany could keep her great military machine at the peak of its power. The defeated nations would be stripped permanently of the means of resistance to their Nazi overlords.

Let us then next ask ourselves what would the achievement of this grand design mean for this hemisphere? Without any attempt at the invasion of this continent, Nazi

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Germany would already have dealt a terrible blow at our standards of life. Look for a moment at its effect upon agriculture. The Nazi preparations for war, the war itself, and the extension of the blockade have already created enormous surpluses of agricultural commodities, like wheat, which we normally export. In a sense, the loss of markets in continental Europe, made our Canadian farmers the first of the casualties of the present war.

While we are doing everything in our power to reduce the burden of that loss of markets, we all know that, over a period of time, there can be only one real solution of the problems of the Canadian farmers and particularly of the wheat growers. That solution is the defeat of the aggressors, the destruction of the totalitarian order, and the restoration of freedom to Europe and to other parts of the world. It is, I believe, true that no section of our community has so direct an economic interest in the defeat of Nazi Germany as our primary producers of foodstuffs. The destruction of Hitlerism will alone make possible the opening of the channels of trade, and the restoration of markets for our exportable surpluses. Without world markets, there can be no permanent prosperity for our great primary industries.

Not only can there be no permanent prosperity, but there might well be no future at all for western agriculture

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in a world in which the whole eastern hemisphere was dominated by Germany and her axis partners. Without markets in the old world, these western plains would face an economic drought beside which the natural droughts experienced in the past would pale into insignificance. Whether the rains fell or whether they failed to come, Nazi domination, in the Old World, would make of western Canada an economic desert.

Agriculture would be the first victim of a Nazi victory, but it would not be the only victim. As Nazi Germany drew more and more upon the resources of the enslaved territories to increase the industrial might which is the real foundation of her military strength, all our energies on this continent, for years to come, would be absorbed in a terrible struggle between hemispheres. We would face a feverish race of armaments. We would be forced into totaliterian methods to meet the totalitarian threat. More and more of our resources would be poured into armaments; less and less would be left to maintain the standards of life and civilization.

If Hitler is not defeated in the old world, the new world, to save itself from conquest, will be dragged down to the slave standards which Hitler is imposing on its conquered lands. Eighty years ago, on this continent,

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our American neighbours fought a great civil war because they found that a nation cannot exist half slave and half free; Hitler has forced this generation to recognize that the modern world cannot survive half slave and half free. No one today can escape the choice between freedom and slavery. If he fails to choose freedom, that means he has already chosen slavery.

The call to arms

That choice between freedom and slavery is not confined to governments; it is a choice that must also be made by individuals and by every individual. It is a choice which it is of supreme importance that our young men should make. No weaker excuse for failure to make the choice, no feebler reason for neglecting to answer the call to arms has ever been given than the excuse some give, that they are prepared to serve, only when others are compelled to serve. Such an excuse reveals a spirit already half way on the road to complete surrender to dictatorship. It is a denial of freedom; it is, indeed, the very negation of freedom.

Let me then repeat, once more, the issue in this war as I understand it. Let me repeat it in Saskatchewan as I gave it in the provinces of British Columbia and Alberta, and as I intend to repeat it in Manitoba and in the other

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provinces of Canada. It is the "Call to Arms" as I interpret it. I give it not to the young men only, whose services we seek to enlist in our armed forces today. I give it to every man, woman and child in Canada, for it affects the lives of every one of us.

We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womenkind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens, the right of old men and women to the tranquillity of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship, in our own way, the God in whom we believe.

Give that "Call to Arms" a place in your minds and hearts; post it where all can read it on the bill-boards of our cities and towns; hang it on the walls of your homes; and see how long you will have to wait for the response it will evoke. Some there are who, for the best of reasons, may not be able to serve, as they would like to serve. The circumstances of the lives of men are generally well known in their own community. People are understanding.

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They will be quick to appreciate circumstances of which the fullest account should be taken. Those, however, who could serve, and who do not answer the call, will bear through life the stamp of that failure. Their neighbours will know; and what is far worse, they themselves will know, in their hearts, that they have failed to seize the greatest opportunity which is likely ever to come to men to serve their country and their fellow-men.

Let us keep these truths ever before our young men; explain the need, and the greatness of service, and no compulsion will be required to fill the ranks of Canada's overseas army. Let each young man understand the issue. Let him answer the call in the light of his own conscience, and Canada will produce a race of happy warriors, the light in whose eyes will be the light of liberty, and the fire in whose hearts will be the fire of their souls dedicated to the service of their fellow-men. Let us build up an armed force animated by that spirit and we shall build a wall of defence for our freedom that no enemy can tear down or destroy. Maintain that spirit, and it will be the strength of our young nation in this hour of the world's peril; and its imperishable glory through ages to come.

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ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER Winnipeg - July 10, 1941.

I desire to thank the organizations which have arranged this luncheon, for the opportunity to meet, in the short time at my disposal, so representative a gathering of the citizens of Winnipeg; to renew many friendships of long standing, and to form new acquaintances. I desire as well to thank all present for the honour of the occasion, that, with your permission, I should like to avail myself of immediately; to express not only to the citizens of Winnipeg, but to the people of the entire province of Manitoba, the deep appreciation felt by my colleagues in the government and myself of the splendid contribution Manitoba is making to Canada's war effort.

On my way through Winnipeg, en route to the Pacific Coast, I had the pleasure of extending congratulations on the success in Manitoba of the Victory Loan campaign, then only just concluded. It was a splendid response to the call for money. Today, on my return journey to Ottawa, it is not less a source of pride than delight, to be able to extend congratulations on the fine response of your young men to the present call for volunteers for the active army. Together with the Maritime Provinces, Manitoba enjoys the distinction of having already reached the quota set for individual provinces in the present recruiting campaign. That achievement will, I am sure,

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serve as an added incentive to other provinces to give like expression to the vigour of their patriotism.

My visit yesterday to the air training and military establishments at Brandon, and to the great military training centre at Shilo, served to bring to me in a concrete and practical fashion, an appreciation of the amazing concentration of wartime activity in this province. I am looking forward to the opportunity, before the day is over, of seeing here at Winnipeg something more of what is being accomplished.

My tour of the western provinces is now virtually at a close. I wish I could begin to tell you what an inspiration it has been to me to see with my own eyes, in the parts of the country through which I have travelled, something of what is being so splendidly achieved throughout western Canada in the furtherance of Canada's war effort.

For some time past, I have sought an opportunity to visit our military, naval and air establishments, and our war industries, to see the practical results of the policies adopted, and the decisions taken by the government. I have sought as well for opportunities to come into more immediate personal contact with the people themselves. I did manage, in the course of the political campaign, early last year, to pay a visit of one day's duration to the constituency of Prince Albert which has honoured me, for more than fifteen

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years, with its representation in our Parliament. On my way to Prince Albert, I found time to address a meeting in this great city. Apart, however, from meetings at Toronto and Montreal in the course of that campaign, the relentless pressure of the duties of my office had kept me continuously from the outbreak of war, up to that time, at the seat of government at Ottawa. Since the election of 1940, apart from a visit to the military training camp at Valcartier in Quebec and a few brief days snatched for an inspection of the defences on our eastern coasts, and the visits I have had to the United States which, I believe, have not been without their advantages to Canada and to our war effort, there has been no chance at all to get away.

It affords me particular satisfaction to recall that at Ogdensburg, in August of last year, I was able to join with the President of the United States in concluding an agreement to establish the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The work of this Board, I should like to remind you, is related not less to the defence of the coasts of the Pacific than to those of the Atlantic. In the same connection, I am also pleased to recall that at Hyde Park, in April of this year, I was able again to join with Mr. Roosevelt in concluding another agreement. Under the Hyde Park Agreement, the effort of the two countries in war

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production is rendered vastly more extensive and expeditious.

At the beginning of the present year, I made a firm resolve, deepened by the growing urgency of the need as I saw it, to see what I could, just as soon as Parliament adjourned, of the practical side of our war effort, and to help meet, in so far as it might be possible for me to do so, situations which were affecting that effort.

The most imperative of these situations had arisen in the United States. As you are aware, certain isolationist groups in the United States were seeking, not without some success, to create a false impression of Canada's part in the war, particularly as it concerned Canada's financial relations with Britain. I felt it my duty to do what lay within my power to place the facts before the American people in their true light, and to refute once and for all the "cash on the barrelhead" allegation.

Although I had set out the facts in Parliament as early as March 25th, a personal statement of them in the United States itself seemed to be necessary to remove the false impressions that were being assiduously fostered. As soon as Parliament adjourned, I immediately accepted an invitation extended by the various Canadian organizations in New York City to speak to them, and, through them, to the people of the United States. By arrangements made for a

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nation-wide broadcast of the address, the widest publicity was given a true and authoritative statement of Canada's position.

Immediately after my return from New York, allowing but a few days for consideration of urgent matters to which it had not been possible to give the necessary attention while Parliament was in session, I commenced the present tour of Western Canada. This tour, members of Parliament, the press, my own colleagues in the government and others had all been urging upon me while Parliament was in session. No sooner, however, had I begun to carry out the plans tentatively made before adjournment, than I was told by the Leader of the Opposition, and by some others, who I regret to say appear to have been less anxious to assist, than to embarrass me, that, as Prime Minister of Canada, I should not be concerning myself in this direct manner with Canada's war effort, but should be visiting England. Had I planned to go to England instead, the same critics would have been equally quick to say that my first duty was to the people of Canada who had given their support to the government and its policies, and that, at the time a recruiting campaign for overseas forces was in progress, my place was in Canada. You see how easy it is for the head of a government to please everyone.

I, myself, felt very strongly that while this all important recruiting campaign was on, it was desirable for the

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Prime Minister of the country to set an example to his fellow-citizens, by taking an active part in the campaign.

All that I have seen throughout the present tour; all that has happened since I left Ottawa has convinced me that, in making the decision I did, I took the right course. I believe my efforts have encouraged and assisted others who have been engaged in the recruiting campaign. I believe, or at least, I hope that in connection with the present recruiting campaign, they have served to remove any excuse for raising in Canada the issue of conscription for service overseas. What has already been attempted in the way of reviving that issue at this time makes only too clear the advantage that might have been taken of a lengthy absence, on my part, from Canada, to force the issue into the arena of party strife. How dire the consequence to our national unity this might have proved, none can say. My duty as I see it, is to seek above all else to preserve national unity; for on the maintenance of national unity, all else depends. How best any action of mine may serve to maintain that unity is something of which I, alone, can be the judge. That is a responsibility which attaches to the head of an administration at any time, but doubly so at a time when the nation is at war.

The present tour has afforded me the opportunity to come into contact with many of those in the western provinces who are directing the war effort in its practical aspects.

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I have been able to speak to the officers and men in the armed forces, to see something of managers and workmen engaged in war industry, and to obtain a vivid appreciation of the activity which one finds everywhere. The larger conception of Canada's achievement thus obtained will enable me to give to my fellow-citizens, and to others, a more complete and vital picture of Canada at war. When the appropriate time comes for me to visit Britain, I shall be able to speak with an authority, greater than would otherwise have been possible, of the magnificent effort of the Canadian people.

But I have had another purpose in view in the present tour, and in the light of conditions as they have developed in Europe, it is an imperative purpose. That purpose has been to bring home to the citizens of Canada a deeper sense of the danger which threatens our country, its freedom and its future as I see it today.

Of this danger I should like now to speak.

<u>The world encircling danger</u>

It will be recalled that, at the time of the Munich Conference, less than a year before Canada entered the war, Czechoslovakia seemed so remote from Canada that many doubted whether, if war came in Europe, this country would see the danger to its freedom, and the necessity of taking up arms to keep that danger from our shores. The Nazi menace to freedom

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was regarded by many as something which might increasingly disturb the peace of Europe. It was not seen as something that might come to convulse the world. The events of the year following Munich helped to make clear the nature and extent of the Nazi threat, and the might and terror which lay behind it. When Poland was attacked, thoughtful observers had realised that an ambition much larger than the domination of Central Europe lurked in the mind of Hitler. It was clear that his aim was, at least, the domination of Europe. Today, we know beyond all shadow of doubt, that aggression in Hitler's mind, has no limits; that world domination alone will satisfy the ambition of Nazi Germany.

From the very outset of the war, I have sought to keep the magnitude of the Nazi menace ever in the public mind. I make no apology for repeating to you today what I said, at the outbreak of hostilities, as to the probable character and scope of the struggle then beginning. You will be surprised, I think, even at this late date, to see how much of what I then feared and foretold, has since come to pass.

Speaking at the special session of Parliament called nearly two years ago, to decide upon Canada's entry into the war, I sought to picture the danger, to Canada itself, of the conflict which had then commenced in Europe. To many my words may have seemed unduly alarming. The unfolding of events has shown that remote as the possibilities appeared, I was not

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exaggerating. I hope that those who are now listening to me will feel, in the light of what I said then, and what has happened since, that what I shall say today is equally no exaggeration.

Let me first repeat what I said in Parliament, in September 1939.

The evening before I announced in the House of Commons the government's policy with respect to Canada's entry into the war at the side of Britain, I had read a statement of Hitler's to the effect that, if England wished to fight, she must realise that the prize of victory would be the British Empire. I reminded Parliament that the British Empire included Canada, and that there was no portion of the globe which any nation would be likely to covet than this Dominion.

"There is," I said, "no other portion of the earth's surface that contains such wealth as lies buried here. Nowhere are there such stretches of territory capable of feeding for generations to come - not hundreds of thousands, but millions of people. No, the ambition of this dictator is not Poland. At once time, he said it was only the areas in which there were German speaking people. But we have seen that ambition grow. That may have been the thought in his mind some years ago, but we all know how ambition feeds upon itself; we all know how the lust for power blinds men's senses to all else.

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"We know where and how he started, first with the militarisation of the Rhineland. He then said - I quote Hitler's own words - he had no thought of annexing Austria. After giving his word that there would be no further attempt at conquest, he took Czechoslovakia. Then he took Moravia and Bohemia, then Memel, now Danzig and Poland.

"Where is he creeping to?" - I am continuing to quote from the House of Commons debates what I said at the time - "Where is he creeping to?", I asked, and I answered that question in the following words. I ask you to note their significance in the light of what was then deemed impossible, but what since has actually taken place. "Where is he creeping to? Into those communities of the north, some of which today say they are going to remain neutral. I tell them if they remain neutral in this struggle, and Britain and France go down, there is not one of them that will bear for long the same name that it bears at the present time; not one of them. And if this conqueror by his methods of force, violence and terror, and other ruthless iniquities is able to crush the peoples of Europe, what is going to become of the doctrine of isolation of this North American continent? If Britain does down, if France goes down, the whole business of isolation will prove to have been a mere myth. There will in time be no freedom on this continent; there will in time be no liberty. Life will

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not be worth living. It is for all of us on this continent to do our part to save its privileged position by helping others." I ask you, was I exaggerating when I made that forecast? Was I seeking to become unduly alarmist? What has followed since?

We have seen Hitler creep into the communities of the North, into Denmark and Norway, with his secret agents, and the saboteurs of his treacherous fifth column. We have watched him spring in the night upon the peace-loving peoples of Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium raining indiscriminate destruction from the skies upon innocent men, women and children. We have seen France fall. All this came within 10 months of the time at which I spoke. Before and ever since, we have watched Britain fighting month after month, against terrible odds, for her very life. Less than three months ago, we witnessed in the course of two short weeks, the crash of the Nazi hordes through the brave resistance of Yugoslavia and Greece to the waters of the Mediterranean and the attempted invasion of the Holy Land. Having seen the fate of those who sought by neutrality to avoid the choice between the destroyers of freedom and the defenders of freedom; having watched disaster come to those who sought to stand aloof; having witnessed the breath-taking ferocity and

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rapidity of the march of Nazi conquest, it is hard to believe that any thoughtful man can longer doubt the world encircling scope of Hitler's ambition and the appalling reality of the Nazi menace.

Today, Hitler seeks the conquest of Russia. On the Mediterranean and in the Middle East, he threatens Suez from Greece, from Crete and from Libya; at the other end of the Mediterranean, he threatens Gibraltar and its straits through Spain and French North Africa. Through Russia, Hitler threatens the whole continent of Asia.

The magnitude of the war is matched by the magnitude of its battles. This war began with the Battle of Poland. Then came the Battles of Norway, of the Low Countries and of France. After that came the first repulse of the enemy in the Battle of Britain. Today the world is in the midst of battles of continents and of oceans: the battle of Asia, the battle of Africa, the battle of the Atlantic.

The Nazi menace is drawing ever closer to this hemisphere. That is the truth I should like to bring home to all today. It is a truth that the President and other members of the Administration at Washington are seeking to bring home to the people of the United States, and also to the people of Latin America. There are two bridges by which Hitler would seek to have his forces penetrate the western hemisphere, once he has consolidated his gains in Europe.

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The southern bridge extends by way of Morocco and Dakar through the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands across the Atlantic to Brazil. The Nazis have already penetrated, as we know, into Morocco and West Africa. In Latin America, they have long plied their treacherous trade.

The northern bridge extends from Norway via the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland to our north Atlantic coasts. As I have already said, more than once, it was the possession of that bridge Germany was seeking to obtain when the Bismarck sank the Hood off the coast of Greenland.

The day I spoke in New York, the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Henry Wallace, who was present, referred to Canadians as the Keepers of this northern bridge. That is a vivid description of Canada's task as it has been performed in relation to this hemisphere now for almost two years. We Canadians have indeed been the Keepers of the northern bridge which leads not only from Norway to North America, but also from Canada and the United States to Britain. The existence of this North Atlantic bridge, like the one in the South Atlantic, should be a reminder to all on this continent that, unless the tide of Nazi aggression can be turned back, we shall face inevitably, tomorrow, a battle of hemispheres.

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It has been the recognition of all this that has led the President, within the present week, to land armed forces of the United States in Iceland. It was the recognition of this which led the President, some months ago, to have the United States assume protection of Greenland. For the same reason, United States forces are co-operating today in Newfoundland with our own defence forces in the protection on land, at sea and in the air of that strategic island. It should be, as I am sure it is, a source of pride to every Canadian that, at the very outbreak of war, Canada assumed a special responsibility for the protection of Newfoundland, and that, for a year, Canadian troops garrisoned Iceland, and while on duty there, vastly strengthened its defences. Not only have we guarded the North Atlantic bridge, we have been strengthening its structure, month in and month out ever since the commencement of war.

Nor can we afford to forget, as we look across the Pacific, that beyond its waters we also face a continent which, for five years past, has been in arms; and that the most powerful of the warring nations in the East is an axis partner of Nazi Germany. In whatever direction we look out from this western hemisphere, we see a world ravaged by the fires, torn by the destruction, and convulsed by the horrors of warfare.

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Month by month, the world encircling danger is closing in upon this continent. That circle must be broken; that menace must be destroyed; or the whole western hemisphere will inevitably be drawn into the world conflict, to the extent of its entire resources.

The menace of a Nazi triumph in Europe

There are those who say that Hitler would not dare to try to invade this hemisphere. Let us suppose they are right. Suppose Hitler were to go no further; what would be the consequences for Europe of a complete Nazi triumph in Europe alone?

We can see how Nazi Germany is drawing upon the resources of the conquered and enslaved territories to increase industrial might which is the real foundation of her military power. The agricultural resources of France, the Low Countries, Denmark, and Central Europe are already being used to develop food production designed to meet the needs of the whole of that continent. To the same end, Hitler seeks to add to his domain the rich and fertile plains of the Russian Ukraine.

On this foundation of adequate food production in Europe, and with access to the raw materials of Africa and Asia, Germany would itself become the arsenal and workshop of the continent. With control of all heavy industries, Germany would keep her great military machine at the peak of

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its power. The defeated nations would be stripped permanently of the means of resistance to their Nazi overlords.

Let us next ask ourselves what the achievement of this great design would mean for this hemisphere? Without any attempt at the invasion of this continent, Nazi Germany would already have dealt a terrible blow at our standards of life.

Look for a moment at its effect upon agriculture. The Nazi preparations for war, the war itself, and the extension of the blockade have already created enormous surpluses of agricultural commodities, like wheat, which we normally export. Without world markets, there can be no permanent prosperity for our great primary industries. The destruction of Hitlerism will alone make possible the opening of the channels of trade, and the restoration of markets for our exportable surpluses.

Not only can there be no permanent prosperity, but there might well be no future at all for western agriculture in a world in which the whole eastern hemisphere was dominated by Germany and her axis partners. Without markets in the old world, these western plains would face an economic drought beside which the natural droughts experienced in the past would pale into insignificance. Whether the rains fell or whether they failed to come, Nazi domination, in the Old

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World, would make of western Canada an economic desert. Agriculture would be the first victim of a Nazi victory, but it would not be the only victim.

Unless the new world can speedily match and surpass the industrial strength of Germany, even apart from its actual invasion, all our energies on this continent, for years to come, will be absorbed in a terrible struggle between hemispheres. We shall face a feverish race of armaments to which we shall see no end. We will be forced into totalitarian methods to meet the totalitarian threat. More and more of our resources would be poured into armaments; less and less would be left to maintain the standards of life and civilization.

But the possibility of invasion is something that can no longer be ignored. Unless Britain survives, and the forces that seek to preserve the freedom of the seas triumph in the battle of the Atlantic, an attempt at invasion of this continent of North America would follow as inevitably as night follows day.

If Hitler is not defeated in the old world, the new world, to maintain its economic existence, and to save itself from actual conquest, will be dragged down to the slave standards which Hitler is imposing on its conquered lands. Hitler has forced this generation to recognise that the modern world cannot survive half slave and half free. No one today

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can escape the choice between freedom and slavery. If he fails to choose freedom, that means he has already chosen slavery.

The war effort

This is the choice which Canada made in 1939. Seeing the world encircling danger already on the horizon, as a united people, we went out to meet and combat it. Today this whole continent has awakened to that danger.

The Canadian people may well be proud that, of all the peoples in the new world, they were the pioneers in resisting Hitler's attempt at world domination. When war came, we did not hesitate to take up the struggle for freedom in the old world, and in all the world. For the second time, in a generation, our country is in the vanguard of freedom.

In the last war, Canada played a large part. This time we have a far greater task, and a very different task. Let me recall some of the differences. Then, our main task was the raising of an army: almost all that Canada asked for was men for the army. On the sea, we depended almost entirely on Britain's navy. Neither had Canada an air force of her own. Canada's industrial effort was comparatively small. Britain produced most of our equipment and supplies. Britain even helped Canada to finance Canada's part in the war.

Let me now give you very briefly the record of expansion of Canada's armed forces in this war. At the out-

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break of war, there were less than 10,000 men in the three branches of the permanent armed forces; today there are some 300,000 men in Canada's armed forces at sea, on land and in the air. This figure does not include the numbers, about 170,000, enrolled in the Reserve Army.

In the nay, at the outbreak of war, there were some 20 ships and less than 2,000 men; today there are 200 ships and 20,000 men.

In the permanent active militia there were, at the outbreak of war 4,000 men; today the active army contains over 200,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world. In addition, the young men called up for training under the National Resources Mobilization Act will be retained under arms for duty in Canada. This will relieve enlisted men for service elsewhere.

When war began, there were 4,000 men in the air force; today there are 50,000.

Apart from coastal patrol and convoy duties, ships and men of Canada's navy have been sharing in the defence of the coasts of Britain. Thirteen Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons are already serving in Britain; many additional Canadian graduates of the Air Training Plan are serving with the Royal Air Force. Thousands more Canadian pilots and airmen will follow them to Britain before the year is out. The

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defenders of Britain now include 82,000 of the soldiers in Canada's active army. The Canadian Corps of two divisions with corps troops and many thousands of re-inforcements, together with specialized units, such as forestry troops, and the tunnelling companies which have been improving the defences of Gibraltar, have been overseas for many months. They have now been joined by an army tank brigade, and detachments of the third infantry division. The rest of the third division and an armoured division are scheduled to go to Britain this year.

In addition to the armed forces Canada is sending to Britain, there are Canadian garrisons in the West Indies, and, as I have mentioned, in Newfoundland. Canadian coast defences have been expanded in recent months and a number of new batteries brought into action. The strength of these defences has been substantially increased since the outbreak of war with the provision of new armament and equipment. Important harbours have been made proof against submarine and torpedo so that men of war and merchant vessels may lie at anchor in security during their brief periods of rest, refit and loading of cargo. Minesweepers are constantly at work in the ship channels to ensure their freedom from mines. Anti-submarine vessels are continuously on patrol in search of enemy U-boats. Air patrols cover hundreds of miles of our

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coastal waters in endless reconnaissance flights ready to report and where possible to attack air, surface, or submerged enemy units. Plans to cover all likely contingencies have been made by the three fighting services who work at all times in the closest co-operation and harmony. In Newfoundland, Canada has made important commitments for the defence of the island and its ports. The protection of Newfoundland waters has been included in the general scheme of defence of our eastern coast. The number of Canadian sailors, soldiers and airmen providing these defences has steadily been augmented and close co-operation with the United States forces defending the leased areas is maintained in accordance with the plans of the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence.

I do not need to tell anyone in Western Canada how immense is the programme of Air Training we have undertaken in this country. The evidence is all around us on these western plains. Air training in Canada today has expanded far beyond the wide limits set in the original Air Training Plan. The greater part of the Air Training for the whole British Commonwealth, is concentrated on Canadian soil.

Let us never forget that the present war is a war of machines as well as of men. Canada has every reason for pride in her war production. We are building, indeed, we have already all but built, an aircraft industry from the ground up.

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We are developing a large shipbuilding industry. We have already built a large number of corvettes and minesweepers for Canada's navy and for Britain's. Canadian corvettes have given Canada a new fame on the sea. Canada is also building cargo ships so desperately needed for the present phase of the struggle. Our shipyards in all parts of Canada are humming with the activity of the men who are making ships to deliver goods to Britain.

For months, Canada has turned out motor transport vehicles, by hundreds daily, both for her own forces and for Britain's. Practically all the motor transport used by the British forces in the North African campaign was made in Canada. Canadian factories are making machine-guns, trench mortars, bombs for aircraft, great quantities of shells and ammunition, electrical apparatus and radio equipment. The latest development is the making of field guns; the first of these were turned out at the huge new plant at Sorel, Quebec, on Dominion Day. Before the year ends, Canada will be making naval guns, anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns and infantry rifles.

Universal carriers have been in production for months; both Mark III tanks, and cruiser tanks, are now being delivered from Canadian workshops. In old factories, in new factories and in converted factories, Canada is making machines and munitions for Britain's armed forces as well as our own.

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The output of steel and of the base metals and other raw materials of war production has been greatly expanded to meet the growing proportion of Canada's war industry.

We are sending all the food to Britain that ships can be found to carry.

The tremendous expansion of productive activity has absorbed great numbers of men; many thousands more will be needed.

From our limited manpower in Canada, we must recruit the men required to make the tools, as well as the men needed to use them.

The call to arms

I have already said that no one today can escape the choice between freedom and slavery. The choice is not one which is confined to nations and to governments; it is a choice which must also be made by individuals, and by every individual.

Let me then repeat, once more, the issue in this war as I understand it. Let me repeat it in Manitoba as I gave it in the provinces of Alberta, British Columbia and Saskatchewan, and as I intend to repeat it in the other provinces of Canada. It is the "Call to Arms" as I interpret it. I give it, not to the young men only, whose services we seek to enlist in our armed forces today. I give it to every man, woman and child in Canada, for it affects the lives of every one of us.

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We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens, the right of old men and women to the tranquillity of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship, in our own way, the God in whom we believe.

Give that "Call to Arms" a place in your minds and hearts; post it where all can read it on the bill-boards of our cities and towns; hang it on the walls of your homes; and see how long you will have to wait for the response it will evoke.

"It is a calumny on men to say that they are roused to heroic action by ease, hope of pleasure, recompense -- sugar plums of any kind, in this world or the next!" That you will recognize as one of the passionate utterances of Thomas Carlyle. "In the meanest mortal", he adds, "There lies something nobler .... It is not to taste sweet things, but to do noble and true things, and vindicate himself under God's heaven, as a God-made man, that the poorest son of Adam dimly longs. Show him the way of doing that, the dullest daydrudge kindles into a hero." They wrong man greatly who

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say he is to be seduced by ease.... Kindle the inner genial life of him, you have a flame that burns up all lower considerations."

How often those words have come into my mind as I have looked into the faces of the young men - many of them raw recruits - who have done me the honour of permitting me to take their salute, as I have visited the different training centres on my journey across this continent.

Never forget that every man in uniform today is an upholder of freedom. Never forget that the glory of Canada's fight for Freedom in this world struggle is the imperishable fact that all she has done, has been done of her own free will. Keep clear the real issue as it is, and we shall need no compulsion to find all the men we require for the armed forces of Canada. We shall produce a race of happy warriors, the light in whose eyes is the light of liberty, and the fire in whose hearts is the fire of their souls, dedicated to the service of their fellow-men.

Here is a wall of defence which no enemy can tear down or destroy, and which, if maintained, will be the strength of this young nation, in this hour of the world's peril, and its imperishable glory through ages to come.

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Unrevised Hansard
November 11, 1941, pages 4601-2

Mr. Homuth - Mr. King

During the summer months the Prime Minister went on a speaking tour in western Canada. While that tour was in progress, from many parts of the country came a cry for conscription, and from other parts of the country came a cry for selective service. The cry became so vocal that of necessity the Prime Minister had to answer it. On platform after platform in western Canada he said, "I have given my pledge to the people of Canada that I am opposed to the conscription of the men of Canada for service overseas, and I intend to abide by that promise."

Mr. POULIOT: Hear, hear.

Mr. HOMUTH: Do not yell "hear, hear," too soon. Speaking in Calgary the Prime Minister said:

Those, however, who could serve, and who do not answer the call, will bear through life the stamp of that failure. Their neighbours will know; and, what is far worse, they themselves will know, in their hearts, that they have failed to seize the greatest opportunity which is likely ever to come to men to serve their country and their fellow men.

In other words, "Unless those of you who are physically fit and of military age are prepared to offer your services for overseas in this crisis, the finger of shame will be pointed at you." Regardless of what our families may have done, regardless of what many of our loved ones may have done, there are many sitting in this chamber who did not serve in the last war. I did not serve in the last war, and other members of this party did not. The Prime Minister did not serve, the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) did not, and there are other members of this house who did not. But we have since been elected to the House of Commons, to an important position in the life of the nation. We did not serve in the last war, but the finger of shame was not pointed at us because we did not. Surely that is not the way to stir up the loyalty and enthusiasm of the young men who we feel ought to be serving overseas in the fighting forces of this country.

Later on in the same address the Prime Minister said:

Let us keep these truths ever before our young men; explain the need and the greatness of service, and no compulsion will be required to fill the ranks of Canada's overseas army.

We have the Prime Minister living up to the promise which he made to the electors, and we have him saying to the young men of this country, "If you do not enlist, all the rest of your life you will be ashamed of the part that you played."

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I ask my hon. friend if he is reading the text of a speech of mine, or is he placing his own interpretation upon what I said?

Mr. HOMUTH: I am reading a report from the Prime Minister's own newspaper, the Toronto *Star*.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I wish to say to my hon. friend that with respect to men enlisting for service overseas I made no reference of the kind to which he refers. I have said repeatedly that any young man in this country who does not recognize the seriousness of the existing situation and play his part in helping to meet it is going to suffer for it in one way or another during the rest of his days.

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Unrevised Hansard
November 12, 1941, pages 4671-2

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Chairman, I believe a question of privilege is in order at any time. I have just seen in the evening edition of the Ottawa *Journal* an article headed:

No Conscription Under Mr. King Caucus Told. Premier Discussed Problem with Winston Churchill.

This is a communication by the British United Press, and the first paragraph reads as follows:

Prime Minister Mackenzie King told a Liberal caucus last week that so long as he was head of the government there would be no conscription in Canada, it was learned on highly reliable authority to-day.

Another paragraph further on reads:

Informants said that Mr. King had told his followers that he discussed the problem of conscription with Prime Minister Winston Churchill during his visit to Great Britain. The effect of his conversations with the British Prime Minister was to confirm his own view that Canada, a country of less than 12,000,000 people was consequently limited in its available manpower for military purposes, the Prime Minister was quoted as telling Liberals.

While it is not customary to disclose matters that are discussed in caucus, speaking in the presence of members of the party who were present at that Liberal caucus I wish to say at once that I never mentioned the name of Mr. Churchill in connection with any discussion on conscription at any party caucus held at any time. The statement is false and, what is more, I believe it has been inserted not with a view to helping Canada's war effort but to make the war effort of Canada as embarrassing as it can be made at this time. I think an apology is due from the British United Press for publishing a statement of that kind before inquiring of the Prime Minister whether or not the statement was correct. I cannot protest too strongly against a misrepresentation that could not be grosser than the one appearing here.

There has been a great deal of talk lately about conscription. I want to make perfectly clear what is in my mind when I speak of conscription so that there will be no misunderstanding as to my attitude in relation to it. So far as conscription stands for compulsory selective national service, that is a principle which this government has embodied in its National Resources Mobilization Act passed at a previous session of this parliament. As to how rapidly that principle should be applied and how far it should be extended is a matter which the government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting them.

I want it to be distinctly understood that so far as the principle of compulsory selective national service is concerned for Canada, in Canada, I stand for that principle. I have never taken any other stand. It is the position that I have held all along. It has been applied in connection with military training and applied in a number of other directions I might mention. How much further it will be applied the house will learn as the government takes its decisions on that matter.

But so far as conscription for service overseas is concerned in the armed forces of Canada, that question was submitted to the people of Canada at the last general election, an election which was held in war-time, and in which the leaders of all political parties made their statements to the electorate, and the people of Canada decided against conscription for overseas service. So far as I am concerned, without any consultation of the people on that subject, I do not intend to take the responsibility of supporting any policy of conscription for service overseas.

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R.
McGee

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C244214

MEMORANDUM

January 2nd, 1940.

For the Prime Minister:

Re: Conscription in other parts of the British Commonwealth.

The Prime Minister asked some little time ago to have a survey prepared of measures of conscription and other forms of compulsory military service. Mr. Paterson has prepared a survey from such material as it available on this subject. The first two pages summarize what is set out in greater detail in the pages which follow.

JWP
J. W. P.

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CONSCRIPTION IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE

United Kingdom:

Liability to service both at home and overseas for all men between ages of 18 and 41. (National Service (Armed Forces) Act, assented to on September 3rd, 1939).

Australia:

Home defence: Compulsory training, effective January 1st, 1940. First draft from single men reaching 21 years by July 1st, 1940. Australian militia to be composed entirely of men obtained through compulsory system.

Overseas service: Declarations of Prime Minister on September 7th and November 15th, 1939, that there would be no compulsion with regard to overseas service. Government definitely pledged against such action.

New Zealand:

No conscription or compulsory service for home defence or for service overseas. On November 14th, 1939, Minister of Defence said that the spontaneous response to appeal for volunteers precluded any contemplation of conscription at present.

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South Africa:

No conscription or compulsory service for home defence or for service overseas.

Ireland:

No conscription or compulsory service. Re Irish in England: two years residence taken as showing intention to reside; but Irish citizens exempted if their period of residence had a temporary or educational purpose; Irish citizens freely permitted to return to Ireland, even if they exceeded two years residence.

Southern Rhodesia:

It was announced on October 26th, 1939, that Government would seek power to enforce general conscription for service either overseas or at home. By Emergency Powers (Defence) Bill, Government has power for substantial measure of industrial conscription.

Straits Settlements:

All Britons and Europeans 18 years old or over must register for war service, according to conscription measure proclaimed on October 27th, 1939.

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UNITED KINGDOM

1939

April 25: Prime Minister issued statement that Government would introduce Reserve and Auxiliary Forces Bill allowing the calling up of any class or description of reserve and auxiliary forces. Also, would introduce Military Training Bill; giving power to call up for military training all men between ages of 20 and 21.

April 27: House passed (376 to 145) a resolution approving principle of Government proposals.

Sept. 3: Royal Assent given to National Service (Armed Forces) Act. All men between 18 and 41 liable to be called up for service in the armed forces.

1940

Jan. 1: Proclamation signed ordering all men who, on January 1st, 1940, had reached the age of 19, but had not reached the age of 28, to register for military service when directed.

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AUSTRALIA

1939

March 7: Australian Trades Union Congress voted a resolution opposing compulsory military training, and a permanent standing army.

Sept. 5: It was announced that the entire militia would be called up in successive batches to receive training at war stations and to provide protection for all vulnerable points. It was stated that universal service would be inaugurated later if necessary.

Sept. 6: Mr. J. Curtin (Leader of the Opposition) said Labour Party was opposed to conscription, and to sending of expeditionary forces--the two main points of difference with Government.

Note: In National Security Act, no form of compulsory service or industrial conscription is authorized. Specified in Act to this effect.

Sept. 7: Prime Minister said there would be no conscription of Australians for overseas service.

Oct. 20: Prime Minister announced re-introduction by January 1940, of compulsory military training which had been abolished in 1929.

Oct. 21: Advice from Trade Commissioner at Sydney: "Compulsory training for home defence effective Australia 1st January. First draft from single men reaching 21 years during the year ended 1st July 1940."

Nov. 3: Prime Minister in broadcast said it would be foolish to try to train 200,000 men or more, because to exceed the capacity for training would invite chaos and inefficiency.

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AUSTRALIA

1939

Nov. 15: Prime Minister in House of Representatives said that there was no question of compulsion with regard to overseas service. Government was definitely pledged against such action.

Nov. 30: Announced that unmarried men who have reached or will reach the age of 21 in the year ending June, 1940, will be called for compulsory military training.

Dec. 5: Australian militia will be composed entirely of men obtained through compulsory system, following decision to retire all members of the voluntary militia to reserve at end of financial year, June 30. Army will be maintained probably at not under 50,000. The 21-year group already has been called up, and additional groups of ages of 18, 19, 22, 23 may be called also.

Dec. 28: The Australian Government called up for military training all single men who reach the age of 21 between July 1 and December 31, 1940, and those who reach the age of 20 between January 1 and December 31, 1940.

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NEW ZEALAND

1939

July 6: Right Honourable G. W. Forbes (National), urged the adoption of compulsory military service.

July 19: The Minister of Defence (Honourable F. Jones), said that, if Opposition wished to be helpful, they should not raise the issue of compulsion, because the Government was engaged on a recruiting campaign, and nothing would do more to destroy its appeal than the raising of another issue. Moreover, the effort was succeeding.

Sept. 15: In the House of Representatives the Acting Prime Minister (Honourable P. Fraser) said that the whole man-power and resources of New Zealand must be organized for the protection of the country and the support of Great Britain.

Nov. 14: Minister of Defence (Honourable F. Jones) said that the spontaneous response to the appeal for volunteers precluded any contemplation of conscription at present.

Nov. 15: New Zealand Chamber of Commerce urged "imperative necessity" for adopting a system of conscription, "based upon equity and national efficiency".

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SOUTH AFRICA

1939

Sept. 11: General Smuts, who became Prime Minister on September 5th, stated that he had no intention of sending military forces overseas.

Sept. 14: It was announced that South African regiments were to be brought up to war strength by voluntary enlistment.

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IRELAND

1939

Sept. 27: In the Dail, Prime Minister de Valera, replying to a question said that under United Kingdom compulsory service acts, two years residence was taken as indication of intention to reside. But did not apply to Irish citizens who could show that their period of residence, even over two years, had a temporary or exclusively educational purpose. No obstacle had been put in way of Irish citizens returning to Ireland, even if they exceeded the two years residence.

Dec. 13: A conference of Prime Minister de Valera's Fianna Fail party rejected a resolution calling for compulsory military service between the ages of 17 and 45.

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C244223

COLONIES

1939

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

June 15: Defence Amendment Act passed containing provisions for a degree of compulsory military training.

Aug. 28: Emergency Powers (Defence) Bill passed by Legislative Assembly, giving power for substantial measure of industrial conscription. Minister of Defence (Hon. R. C. Tredgold) said that if war was at all prolonged, some measure of conscription would be necessary. It was only right that not only men in field, but those behind should be subject to the strictest control. Such powers would be exercised only after fullest consideration--employers and trade unions would be consulted.

Oct. 26: It was announced that Southern Rhodesian Government will seek power to enforce general conscription for service either overseas or at home.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

Oct. 27: All Straits Settlements Britons and Europeans 18 years old or over must register for war service, under the terms of a conscription measure proclaimed today.

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WWII - Canada's War Effort (COLLATERAL)

C244224

May 20, 1940.

Summary of Additional War Measures

Announced by the Prime Minister

1. To advance the date of the despatch overseas of the 2nd Division of the Canadian Active Service Force.

2. To advance the date of the despatch of such further reinforcements of the 1st Division as have not already proceeded overseas.

3. To push forward the recruiting of reinforcements for the 2nd Division of the Canadian Active Service Force, who will follow the Division overseas at the earliest possible date.

4. To form a Canadian Corps in the field, in accordance with arrangements which have been discussed with the British War Office.

Besides the two Divisions, and their ancillary units, the Corps will include the necessary additional Corps troops and will involve the despatch overseas of several thousand men, beyond those already mentioned.

5. To undertake the raising of a 3rd Division, to be available for such service as may be required in Canada, or overseas.

6. To assign, at the request of the United Kingdom government, certain naval and military formations to active duty in the Caribbean and North Atlantic areas.

7. To despatch overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron, to act as a reserve for No. 110 Co-operation Squadron, now overseas.

8. To adopt every feasible method of accelerating the output of pilots and air crews, from Canada, for service in the field, at the earliest possible date.

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C244225

Certain methods have already been formulated by the Canadian government, both to accelerate and supplement the joint air training plan in Canada, in order that pilots, observers and air gunners may be made available, more quickly, for active service. Steps have been taken in order to expedite the preparation of aerodromes and hangars.

9. To confer upon the Ministry of Munitions and Supply certain special powers which would not be accorded in normal times, to enable it to expedite the provision of equipment and materials of war, for the armed forces.

These decisions are being translated into action.

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Reserve I/5

C244226

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Conscription of Wealth and Man Power.

This morning, May 23rd, the Prime Minister received fourteen telegrams urging action, and of these, nine recommended the mobilization of wealth and manpower immediately. The Vancouver Board of Trade has resolved, for example:

> "The Vancouver Board of Trade cannot express too strongly its approval of the intention announced on May 20th of the Government of the Dominion of Canada to more aggressively prosecute Canada's war effort Stop Our members feel that the gravity to Canada of the present war situation cannot be exaggerated and that no action of our Government can be considered adequate which falls short of the instant organizing and launching of the entire economic and of the man power in a supreme effort."

Similar representations have been received from such bodies as:

The Calgary Board of Trade,
The United Farmers of Saskatchewan,
York Lions Club, Toronto,
Canadian Dental Association.

One telegram is critical in tone, but all reveal a willingness to support the Government fully in any moves it may make in the direction of conscripting wealth and man power.

W. J. T.

May 23, 1940.

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CONSCRIPTION

Translation of
Extract from "Le Canada" - May 27, 1940:

"There will be neither conscription nor union government. The leaders of our party made this quite clear at the last caucus (entretien secret) of the Liberal Party, and the promises which were made to us last March will be adhered to," Mr. Joseph Jean declared at a dinner at l'ecole de La Visitation, on Saturday evening. .....

Mr. Jean gave a complete description of the policy of Mr. King and of his colleagues, including Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Cardin, and Mr. Power. "Two or three years ago, reproaches were directed against us from certain quarters for having voted large sums for national defence. We were told that this money would be quite useless, that it was futile to plunge the country into debt, that Canada would never be attacked, because the ocean was an impenetrable line of defence. Recent events which transpired in Europe have proved beyond doubt that the King Administration was right and that it saw clearly. These events will reply more strongly than words to the criticisms of our adversaries."

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SECRET

C244228

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Re: Reference to Parliament before conscription for Overseas Service is applied.

The Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the C.C.F. would appear to have provided the strongest possible argument for securing the backing of Parliament before there is any resort to conscription for overseas service.

Attached are the extracts from Hansard of May 28th in which Mr. Hanson demanded that the war service regulations be submitted to Parliament and Mr. Coldwell supported him.

If there is a case for securing Parliamentary endorsement for the detailed regulations, there is surely by the same token a much stronger case for Parliamentary endorsement of a sweeping extension of the application of the regulations.

J. W. P.

May 30, 1940.

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Responsibility

C244229

As head of the administration, I accepted without flinching, the grave responsibility of advising His Majesty to declare war on behalf of Canada. (I accepted that responsibility, only after being assured of the confidence and backing of Parliament.) As leader of Canada's wartime administration, I have neither hesitated to assume any responsibilities which Parliament has placed upon me, nor to ask Parliament for whatever additional responsibilities I thought it was in the public interest for the government to possess.

I have, however, consistently held the view that responsibility carries with it the obligation on my part as Prime Minister, and on the part of my colleagues as an administration, to bring our individual and collective knowledge and judgment to bear upon each and every situation as it arises.

For my part, I have never felt that by yielding to what appeared to be popular clamour or to highly financed propaganda, the leader of an administration would be showing qualities of leadership or a due sense of responsibility.

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Draft Insert

re alternative methods

C244230

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

I realize that the introduction by the government of a direct vote of confidence might be a source of embarrassment to hon. members opposite. They might object that the government was forcing them into a false position by asking them to express general confidence in the administration as the only means of giving approval to a particular measure.

If any such objection should be felt there is another method of proceeding which is not open to the same objection. Instead of moving a direct vote of confidence the government might move instead to go into Committee of Supply. Such a motion would give any hon. member who desired to do so an opportunity to move a vote of want of confidence. The practical effect would be the same, and there would be no possibility of representing such a course as an attempt to obtain party advantage.

What is important is that the substance as well as the shadow of the government's responsibility to Parliament would be preserved.

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Control by Parliament

Mr. Hanson (p.3532):

Here, in this House of Commons, is the place and now is the time to discuss and determine whether, and by what methods, the resources and man-power of the nation shall be mobilized. Parliament, not the cabinet in the secrecy of the council chamber, is the proper body to determine the methods by and the conditions under which the principles of national selective service shall be enforced. Now is the time for parliament to determine, once and for all, that the immediate enforcement of compulsory selective service over the whole field of the war is urgently necessary. This is the time and this is the place to determine the methods and conditions under which it shall be enforced.

(p.3533):

It may be said that the whole framework of the National Resources Mobilization Act is an outright delegation of the powers of parliament to the governor in council, and in express terms that is true. But I have always looked upon the mobilization act as emergency legislation.

(p.3533):

It was emergency legislation, there is no doubt about that; and when parliament is not in session of course, the government must have power to act. But when parliament is in session I do not believe that the government should make use of that delegated power. That is the principle for which I am contending. I believe that in this, as in all other cases, the proper course is to ask parliament to pass legislation, if parliament be in session, specifying the manner in which those powers shall be used.

Reply:

The Leader of the Opposition has been fond of claiming the credit for forcing the hand of the government in the adoption of the Mobilization Act.

He now turns around and complains because the government uses the very legislation for which he has sought to claim the credit.

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National Government

Mr. Hanson (p. 3531):

As in the past, my position today is that a full, all-out effort on the part of Canada is possible only if all the material resources and man-power of the nation are fully mobilized, without restrictions of any kind. I believe now, as I have believed from the outset, that the highest efficiency in carrying out such a programme can be guaranteed only by the establishment of a truly national government, a government composed of the best men in Canada, representative of all shades of opinion, but united by a common and single purpose--the waging of total war by total effort.

Reply:

How does the Leader of the Opposition expect to establish a national government by ignoring the views of nearly one third of the population?

There can be no truly national government in Canada without full and fair representation of French speaking Canadians.

The Conservative party has found that out to its cost.

Statesmanship, above all in wartime, consists not in widening differences, but in preventing them if possible; and if that is not possible, in doing everything possible to compose them. Differences can never be composed by yielding to either extreme.

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Policy of government re overseas service

Mr. Hanson (p. 3528):

I come now to consideration of the principle of the measure before the house. Right at the outset, let us, squarely and honestly, face the facts. If there be any member of this house, or if there be any person in this country, who ever believed that, on the passage of this bill, the principle of selective national service for overseas will be put into immediate practice or operation, let me at once hasten to undeceive him. Such was never the intention of the ministry opposite, and such is not apparent from the observations of the Prime Minister today.

(p. 3529):

Do they propose--I ask this question direct--to exercise the powers which this bill will give them, or don't they--yes or no?

Reply:

Policy set out with clarity on June 10:

1. Immediate application of compulsory service to other areas in this hemisphere.

2. No application for overseas so long as voluntary system works.

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Control by Parliament - (2)

Mr. Hanson (p.3533-4):

> In respect to one vital matter, which affects the liberty of the subject, he legislates in the secrecy of the council chamber; he is afraid to trust the people. If we pursue our present course we shall have only the theory of selective service on the statute books; we shall not have its application. Statesmanship and national honour alike require the immediate determination of all questions relating to the fullest mobilization of man-power and material resources. Let parliament act now and, in acting, strike a great blow for victory. For myself, my course is clear. I shall vote for the second reading of this bill; but I shall insist that there be incorporated in the bill the necessary mandatory provisions to place at once at the disposal of the state, without limitation and upon terms to be decided by parliament and not by the cabinet, the full resources of the nation in man-power, wealth and materials.

Reply:

(To be determined in the light of governments decision)

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EXTRACT from
Telegram No. 20
High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand
to Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada

Wellington, May 30, 1940

The Prime Minister of New Zealand, on May 30th, introduced an "all-in" Emergency Regulations Amendment, Article II of which provides:

"The powers conferred upon the Governor General by the Principal Act shall, notwithstanding anything in that Act, include powers by Order-in-Council to make such emergency regulations making provision requiring persons to place themselves, their services, and their properties at the disposal of His Majesty as appear to the Governor General to be necessary or expedient for securing public safety, the defence of New Zealand, the maintenance of public order, or efficient prosecution of any war in which His Majesty may be engaged, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Prime Minister, in introducing Amendment, stated while existing emergency regulations were considered to give the Government powers of compulsion, it was felt necessary to take additional powers since compulsion of persons had not been envisaged at the last session when the Act was passed.

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mobilization WP/MS
18.6.40

THE MILITIA ACT AND CONSCRIPTION C244236

Section 8, subsection 1, of the Militia Act, (R.S.C. 1927, chapter 132) makes provision for the conscription of manpower in the following terms:

> "All the male inhabitants of Canada, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, and under sixty, not exempt or disqualified by law, and being British subjects, shall be liable to service in the Militia: Provided that the Governor General may require all the male inhabitants of Canada, capable of bearing arms, to serve in the case of a levee en masse."

Recent Proposed Amendments.

In the sessions of 1938 and 1939, Mr. C. G. MacNeil introduced identical bills to amend the Militia Act. Among the proposed amendments was a revision of this subsection above. However, the purpose of the amendment was aimed not at the principle of conscription itself, but rather at the constitutional procedure involved. Mr. MacNeil's proposed amendment provided that conscription would be enforced by the Governor General, acting by and with the advice of the King's Privy Council for Canada, if Parliament had passed an Act authorizing such action. His proposed revision of Section 8, subsection 1, read as follows:

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C244237

"All the male inhabitants of Canada, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, and under sixty, not exempt or disqualified by law, and being British subjects, shall be liable to service in the Militia: Provided that the Governor General, acting by and with the advice of the King's Privy Council for Canada, may, if Parliament has passed an Act authorizing such action, require all the male inhabitants of Canada, capable of bearing arms, to serve in the case of a levee en masse."

Method of selection in Militia Act.

The method of selection is prescribed in Section 24, subsection 1, as follows:

"When men are required to organize or complete a corps at any time, either for training or for an emergency, and enough men do not volunteer to complete the quota required, the men liable to serve shall be drafted by ballot."

Conscription in 1917.

Sir Robert Borden on June 11th, 1917, explained to the House why new legislation was being brought in rather than use being made of the conscription clauses in the Militia Act, (revised Hansard, June 11, 1917, pages 2188 and 2189).

"It may be asked: Why is this law necessary if such provision already exists in the Militia Act? The answer is very simple. We have sent 326,000 men overseas in the Canadian Expeditionary Force besides those who have gone to serve in the Allied Armies. The Militia Act provides that the selection shall be by ballot

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C244238

and in no other way. The Government is convinced that such a method of selection would be unwise, and even disastrous, under present conditions and having regard to the number of men required. We propose not to change or enlarge the compulsory principle, but merely to provide that selection shall not be made by ballot, that is, by blind chance. We are convinced that the selection should be based upon an intelligent consideration of the country's needs and conditions. We must take into account the necessities of agriculture, of commerce, and of industry. Those who in their present occupations are rendering better service to the state than by enrolment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force must not be selected for military service. There is need for men at the front; there is also need for men at home. The nation's activities essential for winning the war must be maintained. Thus, the only new feature proposed is in the method of selection. The compulsory clauses in this Bill are precisely of the same character, and based upon the same principles, as those which have been in force in this country since 1868.

It is further asked why the new method of selection could not have been accomplished by an amendment to the Militia Act. We considered that very carefully. It would have been necessary to amend, perhaps, a dozen or a score of clauses, so many at least that the legislation would have been less effective, less clear and more confused. The same course has been taken in Great Britain and in New Zealand."

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C244239

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

L H 18:6:40

Mr. Turnbull:

N-3 05-4
1940

CONSCRIPTION

This morning we prepared for the Prime Minister a collection of his most recent statements on this subject. I now attach a translation of the newspaper report mentioned in the extract from Hansard of May 28, p. 300 (question by J.S. Roy). If there is any opportunity of adding this translation to the Prime Minister's papers today perhaps you will do so. If not will you please return the paper to me.

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C244240

CONSCRIPTION

Extract from "Le Canada" - May 27, 1940:

"There will be neither conscription nor union government. The leaders of our party made this quite clear at the last caucus (entretien secret) of the Liberal Party, and the promises which were made to us last March will be adhered to," Mr. Joseph Jean declared at a dinner at l'ecole de La Visitation, on Saturday evening. .....

Mr. Jean gave a complete description of the policy of Mr. King and of his colleagues, including Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Cardin, and Mr. Power. "Two or three years ago, reproaches were directed against us from certain quarters for having voted large sums for national defence. We were told that this money would be quite useless, that it was futile to plunge the country into debt, that Canada would never be attacked, because the ocean was an impenetrable line of defence. Recent events which transpired in Europe have proved beyond doubt that the King Administration was right and that it saw clearly. These events will reply more strongly than words to the criticisms of our adversaries."

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HSF/G.
19. 6. 40.
C244241

N-305-4-a
1940

N-305-4-m
1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Conscription

Already 10 telegrams have been received on the subject of conscription.

8 endorse the action of the government in warm terms. These telegrams have come from:

N-305-4-a
1940

Alex. Walker, Dominion President, Canadian Legion.
J. W. Little, Toronto N-305 1940
The Village of Innisfree, Alta. N-305-4-a 1940
Mayor of Listowel, Ontario. N-305-4-a 1940
Lions Clubs of Regina, Sask.
A citizen committee, Prince Rupert, B.C. N-305-4-a 1940
"The Flying Column", Vancouver, B.C. N-305-4-a 1940
The Carry-on-Canada Corps, Charlottetown, P.E.I. N-305-4-a 1940

2 telegrams express opposition. Both are from the Canadian Youth Congress.

W. J. T.

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C244242

CONSCRIPTION

Criticism: National Resources Mobilization Act only a half-way measure. Government will be forced to resort to conscription for over-seas service, if war grows worse.
Mr. Lapointe has deceived Quebec on the issue.

(Mr. Hanson at Charlottetown, Oct. 11, 1940. See extract from report attached.)

Reply: Reversal of position taken by Conservative party in election;

Justifies suspicion that Conservative campaign insincere;

No difficulty experienced in getting all voluntary recruits needed;

Government stands by repeated pledge;

Shameful attempt to stir up racial strife and disunity.

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C244243

HON. R. B. HANSON at Charlottetown, Oct. 11/40

Montreal Gazette Oct. 12/40

The National Resources Mobilization Act is only a half-way measure, and the federal Government may be forced to "go the whole way" if the war grows worse, Mr. Hanson said.

"I have a hunch that if this war gets any worse Mr. King, by the force of public opinion, will be obliged to go the whole way," he said, "because it is the only democratic way to raise an army for the defence of your country, and for the defence of your country's defenders."

Discussing conscription in Quebec, he declared that for 23 years Justice Minister Lapointe had taught the people of that province "the doctrine that never more would their children be conscripted either for home or foreign defence. And I am told he is receiving hundreds of letters from his own people calling him 'Judas Iscariot.'"

But Mr. Hanson believed the people of Quebec, "if they had been properly guided, are just as loyal to the British Crown as any other section of our people." They recognized Canada's need, and when the proper appeal was made to them, would give their assistance whole-heartedly.

"But how can they trust these men hereafter when they realize how grossly they have been deceived?" he asked.

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C243723

HON. R. B. HANSON at Charlottetown, Oct. 11/40

Montreal Gazette Oct. 12/40

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Hanson Summary

19.10.40

C244244

CONSCRIPTION

Leader of the Opposition, by pronouncement in favour of conscription for overseas service, justifies the suspicions of the voters last March that Conservative opposition to conscription was not sincere;

References to the Minister of Justice a shameful attempt to stir up racial strife and disunity;

Liberals maintain confidence that voluntary enlistment for overseas service will prove more than sufficient;

Confidence more than justified by splendid response to needs of all three services.

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CONSCRIPTION

Mr. Hanson at Charlottetown:

"The National Resources Mobilization Act is only a half-way measure, and the federal Government may be forced to 'go the whole way' if the war grows worse," Mr. Hanson said.

"I have a hunch that if this war gets any worse Mr. King by the force of public opinion, will be obliged to go the whole way." he said. "because it is the only democratic way to raise an army for the defence of your country, and for the defence of your country's defenders."

Discussing conscription in Quebec, he declared that for 23 years Justice Minister Lapointe had taught the people of that province 'the doctrine that never more would their children be conscripted either for home or foreign defence. And I am told he

Suggested Reply

Mr. Hanson justifies the suspicions of the voters last March that the Conservative party was insincere in opposing conscription.

The Liberals will keep their word.

A dangerous attempt to stir up racial strife.

Liberals united on their policy but did Mr. Hanson consult the member for Gaspé before changing the policy of his party again?

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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Mr. Hanson (Cont'd) Suggested Reply

is receiving hundreds of letters from his own people calling him 'Judas Iscariot'."

"But Mr. Hanson believed the people of Quebec. 'If they had been properly guided are just as loyal to the British Crown as any other section of our people.' They recognized Canada's need, and when the proper appeal was made to them, would give their assistance whole-heartedly."

"But how can they trust these men hereafter when they realize how grossly they have been deceived?" he asked.

(Montreal Gazette
Oct.12/40.)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

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CANADA

[1941]

C244247

The Case Against
C O N S C R I P T I O N
in Canada for Service Overseas

1. Conscription would involve breach of a solemn pledge to the people of Canada.

War is being fought to uphold the sanctity of the pledged word.

2. Conscription would open old wounds and revive racial conflict

Weakening of racial harmony would weaken Canada.

If we have internal strife, we cannot be strong against the enemy.

We are fighting for the preservation of Canada not for its destruction.

3. Many advocates of Conscription are Nazis at heart.

Conscription a thinly disguised attempt at Anglo Saxon dominance of racial minorities.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

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It is inspired by the same evil spirit
of racism that inspires Hitler and
the Nazi movement.

This is not a war for Anglo Saxon dominance
but for the freedom of mankind.

4. Conscription: an excuse for failure to volunteer

Too many people ready to use the excuse
that they are prepared to serve if
others are compelled to serve.

This attitude destructive of spirit and
morale.

Let each man search his own conscience
and do what is right.

The example of willing service will stimulate
others; holding back waiting for others to
go first or for all to be compelled to go,
the worst possible form of irresponsibility
and lack of patriotism.

Do your own duty first; and leave your
neighbours to decide what their duty is.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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CANADA

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5. Conscription of wealth easier to justify

All that is involved is taking personal wealth to save the common wealth

Yet many ardent advocates of conscripting the lives of others would shrink from conscription of their own incomes or fortunes.

Just as a great voluntary effort like Victory Loan Campaign of far greater moral value than a compulsory loan of same amount, so a great voluntary army will have a far greater moral force than a conscript army.

6. Military arguments against Conscription

Voluntary armies always have a better spirit; unwilling recruits make poor soldiers.

Mass armies not wanted for overseas; elaborate machinery needed to conscript small numbers of men required would be grossly extravagant.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

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Voluntary system no less just than compulsory system: no system of conscription can meet individual differences of circumstances.

Under voluntary system men judge for themselves in the light of their own consciences.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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R E C R U I T I N G

(The essential facts)

Manpower situation

1. Increased population since 1914 has not increased materially supply of young men - more old people today (see Grant Dexter)

2. More demands on manpower
   (a) navy and air force as well as army
   (b) industrial needs -

3. Need is not primarily for crude manpower as such but for skilled tradesmen

4. Compulsory training for defence of Canada - danger of impression that voluntary enlistment no longer needed

Past record

Almost 200,000 in army
55,000 in air force
20,000 in navy
raised without any campaign.

Eagerness of young men to serve in navy and air force.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

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No dramatic action for army creates mistaken notion army not equally important

No adequate conception of long run practical advantages of modern army service: training given in skills useful in civil life. Today the army fits men for the post war world.

Record in present recruiting campaign

Highest percentages of quotas reached in New Brunswick, Manitoba and Nova Scotia.

Quebec military district has slightly better record than Toronto district

London and Kingston districts and British Columbia among lowest.

Comparison with last war (Quebec situation)

On March 31, 1941, enlistments in all Canada 18% below comparable period in last war; in Quebec 58% above record in last war.

Disabilities suffered by French Canadians in the army:

Technical instruction given in the English language.

Few technical units mobilized in French Canada.

Except for infantry units, knowledge of English almost essential at least for officers.

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Despite these disadvantages, no evidence of lack of willingness to bear fair share of service.

Many French Canadians in units raised in Ontario, New Brunswick and indeed in every province.

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C244254

COPY

From National Defence SECRET

Reports on recruiting for 24th June is as follows:

M.D.	Quota	Total from May 12th to June 23rd	Recruited on 24th June	Total from May 12th to 24th June	Percentage recruited from May 12th to June 24th incl.	
1	2840	1341	21	1362	48%	London
2	6631	4120	134	4254	64%	Toronto
3	2342	1022	55	1077	46%	Kingston
4	4367	1169	45	1214	28%	Montreal
5	1734	1025	104	1129	65%	Quebec
6	2116	1535	35	1570	74%	Halifax
7	1478	1146	69	1215	82%	Saint John
10	2603	1894	114	2008	77%	Winnipeg
11	3105	997	53	1050	34%	Vancouver
12	2711	1565	88	1653	61%	Alberta
13	2507	1372	34	1406	56%	Saskatchewa
TOTAL	32434	17186	752	17938	55%	

25-6-41

F. N. Owens Lt.Col. (S'd)

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun

Date June 5/41

Population Grows Older

Canada's Manpower About Same as 1914

By GRANT DEXTER

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OTTAWA, June 5.—In comparing our efforts in this war with that of 1914-18, many people are inclined to say: Look what we did last time with a population of 7,879,000. We entered this war with a population of 11,315,000 and our war effort should be correspondingly greater.

We are, of course, making a much greater effort in this war than in the last war, but there have been fundamental changes in our population in the intervening years. Indeed, there is no better way of pointing out the need of the careful use of our manpower today, than by comparing what we did in 1914-18 with what we are now doing.

VERY FEW MORE

To begin with, Canada gained 43 per cent in population between 1914 and 1939 but the gain was not in fighting manpower. In 1914 we ended an era of mass immigration. The annual inflow of new population had been running in excess of 300,000 per year and a high proportion of these immigrants were men of military age. Roughly 1,000,000 immigrants came to Canada between 1911 and 1914, of them nearly one half were British and a third were citizens of the United States largely of British descent.

If you take males from 20 to 29, the cream of our fighting manhood, there were 906,760 in Canada last August, when the national registration was made. Add the men already in the forces and you get just over 1,000,000.

In 1911 the latest census taken prior to 1914, there were 756,349. But to this number must be added the men of this age group in the immigrants who entered Canada in 1912, 1913 and the early part of 1914. No breakdown of the immigration figures is available but anyone who recalls the times will agree that in all probability we entered the present war very little richer in prime fighting men then we were in 1914.

In the prairie provinces last August, there were 604,400 men aged 16 to 49. In 1911, there were 449,948 men in this age group on the prairies and between 1911 and 1914 an additional 394,478 immigrants settled in this area. Again, the strong possibility is that there were more fighting men in these provinces in 1914 than in 1939.

COMPARISONS MISLEADING

The comparison in British Columbia is startling. In 1911 there were 174,116 men between the ages of 16 and 49. Last August there were 193,200. But between 1911 and 1914, 143,398 immigrants settled in the province. Beyond a doubt, British Columbia is weaker in men of fighting years today than in 1914. The largest male age group in the province now is that of from 50 to 60 and there are more males in British Columbia between 60 and 70 than between 16 and 20.

For these reasons, comparison between 1914-18 and today are misleading. In 1914, Canada was a young country, full of vigorous people. Millions of able-bodied settlers had come to us, largely from Britain. There has been no immigration worth mentioning since 1929 and our population has gradually moved into the higher age brackets.

In the last war, Canada took 628,964 men into the army, including British and French reservists. Of these, 422,405 went overseas, 415,017 to Europe. At the end of the war we had 160,000 men in France and 116,000 in England. Our navy numbered 5123 officers and ratings in 1918. We had, in fact, no air force, although some effort was being made toward the close of the war to organize one for coast defense.

275,000 WORKERS

In terms of fighting manpower, therefore, we mustered 634,087 men to fight the last war.

On the industrial side few statistics are available. Shell production was the chief activity, and it got under way early in 1915. Total production of munitions during the war was $1,002,672,413, and in addition a substantial shipbuilding program was launched in 1917.

The best available figure on labor is given by Castell Hopkins, editor of the Canadian Annual Review, in his book, "Canada at War." This figure is drawn from reports by the Department of Labor and of the Imperial Munitions Board. In all 275,000 workers were employed in war industry, including 12,000 women. The figure for women seems low, but it is nowhere challenged.

Turn now to the present war. In our fighting services we have 271,722 men. In the present war this number will be increased by 152,500, comprising: Army, 80,000; air force, 35,000; navy, 7500; trainees (for duration of war), 30,000. To this add 10,000 graduates from the Air Training Plan who will have gone to Britain.

EMPHASIS ON INDUSTRY

Thus, by December 31, next, the fighting services will have taken 434,222 men.

War industry has already taken 340,000 persons and will take another 170,000 before the end of the year. Thus by December 31, next, war industry will require some 500,000 workers.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS (J4256 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

The essential differences between the two wars is the emphasis now being placed upon industry. Our industrial war effort already has surpassed that of 1914-18 and a few months hence will have nearly doubled it. Nor is the end of expansion in war industry in sight.

In the last war, in the services and industry, we required 904,000 persons.

By the end of this year, we will have taken 940,000 persons into one or other branch of our war effort.

But in surveying our population statistics of 1914 and 1939, it is very clear that to equal our 1914-18 effort in terms of manpower will require careful planning and organization.

Take it this way: we started this war with 2,784,220 men between the ages of 16 and 49. In 1911 there were just short of 2,000,000 men in this age group and to this must be added the increase up to 1914. It is practically certain that we had almost as many of these men in 1914 as in 1939. In the reverse, in 1939 there were 2,261,780 persons in Canada 50 years or over. In 1911 there were just 1,000,961—less than half.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS C244256 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

The essential difference between the two wars is this emphasis now being placed upon industry. Our industrial war effort already has surpassed that of 1914-18 and a few months hence will have nearly doubled it. Nor is the end of expansion in war industry in sight.

In the last war, in the services and [illegible] required 904,000 persons.

By the end of this year we will have [illegible] persons into [illegible] war effort.

But in surveying our population statistics of 1914 and 1939, it is [illegible] equal [illegible] Take it this way: we started this war with 2,756,220 men between the ages of 16 and 45. In 1911 there were just short of 2,000,000 men in this age group and to this must be added the increase up to 1914. It is practically certain that we had almost as many [illegible] 1914 as in 1939 — for the reverse. In 1939 there were 2,261,789 persons in Canada 60 years or over. In 1911 there were just 1,000,961—less than half.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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CANADA

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun

Date June 17/41

Subject

No Conscription Now

The decision of Parliament to adjourn until November appears to have settled the conscription issue, which is so widely discussed in British Columbia. Until Parliament meets again there can be no change in the present recruiting policy of the government. There is nothing in the government's statements to suggest that there will be any change then. Parliament closes now with its mind made up in favor of no compulsion for military service outside Canada.

No decision is final these days. We do not know what will have happened by the time Parliament reassembles, though we may be sure it will be plenty. By winter the government conceivably could have changed its mind on conscription only if voluntary recruiting had failed in the meantime. But this present government will not sponsor conscription and can not without an appeal to the country and probably without a complete realignment of parties.

This would not be accomplished under any circumstances overnight. It took Sir Robert Borden the better part of a year to produce conscription in 1917, after he had made up his own mind. King has made up his mind against conscription, he has been elected on that policy, his Quebec ministers have promised to resign as one man if conscription is attempted and there is no sign whatever at Ottawa that we are yet entering a conscription issue. When Parliament adjourns quietly in June to meet in November, it is a sure sign that nothing of great importance, nothing requiring the approval of the nation, is in contemplation.

It is true, as we say, that the course of events can change rapidly, but we had better make up our minds that conscription is not on the cards now, get on with the job of voluntary enlistment in British Columbia and do our duty like the other provinces.

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Session 1941

Re: Total War and Total Effort C244258

Take all circumstances into account in determining what it is most advisable to do -

Supply needs in order of greatest relative advantage.

Circumstances (see Cairn's)

(1) Canada's resources - production food and munitions, etc.

(2) Complexion of population - Races (different)
French
English
Foreign
etc.

(3) Past experience - (Conscription in last war)
Australia.

(4) Pledges given at elections (War in nature of moral issue).

(5) Relative stage of campaign,

" advantages in ~~ratifying~~ Holding wages

" costs

" position of other countries.

(6) Nature of war itself - Science, machines and psychology.

(7) Effect of action on country - (e.g.

What may come - e.g. Japan - United States.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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Example - present war.

Send armies overseas into Europe.

2 years overseas

and not wise to sent into Europe for another year.

Total Effort

Effort on Navy

" " Air Force

" " Production armaments - munitions

" " Food.

If devoted to conscription for overseas, cost of maintaining army,

cost of equipment, etc.

Ulterior purpose -

National government - get Tories into Ministry

to shape policies.

Baxter - Financial Post - certain papers,

New York office - Bruce.

Effect tp divide (Hitler's gain)

Our policies defined - in last elections
in National Resources Act
in Statements of Members.

Certain Selective National Service -

degree and time,

Limit of capacity

mffr. for world.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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House of Commons Debates
Revised Edition
February 24, 1941 p. 961

MR. LAPOINTE...This is a war parliament. This government has received a mandate to lead the country in this struggle for freedom and peace. Up to this stage of my remarks apparently everyone has agreed with me, but I am afraid I am now entering another field where there may be some disagreement. Suggestions have been made in this house by hon. members for whom I have the greatest respect, and similar suggestions have appeared in certain newspapers, that we should change the complexion of this government and have what is glorified under the name of "national government." I feel it my duty to express my views frankly and respectfully, but firmly. Perhaps I am more at liberty to speak than other members of the government because I would gladly give up my own place to someone else if that were the better course to pursue. I feel sure that those who know me well, realize that it is only a sense of duty that keeps me in the position I now hold.

P.962:
.....The Prime Minister has no mandate to form such a government as is suggested. Indeed, he has a definite mandate against forming such a government; and if the opposition was pressing this request, I know of only one way of meeting it: Let the people decide. Do the people want it? Surely a new election would be unthinkable. Then why try to divide Canada by pretending to unite it? Why throw this apple of discord into our national arena?

My province is unanimously opposed to the proposal. The mere mention of the name "union government" brings forth painful memories which it is almost a crime to resurrect at this time. I speak very frankly. I do not feel that I could sit in such a government if I were asked to do so and represent my province. Frankly I say and I believe, and I think others will believe, that I cannot do it and no other man can either. Do you not think, Mr. Speaker, that anything which would destroy the unity of our country could be called an act of sabotage? In a democracy the designation of the rulers of those who are to be governed is and must be made by the vote of the people. I beseech the promoters of this scheme - and I know they are anxious that Canada should give its best war effort - to let well enough alone. I implore them not to undermine the confidence of the people in their duly and freely elected rulers.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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PRESS CLIPPINGS 324.1261

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saturday Night

Date Apr. 26/41

Subject

A Conscription Possibility

EVENTS on the continent of Europe during the past two weeks have made it abundantly evident to all Canadians that the conflict in which we are now engaged may be a very long and difficult one, and may require the exertion by Canada not only of all her economic strength but of a large amount of military strength as well. The task before the democracies is nothing less than the re-conquest of the continent of Europe.

One effect of this discovery is a growing belief that a process of selective conscription is the only method by which the energies of the country can be properly allocated as between military and economic effort. Unfortunately the one great obstacle to selective conscription in Canada—the profound objection to it, based on general principles and not on any particular dislike for the present war, of the Province of Quebec—is as yet little if at all diminished.

It has occurred to us to wonder whether the precedent set in the case of Ireland during the Great War might not be employed in the case of Quebec during the present war. There is constitutionally nothing to prevent the enactment of selective conscription to go into effect, as regards persons domiciled in the other eight provinces immediately, and as regards persons domiciled in the province of Quebec, only upon the adoption of ratifying legislation by the provincial legislature.

We are far from maintaining that there would be an immediate rush to ratify. On the other hand we are also far from believing that the legislature would continue throughout the war to maintain the uncompromising objection to conscription which is now almost universally characteristic of French-speaking political opinion. The Province of Quebec is by no means devoid of pride, and as soon as it became evident that the province itself, and no other authority, was wholly and solely responsible for the differentiation between that province and the rest of Canada, and could by its own action put an end to that differentiation at any moment, we believe that there would be a very extensive change in the political atmosphere.

The Best of a Hard Case

UNQUESTIONABLY, if Quebec did not change its attitude, the policy which we are discussing would lead to a profound and deplorable cleavage between that province and the rest of Canada. It is, however, an open question whether that cleavage would be greater than the cleavage which would result from the imposition of conscription upon Quebec without its consent. That policy was practiced in 1917, and we all know what the results were and are. The fundamental objection of Quebec to the conscription of French-Canadians is due to the feeling that it is an obligation which might be imposed upon them for the sake of a war in which they feel much less interest than the rest of their fellow Canadians. It is based upon that general principle and not on the French-Canadian feeling in regard to any particular war. In the case of the present war, French-Canadians are not far short, if at all, of being as profoundly concerned as the rest of Canada; but their feeling about the principle of conscription remains. If the decision for or against the adoption of conscription in Quebec were left to a Quebec authority, that feeling would cease to apply. The element opposed to effective Canadian participation in the war—it is not an important element, and would not in these circumstances be very influential—would seek to make a grievance out of the application of conscription to French-Canadians in other provinces; but we do not think the effort would be very successful, and if Quebec adopted conscription it would of course become impossible.

The practical application of the distinction between Quebec and the rest of Canada should present little difficulty; domicile would be the controlling factor, and exemption on account of Quebec domicile would be granted on exactly the same grounds as the right to vote in a Quebec election, except that the right to transfer domicile would be suspended for the duration of the war.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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PRESS CLIPPINGS C243232

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

That the distinction between Quebec and the rest of Canada would be illogical we freely admit. The distinction between Ireland and the rest of what was then the United Kingdom in 1916 was illogical. The whole constitution of Canada recognizes certain special safeguards for the population of Quebec which place them on a different footing from any other element in Canada. The plain truth is that the situation cannot be effectively dealt with without exciting some measure of bad feeling in both parts of Canada, and the whole problem is to deal with it effectively, in whatever way will cause less bad feeling than any other way of dealing with it effectively. The method of not dealing with it at all may not long continue to be possible.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS 4263

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Apr. 21/41

Subject

Canadians for Service Overseas

Reverses in Greece and North Africa and the intensified spring blitzkrieg over Britain have been followed in Ontario by renewed demands for conscription for overseas service. These demands are voiced by a section of the press, and no doubt reflect public sentiment to at least some substantial degree. The Liberal party under its present leadership, and the Conservative party under the last leadership which it had, are alike pledged against such conscription. But the present House leader of the Conservatives, without mentioning that word, suggested to parliament in mid-March, prior to the recent unfavorable developments, that it is a waste of money to conscript and train men for home defence if they are not to be available for service abroad. He added that "the government will have to justify its failure to go the whole way before the people will be satisfied."

The question is of course a difficult one, having regard to the pledges of the two parties, the hostility of Quebec, and of a considerable body of opinion in other provinces, and the possibility that the disunity involved would cancel any gain which might be achieved. In the Great War, out of 600,000 men in Class I, the Military Service Act secured only 83,355, and of these only 47,509 went overseas. The enforcement of the act was accompanied by violent disturbances in some sections of Canada. If the war had continued longer, the number of conscripts would, of course, have been larger. They were needed to reinforce Canadian units which had been reduced greatly in strength by losses while in action.

In the present war, there have been no considerable losses on land. There have been losses in the air, and reinforcements are steadily going forward not only to make good these losses but to increase the number of Canadian airmen overseas. There have been losses at sea, and these too are being made good. But, in proportion to their numbers, the Canadian troops ashore have lost very few men indeed. In the event of an attempted invasion of Britain, conditions in this respect might suddenly change. There is, however, a strong reserve of troops in Canada at the present time.

One of the mistakes made in the last war was to send complete units overseas which were broken up on their arrival in Britain and sent to reinforce various units already at the front. In the present war the policy is to send reinforcements from Canada as reinforcements for definite units overseas and not as new units to be broken up on their arrival overseas. Whatever new units are sent will, it is said, retain their identity. This change is a wise one.

But the question being asked is whether Canada should have a greater force overseas, serving in Britain if they are needed there, or in other parts of the world if they can so be of use to Britain's cause. The presence of Australian and New Zealand soldiers in Africa and Greece has given rise to speculation on that point. Hon. C. G. Power stated the other day that Col. Ralston, while in England, had arranged a program of dispatching Canadian forces overseas which fulfils Britain's desires and has her complete approval. He said that Canada's program meets British requirements "to the letter," and "we are doing what Britain wants, and all she wants from us." If, however, as a result of developments, Britain at a later date needs more men from Canada than those Canada has now arranged to send, public opinion will justify the securing and dispatch of these additional troops.

The method of securing them, if they are not secured by voluntary enlistment, will then become an issue. Voluntary enlistments for the active army are at present going forward, and it is said that of recent months Quebec is exceeding her quota—that there are more French-Canadian recruits available than can be placed in French-Canadian units. Ontario, however, has up to date provided more recruits proportionately to her population than her sister province, both for the air force and the land forces.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRESS CLIPPINGS C244264 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date April 29/41.

Subject

Summer Recruiting Campaign

Col. Ralston speaks the truth when he says there has been no real campaign put on in Canada to secure recruits for overseas service. But there will be one in May, June and possibly July, which will involve quotas for the various provinces, and the formation of citizens' committees to help get results. In other words, the voluntary system is to be given a fair trial. Col. Ralston has no doubt at all but that the required 25,000 to 30,000 soldiers will be secured.

The minister says that there are now 70,000 men on duty outside Canada, which is not a very large force, but there are 118,000 in Canada for overseas service when required. The question of sending these abroad or retaining them in the meantime at home has evidently been a complex one. Col. Ralston reveals that recruiting was stopped last November because ships were not available to take men overseas. There is, too, the problem of feeding the men if sent to England before they are needed there. Britain cannot afford to increase her food demands unnecessarily, the difficulty of transporting food being what it is. The question is, therefore, whether Britain at present wants more men for home defence than she already has? And does she require Canadian troops for service elsewhere? The Canadian government is certainly better informed on all this than anyone else in Canada can be. And we have Mr. King's word for it that whatever Britain has wanted from Canada has been done.

But whatever may be the present situation, it is clear that Britain may at any time need all the manpower that Canada can send her, and that there must be adequate reinforcements forthcoming for all the active service troops which Canada now has both at home and abroad. This summer's recruiting campaign, therefore, will be of great interest. If the required number of men can be obtained by voluntary enlistment, and if voluntary enlistment can continue to obtain the necessary number, national unity will be maintained, and that is of the utmost importance. Those who say that conscription is the fairer way have also to face the fact that it would create a serious disunion in Canada, and that in the Great War the number of conscripts obtained was disappointingly small. In the end the deciding factor will be the number of Canadian troops required, the casualties sustained, and the possibility of securing adequate replacements by the voluntary system.

Premier King told parliament yesterday: "Canada will spare neither resources nor manpower in the battle for world freedom." To that end, all government policies must be shaped.

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Attitude of the Canadian newspapers towards conscription

For the last two weeks, the Canadian newspapers have been discussing more than ever the problem of conscription. This new campaign can be attributed to the three following factors.

1. Men in public life have been calling on the Dominion Government for the introduction of compulsory military service during these last weeks.

Mayor Lewis, of Ottawa, said on April 16th :

> "It is up to the Government to bring in compulsory military service. If they want to bring the morale of the people up and increase war loans, now is the time to step in with conscription."

The Honourable W. D. Herridge issued a statement on April 17th, in which he said:

> "The Government of Canada must repudiate its pledge against conscription or resign office."

2. On the other hand, numerous newspapers have indicated that events that took place in the Near East during the same period have contributed to change the outlook, and that it was becoming more necessary for Canada to put more and more soldiers at the disposal of Great Britain.

3. Finally, the declaration made by the Minister

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It may also be remembered that the Leader of the Opposition made some reference to that declaration in the House, on April 28th, when he said that, in his view, "the recruiting campaign was a failure", and that we should "face the problem fairly and frankly and do our duty in the face of a common peril".

As may be expected, the Canadian newspapers took immediate stands with regard to this question of conscription following those different declarations.

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Le Devoir indicated that this was the development of the process adopted by the Government of conscripting soldiers for overseas service.

> "By this decision, the Government has attained the last phase of its policy of preparation, before sending our youth overseas..... It is probable that from now on all the young graduates from the training camps will be called to serve in Canada during an indefinite period."
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2. In some other newspapers, the question is discussed with a clearer notion of the political and technical difficulties which may arise if conscription were in force.

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> (Toronto Star, April 21)

The Star adds:

> "If, as a result of developments, Britain at a later date needs more men from Canada than those Canada has now arranged to send, public opinion will justify the securing and despatch of these additional troops."

Technical

The Winnipeg Tribune and the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix have another approach to the problem: they consider it as a technical one.

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"The question of conscription is not merely one of maitaining unity in Canada and if there would be any war effort at all if disunity came. It is as well a question of maitaining balance between fighting services and the working service which supplies the materials with which to fight."

(Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, April 21)

"Canada has now achieved something like a balance between its industrial and military mobilization, and it is conceivable that we may before long run into the stage of an actual shortage of men-power. There is no indication as yet that reluctance to volunteer for overseas service will become a serious problem."

(Winnipeg Tribune, April 28th)

Compromise solution

After having rejected every other solution as practically impossible, the Saturday Night proposes, in its issue of April 26th, a process of selective conscription "to go into effect, as regards persons domiciled in the other eight provinces immediately, and as regards persons domiciled in the Province of Quebec, only upon the adoption of ratifying legislation by the provincial legislature."

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1941

RECRUITING AND CONSCRIPTION

C244271

Summary of Statement by
Alex Walker, Esq.,
President, Canadian Legion
addressed to the
Alberta Convention, June 9, 1940

Dominion Command of Legion has 3 times made representations to Government supporting conscription.

1. at outbreak of war
2. May, 1940
3. May 9, 1941.

Full and considerate hearings always given by the government.

Re Suggestion that the Legion organize mass meetings and demonstrations for conscription.

Doubts if they would be in national interest

Excessive zeal to be avoided

Nothing to stop Legion bodies expressing themselves as often and as emphatically as necessary

Quebec Command passed a Resolution in May 1941; moved and seconded by French Canadians

Alberta command can do same.

Re Recruiting Campaign

Present policy: voluntary enlistment

Duty of Legion to co-operate with military authorities in that campaign.

Failure to do so would play into hands of enemy.

Support for recruiting no evidence of abandonment of support for conscription.

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F/ Conscription

C244272

SUPPLEMENT

re - ATTITUDE OF CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS TOWARDS CONSCRIPTION

May 7th to 17th

1.- Major M. A. MacPherson - May 9

Declaration

Reactions

2.- Colonel Ralston over the Radio - May 11

3.- Messrs. Bruce and Ralston in the House - May 12

Declarations

Reactions : National Unity

Lack of leadership

Attitude of the French Press

4.- Mr. Lapointe over the Radio - May 15

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C244273

SUPPLEMENT

re - ATTITUDE OF CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS TOWARDS CONSCRIPTION

May 7th to 17th

Vigorous appeals for and against conscription were made during the last few days in and outside of Parliament, appeals which were diversely and widely discussed in the Press of the country.

1.- Major M. A. MacPherson - May 9

Declaration

On the 9th of May, Major MacPherson, contender for conservative party leadership in ~~May~~ July 1938, addressed a public meeting in Regina called by the Northside Conservative association, and asked for the immediate institution of national service or conscription. According to the "Regina Leader-Post", he said that

> "National service was the fairest way of establishing an army. It would be a tonic for hard-pressed Britain to know that all of Canada's man-power was available for service. It would be a tonic for the United States and a tonic for Canada. Above all, it is necessary now - not six months from now."

Reactions

The"Toronto Telegram" avails itself of this declaration to insist once more on the necessity of conscription.

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"Even though the department secures the 32,000 required at present there will undoubtedly be new calls in the future. If they fail to fill the ranks, what then ?

"The only answer is conscription if Canada is to maintain her armies in the field and not fail in her present commitments." (May 12, 1941)

And the "Telegram" adds :

"Yet, in manpower at least, Canada is pursuing a limited policy, and Ernest Lapointe, the Minister of Justice, is one of those responsible. Mr. Lapointe made a great show of denouncing the anti-war speech of Maxime Raymond, M.P., last week, but the difference between the two is only one of degree. Raymond said we must limit our war expenditure; Lapointe says we must not use our utmost in manpower." (May 12, 1941)

After having analyzed Major MacPherson's speech, the "Windsor Star" reaches the conclusion that the Conservatives seem to think that Canada is going to have a wartime election on the conscription issue.

"Tories are talking of conscription a couple of months before the party chooses a new leader. It is possible that before the snow flies the pressure on the Dominion Government for conscription may be so heavy, Prime Minister Mackenzie King will make an issue of it. He might decide to go to the country on the question of compulsory service for overseas service." (May 14, 1941)

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2.- <u>Colonel Ralston over the radio - May 11</u>

The address made by the Minister of National Defence over the radio at the opening of Canada's first

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recruiting campaign of the present war, received most favourable comments in the Press. A great number of newspapers indicated that the Minister's appeal for 32,000 men will meet with a full and eager response. The French Press also gives its entire support to the campaign. Answering the question: "What is the need now?" the "Ottawa Morning Journal" writes:

> "It may be well that all of us try to look at this thing sanely; try to see that on the basis of our physical and financial capacity, we have got to make a choice between raising more divisions and sending Britain things that Britain needs desperately.
>
> "Our choice here, it must seem, should be dictated by Britain. If Britain believes that guns and tanks and ships are her most vital present need, then it would seem to be our first and most urgent task to give her what she wants. To put war supplies for her first and more Canadian divisions afterwards." (May 13, 1941)

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3.- Messrs. Bruce and Ralston in the House of Commons May 12.

Declarations

The issue of full military conscription was directly put before the House by Honorable H. A. Bruce (Parkdale) who called upon the Government to take

> "immediate steps to meet the present urgent situation and make available by a national selective process the men necessary to bring our armed forces up to the strength that represents the fighting might of Canada."
>
> (Unrevised hansard, May 12, p.2945)

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Mr. Bruce concluded his speech by these words:

> "I venture to suggest that this session should not close until we have disposed of this urgent business."(Unrevised hansard,May 12,p.2946)

Mr. Ralston immediately replied to Mr. Bruce and said in part:

> "I cannot understand why at this time, just after I have launched a recruiting campaign, my hon. friend should interject this discordant note into our national unity."....
>
> "I say to my hon. friend in all seriousness that at this time there is no need of advocating a system such as he suggests."....
>
> "We have unity in this country, and I ask my hon. friend to try to help us preserve it, rather than attempting to drive a wedge of disunion into a war effort of which I think Canada ought well to be proud."
> (Unrevised hansard, May 12, pp.2946-7)

Later on during this same debate, Mr. W. F. Kuhl (Jasper-Edson) declared his opposition to conscription because

> "The people expressed themselves definitely on that question (in March 1940), and the government has no right to resort to forceful enrolment of man-power, until it ascertains the will of the majority, either through a plebiscite or through some other similar means."
> (Unrevised hansard, May 12, pp.2952-3)

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Reactions

The declaration made by Colonel Ralston was criticized by the"Globe and Mail", the "Toronto Telegram" and the "Ottawa Citizen" because of his reference to national unity.

a) - National Unity

"We feel Colonel Ralston showed no great wisdom in reviving the crude bogy of national unity, immediate parade of which, as soon as anybody expresses views on compulsory service unpalatable to Ministers, has become very tiresome." (Toronto Globe and Mail, May 14, 1941)

"When Mr. Ralston says that conscription would be a wedge driven into national unity, what he means to say is that Quebec wouldn't stand for it, even if the rest of the Dominion thought it necessary."
(Toronto Telegram, May 14, 1941)

b) - Lack of courageous leadership

"There exists a real danger that a failure, caused by lack of courageous leadership, to give expression to the views of a substantial majority of the Canadian people may prove just as serious a threat to national unity as the rejection of these views through fear of offending a compact minority."
(Toronto Globe and Mail, May 14, 1941)

"Canada's greatest handicap at this moment is lack of national leadership because of the blind adherence of the government to party politics."
(Ottawa Morning Citizen, May 14, 1941)

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"French-Canadians have been the victims of Liberal politicians who induced them to believe that limited participation in this war was a possible role for Canada to play."
(Toronto Telegram, May 14, 1941)

c)- The French newspaper, "Le Droit", writes as follows:

"The Minister of National Defence has declared his opposition to military conscription for overseas service <u>at this time</u> because there is no need for it; but what will be his opinion on this subject in six months or one year from now? He did not commit himself. Nevertheless, what ever happens, national unity will be as important then as it is to-day."
(May 13, 1941)

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4.- <u>Mr. Lapointe over the radio - May 15</u>

The address, delivered in French, by the Minister of Justice, on Thursday, was also very favourably commented by the Press. In the course of his speech, Mr. Lapointe made the following reference to conscription :

"I am still in favor of voluntary enlistement for overseas service. Those who advocate compulsory service are doing a disservice to our national war effort and to the great cause of Canadian unity, so essential in this great crisis." (Montreal Star, May 16, 1941)

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F/ Conscription

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

1941.

MEMORANDUM

C244279

Mr King:

Col. Mulock reports that a Times-Herald & news de conscription issue shortly - using "Saturday Night" article by Williamson & Canadian corps. He attaches report & interview with McNaughton covered be very useful in a short reply before the discussion gets too far under way.

W.J.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

(244230)

Name of Publication Ottawa E. Citizen

Date May 12/41

Subject

Taking Berlin Held Necessity By McNaughton

Canadian Commander Asserts That Allies Must Occupy German Capital At the End of Hostilities

By JOHN BIRD,
Special Correspondent of The Citizen and Associated Southam Newspapers.

LONDON, May 12.—Lieut.-General A. G. L. McNaughton, commander of the Canadian Corps, today told your correspondent that definite military occupation of Berlin would be necessary at the end of this war, discussed the probabilities that Hitler may attempt to invade Britain, declared we are going through a very critical period at this moment and ended with a rousing tribute to the magnificent job that Canadian industry workers are already doing to provide armaments, munitions and mechanized equipment in ever-increasing quantities. "Canada has turned up trumps," General McNaughton said.

Quotes Lord Halifax.

Sitting in a map-surrounded office, formerly a mansion bedroom, with an ancient, massive bathtub still there, he spoke with candor and vigor. Citing Lord Halifax's statement that at the end of the last war the Allies unfortunately contented themselves with an armistice made on the French border but that this time the war had to be brought home to the civil population of Germany, General McNaughton went on to say, "This time we have got to go to Berlin. Not prematurely but when the time and circumstances are right then it won't be as difficult as some people might think. The dagger must be put through the heart of Germany." General McNaughton asserted that definite military investment occupation was necessary and indicated the army as the dagger.

Discussing the possibilities that Hitler may invade Britain either as an attempted coup de grace or as a gambler's throw, the Canadian commander made no flat prediction but said, "Hitler cannot win the war unless he takes the fortress of Britain, the one most vital place in the world at this moment. Since as long as Britain remains inviolate Hitler has not won the war, therefore Hitler has got to face it. The one thing that we have to be most careful about is to keep on guard here." He later described the task of the Canadian troops in Britain as supremely important "garrisoning the beleaguered citadel of the Empire."

Crucial Six Months.

The general agreed that the next six months were crucial, saying, "We are going through the most critical period at the moment. I have not the slightest shadow of a doubt about production in Canada and the United States, but the thing is, American statesmen themselves are now asking, are they going to be able to place the tools in our hands." The reference, of course, was made to the intense battle proceeding on the Atlantic and west coast ports.

General McNaughton unhesitatingly replied "Yes" to the question whether the armament production of Britain and Canada plus the United States could exceed that of all Europe enslaved by Hitler. The corps commander said that American production was already important and was supremely confident of the future output. Winning the war and exchanging a defensive for an offensive drive was a question of allowing production of equipment to catch up with the needs of the forces. He said he had little sympathy with those who were too impatient because they did not understand how long it takes to transform a peacetime industry to wartime production. General McNaughton obviously glowed with pride at existing Canadian production pointing to the tens of thousands of motor vehicles, etc., already used by the British and Canadians here and elsewhere.

Very Heartening.

He declared, "We get pretty full reports of how Canada is carrying on. I read those accounts and I get a thrill. It is very heartening."

General McNaughton believes that the mechanization of war eventually favors the democracies, firstly, because of greater industrial potentialities and of understanding machinery; secondly, because their personnel is more adaptable and susceptible to modern discipline which requires preserving individual initiatve, while encouraging teamplay unlike old discipline which crushed individuality. The commander emphatically declared, "There is no finer material for modern war than a young Canadian."

McNaughton Animated.

Throughout the interview General McNaughton was very animated, sometimes gesturing with spectacles in hand, often bowing forward with chin on his fists, occasionally darting quickly to fetch reference papers. The stuff about the "soldier-scientist" has been done to death. The fact is that McNaughton has a brilliant and original mind quite without stuffiness. Ready-made labels, trite tags, conventional molds do not fit him. Everywhere I go in Britain I find the deepest respect and even awe for General McNaughton's name. Several British observers predict that if an Imperial war cabinet is formed, General McNaughton will be a member. The likelihood of an Imperial war cabinet is discounted by most Canadian quarters in London but gossip indicates a high regard here for General McNaughton.

When the full story of the defence of Britain can be told "Andy" McNaughton will be a world name.

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Mr Ferns. File re May 1st, 1941

C244281 Seen by PM

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The Star adds:

> "If, as a result of developments, Britain at a later date needs more men from Canada than those Canada has now arranged to send, public opinion will justify the securing and despatch of these additional troops."

Technical

The Winnipeg Tribune and the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix have another approach to the problem: they consider it as a technical one.

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"The question of conscription is not merely one of maitaining unity in Canada and if there would be any war effort at all if disunity came. It is as well a question of maitaining balance between fighting services and the working service which supplies the materials with which to fight."

(Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, April 21)

"Canada has now achieved something like a balance between its industrial and military mobilization, and it is conceivable that we may before long run into the stage of an actual shortage of man-power. There is no indication as yet that reluctance to volunteer for overseas service will become a serious problem."

(Winnipeg Tribune, April 28th)

Compromise solution

After having rejected every other solution as practically impossible, the Saturday Night proposes, in its issue of April 26th, a process of selective conscription "to go into effect, as regards persons domiciled in the other eight provinces immediately, and as regards persons domiciled in the Province of Quebec, only upon the adoption of ratifying legislation by the provincial legislature." (See clipping attached)

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MEMORANDUM C244287

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 13. v. 41

Prime Minister Re Conscription

Mr Leger has brought up to date the reviewing of the press. This will be done each week. Two exceptionally interesting editorials are attached, from the Ile Pilot and the Globe. W.L.M.K.

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SUPPLEMENT

re - Attitude of Canadian Newspapers towards Conscription.

May 1st to 7th

The Canadian newspapers have been continuing their discussion on the problem of conscription, during the last week. The Toronto Press has been more active than ever in this particular field. While the Toronto Star continues to defend the policy of the Government, the Toronto Globe and Mail and the Telegram seem to be making an all-out effort in favour of conscription.

Pre-election Pledges

During this last week, all this campaign was directed at the pledges given by the Prime Minister and equally by Dr. Manion prior to the elections that there would be no conscription for overseas service.

The Star resumes the attitude of the two party leaders in an editorial entitled "Two Kinds of Conscription".

> "Premier King and Dr. Manion both pledged themselves against conscription for service outside of Canada, but not otherwise. In conscripting trainees for service on Canadian soil, Mr. King is not violating either the spirit or the letter of his pledge."
>
> (May 2, 1941)

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In another editorial published May 9th, the Toronto Star adds that it is doubtful if Mr. King would consider the breaking of his pledges.

> "He would probably feel a reversal of a pledged policy to be justified only by a new mandate by the electors such indeed as was secured in 1917 when no pledge was in existence."

The Vancouver News-Herald reaches another conclusion when it writes :

> "The only way we shall lay this conscription bogey in Canada is for Mr. King to ask the people, particularly the people of Quebec to release him from his pledge. If he tells them frankly of the need there is no reason why the Canadian people should not respond."
>
> (May 7th, 1941.)

On the other hand, the Globe and Mail minimizes those pre-election pledges in an editorial entitled "How much for old pledges?".

> "The importance of pre-election pledges bearing on a war which has changed momentously and gravely since they were made does not rate high. The Government has departed in many ways from its war program as originally announced, stepping it up and expanding it.....
>
> "If the Ottawa Government ultimately decides that conscription is necessary for a total Canadian effort the realistic people of this country will not expect old pledges to hamper action,.....
>
> "Those who urge conscription cannot be accused of thinking of party politics. They have higher ideals, including the conviction that any leader who doesn't accept his responsibility in a grave crisis is untrue to his trust...." (May 8th, 1941.)

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General criticism

The Toronto Telegram writes that the Canadians are being misled when they are told by the Ministers of Defence that there are 250,000 Canadians on active service, This newspaper concludes an article entitled "Government much too fond of good round figures", by these words:

> "Before criticism that more men should have been sent overseas, the Government falls back on the dog-eared reply that they have always done just what the British Government wanted. There has, unfortunately, never been anything in black and white to support that statement. It is difficult to believe that at any time the British Government refused an offer of more men from Canada. And after having been turned down on their request to be allowed to locate their own air schools in Canada, it is hardly likely that the British Government would ask for more men." (May 8th, 1941)

This same attitude can also be found in an article of the Victoria Colonist :

> "What is happening, or probably it is more correct to say what is not happening, is a sorry spectacle of the lack of appreciation of the issues at stake that prevails at Ottawa. It is becoming clearer every day that nothing short of an explosion of public opinion will shatter the complacency of the Government and make it face the realities of a situation that everyone knows is increasing in gravity." (Apr. 27th, 1941.)

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Most of the other Canadian newspapers realize the difficulty of the situation but seem to have reached the conclusion that more and more men will be necessary,

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and that the citizens of Canada are ready for a greater sacrifice.

> "The Government is not ahead of public opinion in putting into effect this form of compulsory service. Indeed, many Canadians will regard this move by Ottawa as not going sufficiently far. They would like to see a great conscript army for overseas service."
> (Regina Leader-Post, April 29th,1941.)

> "The Government with prudence has done its best to avoid unnecessary adjustment and dislocation of the national life by refusing to try and raise more men than there was either immediate need or equipment for. Now we are reaching the stage when the need becomes steadily nearer and when the detailed equipment that modern armed forces require is available in increasing quantity. Now therefore Mr. Ralston makes his appeal - or rather his request - for men.
> "Nor should it be forgotten that if this approach fails, others remain to be tried and will be tried; for nothing is more certain than our national determination to play a full and honorable role in victory."
> (Winnipeg Free Press, April 28th, 1941.)

The Montreal Star, while pointing out that the word conscription has taken an ugly connotation in this country, particularly in the province of Quebec, indicates that no campaign for securing men "based on the idea of conscription could be inaugurated without causing some dissension and heartbreak", and it concludes:

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"If the Government should decide to draftmen for military service, it might very well launch its draft for more men under the slogan "Selective national service". It could thus establish whether a man would fit best into the military or industrial services and send him where his ability would be of greatest use to the country".
(May 1st, 1941.)

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The French Canadian Press has not changed its approach to the problem, which is : No conscription for overseas service. However, l'Action Catholique, of Quebec, in recent issues has been asking very strongly the French Canadians to join the army.

Le Droit, of Ottawa, continues the same policy when it writes:

"Canada has declared war on Germany for the defence of our territory and our interests, which does not logically mean that we should send an expeditionary corps in Great Britain or in Egypt, nor does it mean that we should have conscription for overseas service."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C244293 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Freem Press

Date May 5/41.

Subject

[redacted]

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C243723 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Freem Press

Date May 5/41.

Subject

Stop Fighting The Last War

Both news despatches and letters to the editor published in the Free Press on Saturday reveal the sad fact that there remains a substantial minority of our fellow-citizens busily fighting the last war all over again. Chief among these, of course, is Senator Arthur Meighen, who chooses as proof of the failure of Canada to produce an all-out war effort the fact that there are only 65,000 Canadian soldiers overseas. Elsewhere there grows a nervous demand for conscription. Always the fallacy is the same: we must raise men, men, men; and push them overseas at once. Why? Because we did it in the last war. And this should undoubtedly be right if this war wear the last war, a fact which Canadian Rip Van Winkles resolutely refuse to understand.

It is true that men are needed, that recruiting is now being carried on. It is likewise true that the day may come when the fundamental justice of conscription will join with the increasing need for men. It is perhaps true, too, that some of our public men, in their published rejections of conscription are, like Senator Meighen, too much engrossed in fighting the difficulties of the last war all over again. All this is true. But let us at least keep the record straight.

* * *

Let us suppose that conscription went into effect tomorrow. How much further ahead would we be? Let us suppose that we doubled the size of our army this summer. How could they be trained, armed and equipped? How long would it take Canada to provide them with all the thousands of items of equipment a modern soldier, or a modern division needs? The answer is that it would take years.

To which, of course, the critics reply that this, too, is the fault of the Government. By now, after so many months of war, we should be able overnight to provide all that an army needs. That is what would be said. Let us examine that notion for a moment.

We have heard plenty of criticism in this country of the Canadian Government for not being able to produce machine guns, artillery, armored cars, tanks, anti-tank guns, anti-aircraft guns and so on with almost no delay. But have these critics ever got it into their heads that Great Britain—a much larger, a much richer, a much industrialized country, a land possessing a complete armament industry ready to its hand and scores of manufacturers who had actual technical experience in the production of all the weapons of war—was able, after eight full months of war, to place only ten fully equipped divisions in the field? Almost all that equipment, everything that makes manpower valuable in modern war, was left behind in France after Dunkirk. The British had to start in again from scratch and, in spite of incredible efforts and the Churchill speed-up, they were able only to repair those losses by the end of the year.

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

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But it is a fact that the British army in Britain today is not yet fully equipped and will not be for some time yet. Of what value to Britain would it be to follow Senator Meighen's urgings and pour more men over without delay in order to prove to him that we have an "all-out" effort.

* * *

Obviously we would be doing the wrong thing. We would be sending unnecessary men into a beleaguered fortress where they would have to be fed and looked after for months until equipment was ready for them. Is that common sense? We do not think so. And men without full equipment are of little use in modern war. The war in the Low Countries and the battles in Greece show one man as part of an equipped division is worth five or ten men more lightly armed.

This argument is not intended to prove that Canada has reached its maximum effort. More and more men will be needed, not only in the army but in the air force and the navy as well. More and more women will be needed in all kinds of posts, civil, industrial, yes and military too, before we are done.

The present demand for recruits is one based we presume upon equipment which is ready to be given them. As more equipment of all kinds becomes available, more men will be called for. But let us at least keep ourselves reasonable in mind about what we are doing in this war. The effort shows its all-out quality in the expenditures that are being made, and as our war industry develops itself, we will see the final shape of our military effort clearly enough. But it takes time, a sadly long time, to arm a modern army.

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THE FALLACY IS IN WAITING.

The Winnipeg Free Press has opened one of its dogmatic discussions of the war effort with the comment that both news despatches and letters it receives "reveal the sad fact that there remains a substantial minority of our fellow-citizens busily fighting the last war all over again." As chief among these it names Senator Arthur Meighen, who complains that there are only 65,000 Canadian soldiers overseas. Elsewhere, it says, there grows a nervous demand for conscription. "Always the fallacy is the same," it adds. "We must raise men, men, men; and push them overseas at once. Why? Because we did it in the last war. And this should undoubtedly be right if this war were the last war, a fact which Canadian Rip Van Winkles resolutely refuse to understand."

To the Free Press, apparently, the situation is quite plain. There's no use in talking about men until we can equip them. And it's no use talking about equipping them until a lot of time has passed. With pontifical finality it says: "Let us suppose that conscription went into effect tomorrow. How much further ahead would we be? Let us suppose we doubled the size of our army this summer. How could they be trained, armed and equipped? How long would it take Canada to provide them with all the thousands of items of equipment a modern soldier, or a modern division, needs? The answer is that it would take years."

If this is the answer to our war effort, God help Canada. Hitler is not waiting years for us to get ready. If the Western oracle which assumes to speak with such authority is right, the Rip Van Winkles are the only realistic citizens. All they need do is go to sleep until the years have passed, and awaken to see if equipment is ready for an army.

What the Free Press fails to note is that anxious Canadians are groping for the true answer to the problem uppermost in their minds. They are justly alarmed lest our war effort fall short of necessity, and are trying to help. In the first place, there is no authoritative clarity given to our achievement. If Senator Meighen says there are only 65,000 soldiers overseas and Colonel Ralston declares Canada has 80,000 men in the British Isles and 250,000 enrolled for active service anywhere, it is merely one example of the uncertainty as to facts.

A state of confusion exists as to what has been and should be done, and people are trying to explore the circumstances. Manifestly, they want to be sure that a total effort means what it says and is being so interpreted in official quarters. If they see what they consider less than a total effort, haven't they the right to say so?

The Globe and Mail has not come out for conscription, but finds a growing inclination among its readers to urge it. They know recruiting is lagging, no matter what is said. But we believe what they are thinking of is that equality of sacrifice which can be found only in compulsory selective training for whatever war needs arise. There are thousands of men out of work in the country who should be doing something useful. There are many thousands engaged in occupations of little value to the war. When the Free Press talks of the years needed to equip a fighting force it affirms a policy of lackadaisical indifference. Let us get the pampered darlings out of the parlors and the scullery maids out of the kitchens and set them to work on equipment for men who can thus be released for the real he-man's job. Australia hadn't made an automobile engine up to the time the war started and it is now making airplane engines. It hasn't waited for years to elapse before getting down to business. Canada not so long ago couldn't make tanks, so it was said. It now is making tanks. It can do things, and do them speedily, once its mind is made up.

A letter reaching this office from a Southern Ontario clergyman offers one reason why there is a demand for compulsory equality of service. He quoted a number of cases within his knowledge where Canadian boys declined to give up their jobs and enlist because foreigners were waiting to take them over and said so openly. "In every factory I have known," he writes, "this is the talk among the young men when the subject of enlisting is mentioned." One can hardly quarrel with a disposition to hesitate to give up employment at high wages, to serve the country at $1.30 a day, when aliens are waiting to take their places, perhaps permanently. After all, these young men, loyal and true to their King and land, have a sense of justice. They will do their share willingly, but ask that others do the same.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

C. 44296

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

A vigorous recruiting campaign is proposed for voluntary enlistment. Men are needed, and they must be equipped. We doubt that there would be any shortage of recruits or equipment if a forthright policy of selective compulsory service were adopted, applicable to every one and fair to all. The idea that we must putter around and wait for time to pass is pretty rotten.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

United Kingdom House of Commons

Hansard, 27th May, 1941

pp.1718-9

C244297

NORTHERN IRELAND (Conscription)

The Prime Minister: My right hon. Friend the Member for Antrim (Sir H. O'Neill) had a Question (No.46) on the Order Paper about the application of conscription to Northern Ireland. I said a week ago that this matter had been engaging our attention. We have made a number of inquiries in various directions, with the result that we have come to the conclusion that at the present time, although there can be no dispute about our rights or about the merits, it would be more trouble than it is worth to enforce such a policy.

Sir Hugh O'Neill: Will it not make a rather bad impression throughout the Empire that, once again, the Government have had to burke this issue, obviously because of pressure from Southern Ireland?

The Prime Minister: I do not think that I can put it better than I have done. After a full survey we came to the decision which I have announced.

Sir H. O'Neill: There is one point which I think, in fairness, the Prime Minister would like to make clear. Was it not the view of the Government of Northern Ireland that conscription could be and should be applied?

The Prime Minister: Yes, Sir. That was the view of the Government of Northern Ireland, for whose loyal aid and continued and constant support of our cause, no words of praise can be too high.

Professor Savory: May I ask the Prime Minister whether he is not aware that the Government of Northern Ireland were unanimous in recommending that conscription should be applied to Northern Ireland?

Mr. Speaker: That question has been answered.

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United Kingdom House of Commons

Hansard, 15th April, 1943

pp.1382-3

NORTHERN IRELAND (Manpower)

46. Sir William Davison asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware that between 20,000 and 25,000 young men and young women of military age in Northern Ireland are unemployed and making no contribution to the war effort; and whether, in view of the serious shortage of man- and woman-power in Great Britain, immediate steps will be taken to accede to the often expressed desire of the Government of Northern Ireland for the extension of conscription to Northern Ireland?

The Prime Minister: I understand that, according to the latest information, the number of men and women of all ages registered as unemployed in Northern Ireland was 19,778. I have no new announcement to make about the second part of the Question.

Sir W. Davison: Will my right hon. Friend give the reasons why the often expressed desire of the Ulster Government to have conscription in Ulster, the same as in Great Britain, cannot be acceded to, especially having regard to the great hardships being suffered in this country in order to provide the necessary men for the Armed Forces and factories?

The Prime Minister: When this matter was last raised, about 18 months or two years ago, I think, I came to the conclusion that it would be more trouble than it was worth, and I have not seen any reason up to the present moment for making a pronouncement on the subject.

Sir Hugh O'Neill: Does not my right hon. Friend think that, in view of the critical position of man-power at the present moment, he ought to take a new decision, in spite of the threats of various kinds from the neutral State of Southern Ireland?

The Prime Minister: Certainly, it is a very unsatisfactory situation when large numbers of Americans are taken by compulsion from their homes and made to stand on guard while large numbers of the local inhabitants are under no such obligation.

Sir Alfred Beit: Failing conscription, cannot the unemployed there be directed to war factories like anybody else?

Sir W. Davison: Will my right hon. Friend say why we should be content to take distinguished generals like Montgomery, Alexander and Dill from Northern Ireland and neglect to avail ourselves of the services of thousands of ordinary men and women of fine quality in that Province who are now out of employment?

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

United Kingdom House of Commons

Hansard, 15th April, 1943

pp. 1382-3

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO C244299

Dr. Robertson

This relates to a question taken up in the House. I hope the matter can be arranged.

Please have something drafted I can send to Dr. Bruce.

30/V/41 EH

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COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

C244300

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 5th, VI, 41

Mr Turnbull (212)

If this is not a deliberate attempt to sabotage recruiting, what could be? It seems to me a direct infraction of Section 39A (b) of the Defence of Canada Regulations. Do you think it should be shown to the PM? J. McP.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram re conscription

Date May 31/41

Subject

Office of the Prime Minister

C244301

DEMAND FOR MEN IS IMPERATIVE TODAY.

We have been asked by the Daily Newspaper Association to say something to help stimulate recruiting. That such a request should be made on the eve of the twenty-first month of the war is in itself an arresting commentary on the condition into which the W. L. M. King Government has plunged the country. If it had deliberately planned to create apathy it could not have succeeded better, and then, when it has been seen that action is necessary, it has had the temerity to scold the public for its complacency.

Of the necessity for men to enlist for military training and for service wherever Canada needs them, there cannot be the slightest possible doubt. Had recruiting been carried on by Canada in this war as it was carried on by Canada in the last war, Libya might have been a different story, Greece might have been a different story, and Crete might have been an entirely different story.

We shall probably be told in May, 1941, that we should let by-gones be by-gones and all pull together to make Canada's war effort register. In the election campaign which ended in March, 1940, we were told to let by-gones be by-gones, and it is because a majority of Canadians were somnolently satisfied to do so that Canada's war effort has been hobbled. They could not believe that it is impossible to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.

The Canadians who elected the King Government elected a group of partisans who have been afraid to enforce compulsory selective service either for the fighting services or for labor, because to do so might cost the party votes in those strategic places where the party looks for votes. They may recognize as others do that the safety of the nation demands the compulsory selective system for all the essential work of the country, whether under arms or in the factory, but they permit in practice their policy against its effect upon party fortunes rather than by its effect upon the safety of the nation.

We have been [illegible] who did not elect [illegible] the intentions of the Government which they chose to form, acting partly, and it is to think only of Canada. This we do. Canada needs [illegible] needed them before. She needs them quickly, for there is much lost time to make up. As always, the Government has been slow, yielding only to the accumulated pressure of popular opinion as it exists.

We ask young Canadians to respond to the call, and we ask the party Government at Ottawa to reconsider its refusal to give these young Canadians a square deal. Many of them have said that they are perfectly willing to serve in any capacity, but they are not willing to give up their jobs so that their places may be filled by slackers and fence-sitters. That is a viewpoint the Government should answer. The only convincing answer is the adoption of compulsory national selective service that would put everybody on the same footing.

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The Canadians who elected the King Government elected a group of partisans who have been afraid to enforce compulsory selective service either for the fighting services or for labor, because to do so might cost the party votes in those strategic places where the party looks for votes. They may recognize as others do that the safety of the nation demands the compulsory selective system for all the essential work of the country whether under arms or in the factory, but they persist in weighing their policy against its effect upon party fortunes rather than by its effect upon the safety of the nation.

We have been requested to ask Canadians who did not elect the King Government, to forget the feebleness of the Government which has never forgotten party, and to think only of Canada. This we do. Canada needs men as she never needed them before. She needs them quickly, for there is much lost time to make up. As always, the Government has been slow, yielding only to the accumulated pressure of popular opinion or of events.

We ask young Canadians to respond to the call, and we ask the party Government at Ottawa to reconsider its refusal to give these young Canadians a square deal. Many of them have said that they are perfectly willing to serve in any capacity, but they are not willing to give up their jobs so that their places may be filled by slackers and foreigners. That is a viewpoint the Government should answer. The only convincing answer is the adoption of compulsory national selective service that would put everybody on the same footing.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of the Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date May 31/41

Subject

C243391

DEMAND FOR MEN IS IMPERATIVE TODAY.

We have been asked by the Daily Newspaper Association to say something to help stimulate recruiting. That such a request should be made on the eve of the twenty-first month of the war is in itself an arresting commentary on the condition into which the W. L. M. King Government has plunged the country. If it had deliberately planned to create apathy it could not have succeeded better, and then, when it has been seen that action is necessary, it has had the temerity to scold the public for its complacency.

Of the necessity for men to enlist for military training and for service wherever Canada needs them, there cannot be the slightest possible doubt. Had recruiting been carried on by Canada in this war as it was carried on by Canada in the last war, Libya might have been a different story, Greece might have been a different story, and Crete might have been an entirely different story.

We shall probably be told in May, 1941, that we should let by-gones be by-gones and all pull together to make Canada's war effort register. In the election campaign which ended in March, 1940, we were told to let by-gones be by-gones, and it is because a majority of Canadians were somnolently satisfied to do so that Canada's war effort has been hobbled. They could not believe that it is impossible to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.

The Canadians who elected the King Government elected a group of partisans who have been afraid to enforce compulsory selective service either for the fighting services or for labor, because to do so might cost the party votes in those strategic places where the party looks for votes. They may recognize as others do that the safety of the nation demands the compulsory selective system for all the essential work of the country whether under arms or in the factory, but they persist in weighing their policy against its effect upon party fortunes rather than by its effect upon the safety of the nation.

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War Records Office
Laurier House

C244302

PAPERS RELATING TO THE QUESTION OF CONSCRIPTION

1941		
June 18, 1941	South African War Veteran's Association, Montreal; resolution favouring conscription of manpower.	1
27	Editorial from North Shore Press, Vancouver: Recruiting for overseas service	2
30	Extract from Prime Minister's address at Vancouver	3
July 1	Herridge statement calling for general election on conscription question	4
8	Hanson interview at Montreal on conscription	5
25	Editorial from Vancouver Sun: Godbout "warning"	6
Aug 7	Despatch No 183 from High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand (question of abolition of distinction between volunteer ahd conscript in all official references to New Zealand forces)	7
Sept 9	Extract from statement of Canadian Corps Assocn	8
12	Letter from Mrs W.A. Lewis, Barrie, Ont.	9
22	Letter from J.J. Kinley, M.P., Lunenburg, N.S.	10
22	Statement by Mrs D.W. Nielsen, M.P. at Calgary	11
23	Letter from F.A. Lewis, Vernon, B.C.	12
Oct 8	Address by/Hon T.A. Crerar, M.P., Montreal	13
13	Letter from R.P. Prat, Toronto, Ont	14
	Brief from Canadian Legion urging measures to place Canada on a "total war" footing	
21	Precis of representationsprevious to interview of October 22, 1941	15
22	Report (WJT) of meeting of Dominion Executive Council of Canadian Legion with members of Cabinet	16
22	Original of brief presented at this meeting by officers of Dominion Executive	17
Nov 10	Letter from Hon. Ian Mackenzie, M.P. reporting further conversation arising out of meeting of October 22nd	18
Nov 3	Editorial from Toronto Star: "Conservatives and Conscription"	19
Nov 3	Text of address by J.S.Duncan, Toronto, advocating full use of man-power	20
12	Text of statement by Prime Minister in H. of C. on question of privilege (unrevised Hansard p. 4671)	21
12	British United Press report of Government Caucus and conscription	22
13	Press account of Parliamentary proceedings of November 12th (Ottawa Journal)	23

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Nov. 13	Withdrawal by Ottawa Journal of statement printed previous day	24
13	Statement in H. of C. by Hon.P.F.Casgrain, M.P. (unrevised Hansard p.4722)	25
13	Confidential memorandum by Hon. Ian Mackenzie	26
13	Statement by Rt.Hon.Arthur Meighen, calling for "compulsory selective service over the whole field of war"	27
15	Letter from Hon. J. A. MacKinnon, M.P.	28
17	Editorial from Montreal Star (note war chronology)	29
18	Editorial from Windsor Star: C.C.F. and Conscription	30
24	Editorial from Montreal Star: Godbout's statement	31
25	Editorial from Montreal Star: Mathewson broadcast	32
19	Press statement from Melbourne, Australia: Curtin statement on conscription	33
26	Telegram from Canberra reporting full text of Curtin statement (above)	34
Dec. 13	Editorial from Winnipeg Free Press: Lincoln and Conscription	35
15	Statement at Toronto by Hon. H. H. Stevens	36
16	Private and Confidential letter from Brigadier G.P.Vanier, Quebec	37
22	Letter from Hon. C. G. Power, M.P. enclosing copy of his letter to the electors of Quebec South, dated Dec. 11, 1917	38
10	Despatch No. 649 HC London commenting on new National Service Bill (for more effective mobilization of manpower and womanpower)	39
23	Wrong to Robertson enclosing copy of editorial from Louisville Courier-Journal of Dec.19 (effect on conscription for overseas service in Canada of extension of the selective service laws of U.S.A.)	40
24	Open letter to Prime Minister from Col. George Drew (printed on front page of Globe and Mail Dec.25)	41
1942		
Jan. 3	Personal and Confidential - letter from Hon. T.A. Crerar to P.M. re selective service (see also letter of Jan 6)	42
7	Letter from Leslie Roberts to the Editor of the Montreal Gazette (published in Le Canada, NOT in the Gazette)	43
8	Personal and Secret - letter from Hon. C.D.Howe (views of Ontario Ministers)	44

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1942			
Jan.	13	Private and Confidential - letter from Brigadier G. P. Vanier (commenting on statement by Mr. Godbout on Jan.9)	45
	13	Letter from Sir William Mulock	46
	14	Statement by J. W. Noseworthy, Toronto, Jan.14 re conscription of wealth and manpower	47
Feb.	20	Letter from W. B. Farris, K.C.	48

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NAR/SR
19.6.41

C244305

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

You will recall that we sent a telegram to the Government of India protesting against the press interview attributed to Sir Firoz Khan Noon some time ago, in which he is reported to have advocated conscription for overseas service in Canada and to have compared the war effort of Canada unfavourably with that of India. A copy of our message to Delhi was sent to Mr. Massey for communication to Mr. Amery. Amery got in touch direct with Sir Firoz Khan Noon, and has received from him a note of explanation and apology, which Sir Patrick Duff has sent to you under cover of the enclosed letter. A copy of your message to the Government of India was sent to the Governor General, and Sir Firoz Khan Noon has asked, through Sir Patrick Duff, that a copy of his telegram to Amery might also be communicated to the Governor General.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon is in Ottawa this week-end and is talking to the Institute of International Affairs on Friday evening. I shall try to be present to hear what he has to say. You may have noticed from the Press that Sir Firoz Khan Noon's visit to Canada has been arranged by the National Council of Education, which is a large name for Major F.J. Ney of Winnipeg. Ney has always given this Department a very wide berth and we have no record on file of correspondence with him or any particulars about the financial backing or representative status of his organization. I believe it used to be run as a lecture bureau in connection with the teachers' and students' tours that Major Ney used to organize for the C.P.R., which is understood to have been his principal financial support. Outside Canada

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the National Council of Education is reported to trade on the fact that the Federal Government has no responsibility in the general field of education, and to represent itself as the only responsible, Canada-wide institution in this field. It is apparently in close touch with the British Council, a quasi independent body, supported by United Kingdom Government funds, which helps to send out British lecturers all over the world. I believe it was the British Council, through the National Council of Education, which arranged Sir Robert Clive's recent lecture tour across Canada. It would be interesting to know whether the British Council have anything to do with sponsoring Sir Firoz Khan Noon's tour.

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COPY

C24430?

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM
EARNSCLIFFE
Ottawa,

1022/1

17th June, 1941.

My dear Prime Minister,

I understand that the Government of Canada telegraphed recently to the Government of India, complaining of an interview in which Sir Firoz Khan Noon, the High Commissioner for India, who is now visiting Canada, was reported to have made certain statements regarding Canada's war effort and particularly the question of conscription.

We were asked by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to convey to Sir Firoz Khan Noon a personal message on this subject from Mr. Amery, and Sir Firoz has asked that his reply to Mr. Amery's message, a copy of which I enclose, should be brought to your attention.

I might add that Sir Firoz would be grateful, should you see no objection, if you would communicate a copy of this message to the Governor General.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Patrick Duff

The Right Honourable
W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

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COPY

Message from Sir Firoz Khan Noon. C244303

I am afraid young, enthusiastic and over pro-British newspaper correspondent made use of my interview to express certain local opinion. Many people in Vancouver extremely pro-British and wish to do more; no doubt press correspondent influenced by this local opinion. On day following my departure I noticed reference in press to action in favour of introduction of conscription reportedly taken by Young Liberal Association in Vancouver whom I did not meet. I did not tell Vancouver press correspondent that India is doing better than Canada; on face of it, it looks so absurd to make comparison between my country and sister Dominion, nor did I advise introduction of conscription; that is matter for Canadians to decide. I may have asked questions to ascertain why conscription had not been introduced but I have never in any interview here or in America told any press representative what any Government should do; that is not for me to say. My above remarks similarly apply to what may have been reported in Winnipeg. Kindly express my regrets to the Prime Minister, whom I have pleasure of knowing and for whom I have great personal admiration, for any misunderstanding that may have been caused by the report of an over-enthusiastic press correspondent.

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Western Trip Papers

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER (Calgary)

MEMORANDUM

CONSCRIPTION

C244309

Leaflet on Conscription handed out before Prime Minister's meeting at Calgary on June 27, 1941, is filed in

War Record Office

Ring Binder "Military Co-operation"
.. Conscription .. &c

leaflet enclosed in brown manilla envelope

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P.M. to see

JWP/C
27.vi.41

file

RECRUITING AND CONSCRIPTION C244310

N-3 05-1(
1941

Summary of Statement by
Alex Walker, Esq.,
President, Canadian Legion
addressed to the
Alberta Convention, ~~June 9, 1940~~

WWII - Recruiting "
" - Conscription "

Dominion Command of Legion has 3 times made representations to Government supporting conscription.

1. at outbreak of war
2. May, 1940
3. May 9, 1941.

Full and considerate hearings always given by the government.

Re Suggestion that the Legion organize mass meetings and demonstrations for conscription.

Doubts if they would be in national interest

Excessive zeal to be avoided

Nothing to stop Legion bodies expressing themselves as often and as emphatically as necessary

Quebec Command passed a Resolution in May 1941; moved and seconded by French Canadians

Alberta command can do same.

Re Recruiting Campaign

Present policy: voluntary enlistment

Duty of Legion to co-operate with military authorities in that campaign.

Failure to do so would play into hands of enemy.

Support for recruiting no evidence of abandonment of support for conscription.

(J.W. Pickersgill)

copy sent to Mr. Tarr
also
C-351
1941

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STATEMENT OF MR. ALEX WALKER,
DOMINION PRESIDENT OF THE CANADIAN LEGION OF THE B.E.S.L.
TO THE ALBERTA CONVENTION OF THE CANADIAN LEGION, OPENING
IN CALGARY, ON MONDAY, JUNE 9th, 1941.

During recent weeks a number of enquiries have been made as to the position of The Legion on the question of National Mobilization of manpower, business, industry, etc., in order that Canada's War Effort might be fully effective. As I am informed that a similar question will be asked by this Convention of the Alberta Command, I think it desirable to make a statement on the matter.

Let me say at once, and with the greatest emphasis, that The Legion's position in support of complete national mobilization in time of War has been consistent throughout, and remains unchanged today.

It is common knowledge that this policy was laid down immediately following the last War and has been reaffirmed at every Dominion Convention since.

It may not be so well known, but it is a fact to which I now direct attention, that on no less than three occasions since the present War started, Dominion Command of The Legion has presented its views on this question to the Prime Minister of Canada, in person. On two of these occasions the Prime Minister was accompanied by a number of his colleagues. On each occasion The Legion was afforded a hearing at considerable length, and our representations were advanced with all the earnestness and vigor at our command.

The first occasion was at the time of the Emergency Meeting of the Dominion Council, convened upon the outbreak of War.

The second occasion was immediately following the Dominion Convention in Montreal, in May 1940. It will be recalled that the delegates to that Convention gave questions relating to the War the right of way over all other business, and on the subject of National Mobilization the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"NATIONAL MOBILIZATION"

"The Nation now being at War this Convention reaffirms the principles of the resolution passed at Niagara Falls in 1932, reaffirmed at Ottawa in 1934 and again at Fort William in 1938, and calls upon the Government to take immediate steps to conscript the manpower, wealth, national resources, business, industrial and other institutions so that we may wage War with the full vigor of the Nation."

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At that Convention The Legion did me the great honour of electing me as its Dominion President, and one of my first duties was to proceed to Ottawa, accompanied by a strong delegation of the Council, and to present this Resolution to the Prime Minister and his colleagues.

The third occasion was as recent as May 9th last. At this time I felt it my duty to bring to the Prime Minister's attention the fact that a number of resolutions had reached Dominion Command from many points in Canada, urging the necessity for immediate national mobilization along the lines of our Resolution.

At this interview I was accompanied by the Dominion First Vice-President, Lt.-Colonel W. C. Nicholson of Montreal, and the General Secretary, Mr. J, R. Bowler. Again our representations were extensive and vigorous.

I give you this information, at this time, to settle once and for all -

First: The Legion's position in the matter; and

Second: What The Legion has done about it.

There has been some criticism of lack of action on the part of Dominion Command. In this regard I would suggest that no more effective method of presentation could have been utilized than direct and personal representations to the Prime Minister and his colleagues. As stated, the Legion has secured the opportunity to do this on three occasions since the War broke out. I wonder if any other Organizations can equal this record.

Moreover, the principle of National Mobilization was reaffirmed at the Meeting of the Dominion Council in Ottawa, in January last, and appropriate publicity was given. In addition, Branches and Commands of The Legion have publicly expressed themselves on numberless occasions.

Suggestions have been made to me that The Legion should organize Mass Meetings and demonstrations throughout Canada in regard to this question. I do not for a minute disagree with the objective in view, particularly having regard to the urgency of the War situation, but I have some doubts as to whether such demonstrations would be in the National interest. We must take care not to lessen our effectiveness by over-zealousness.

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At the same time, however, there is nothing to stop properly convened gatherings of Legion bodies from expressing themselves as often and as emphatically as they think necessary.. In my judgment, The Legion possesses in its own Organization all the facilities necessary to effectively give voice to its opinions. An example of this is the recent Convention of the Quebec Provincial Command, held in Montreal on May 30th and 31st, last, when the following resolution was passed:-

> "That the Dominion Command of the Canadian Legion B.E.S.L., be requested again to make the strongest possible recommendations to the Dominion Government to introduce immediately selective compulsory national service, to apply to men and women alike both for the Armed Forces and for the necessary industrial effort similar to that in effect in the United Kingdom of Great Britain."

This resolution is significant for the reason that our Branches in Quebec include a large number of our French-Canadian Comrades who served with us in the last War, and my information is that the resolution was Moved and Seconded by French-Canadian delegates, and was carried unanimously.

This Convention of the Alberta Command is similarly free to express itself - and I am sure it will do so. I give you my assurance that these resolutions will be brought to the attention of the Dominion Government.

Meanwhile, as you know, a Recruiting Campaign is in progress. The Legion has pledged itself to assist in this Campaign and is doing so in every Province of Canada. Suggestions have reached me that this implies a weakening or modification of The Legion's policy in regard to National Mobilization. Nothing could be further from the truth. We have made our representations to the Government on this subject vigorously and consistently and will continue to do so. Meanwhile, we must deal with situations as they arise.

At the present time a policy of voluntary enlistment is in force in Canada. Men are urgently required. The Military Authorities have sought our aid. These Authorities are not responsible for Government policy but they are responsible for the military prosecution of the War. If, therefore, they tell us they need men, we are in duty bound to assist; and if, as is the case up to the present time, the only method is by way of a Recruiting Campaign, then we are bound to assist in that Campaign to the utmost of our ability. To do otherwise, in my opinion, would be to play into the hands of the enemy and would be letting down our boys Overseas.

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Let me re-emphasize this point, however. The fact that we assist wholeheartedly in a Recruiting Campaign in no way implies a modification of our position on National Mobilization. In our opinion this should have been done from the start. It is the only way to secure scientific utilization of manpower and resources, and it is the only way to ensure equality of service and of sacrifice.

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Extract from Prime Minister's speech at Vancouver, B.C., June 30, 1941.

Re: CONSCRIPTION

In Calgary on Friday I was given a circular - an anonymous circular. Is it not curious that so many of those who sow the seeds of dissention prefer to conceal their identity. That circular was broadcast throughout the city and it asked one question which I answered that same day. The question is: How can we fight a total war without conscription? Let me repeat the answer I gave in Calgary. Here it is: If every man does his own duty first, before he concerns himself about the duty of his neighbour; if, having done his own duty, every man tries to help his neighbour to reach a personal conviction of his duty, instead of urging compulsion, Canada will have no need of conscription for overseas service, and Canada will not be divided on any conscription issue.

The policy of the Government regarding conscription has been made abundantly clear. We have taken the position that every young man who is physically fit should be liable for military training and service in Canada for the defence of Canada. This policy is designed to provide our country with a second line of defence should the country be subject

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to direct attack. In the same way, Parliament has put at the disposal of the nation all the material resources of the country.

My colleagues and I have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the armed forces of Canada at sea, on land, and in the air - service which is undertaken in the cause of freedom - shall be freely undertaken.

Before war came, the Government gave a solemn pledge, in the event of war, we would follow that policy. When war came, the pledge was solemnly reaffirmed. At the general elections, during the war itself, it received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada. Indeed, no political party ventured to advocate conscription for overseas service.

The present unhappy state of the world is in large part the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the very forces against which Canada is fighting today. If a situation should develop where the people's representatives in Parliament should demand a reversal of policy, I would consider that demand as one on which, before action was taken, the people themselves would be entitled to have their voice heard. I wish most

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emphatically to affirm the intention of the Government to keep the pledge repeatedly given to the people of Canada.

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July 1/41 ~~conscription~~ HER

C244318

HERRIDGE

OTTAWA, July 1-CP- Hon W.D. Herridge, originator of the new Democracy movement and former Canadian Minister to Washington in a statement tonight called for a general election on the issue of conscription.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King has renewed his pledge against conscription, Mr. Herridge said in his statement and added; "We must compel the Prime Minister to submit this issue to the people."

Text of Mr. Herridge's statement follows: (165)

The Prime Minister's renewed pledge against conscription, given at Vancouver on June 30, is in effect a pledge that Canada will not make its maximum contribution to the war. Are Canadians going to stand for this?

This pledge will cause dismay in Britain and disgust in [redacted] America. For it is given at a time when our imperilled empire is calling urgently to Canada for total war. This is Canada's

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C244319

official answer to that call.

If there is any manhood in this country we will reverse this answer. The time for a showdown has come. The issue is Mackenzie King and his policy on conscription against the honor of Canada and the security of the Empire. The first of July is a good day on which to raise this issue. We must compel the Prime Minister to submit this issue to the people. We must have a general election without delay. The mackenzie King Government must be opposed in every constitutency in Canada by a candidate who stands for total war. We must constitutionally purge the man and the government who have brought discredit and disunity to our country

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C244320

Laurier House,
July 7, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER (11)

I attach a further selection of editorials on the conscription issue and the desirability of the Prime Minister going to London. I have marked certain passages with green numerals, on which I think it right to make the following comments:

1) The Toronto Saturday night is the only paper, so far as I can see, which places voluntary enlistment on what it calls a moral basis. (Some papers, e.g. the Toronto Star, have said that they think conscription is the fairest way of raising the men needed for overseas service, but the "moral" tone appears to be a new one).

2) Toronto Saturday night is also the only paper which I have seen which raises the "constitutional" aspect of an imperial war conference.

3) This seems a sharp piece of reasoning, and I think it rather gratuitous to bring it forward.

4) The advertisement referred to was forwarded under cover of my memorandum No. 9 of July 5.

J. A. G.

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Toronto Saturday Night July 5/41
(First leader)

C244321

(1)

IT IS with very great regret that we find the Prime Minister of Canada erecting voluntary enlistment into something very like a permanent moral principle for this Dominion, in apparent disregard of the fact that we already have compulsory enlistment for any military service that does not take the soldier outside of the country. Notwithstanding the Prime Minister's rhetoric, there is no moral principle involved in maintaining voluntary enlistment for service abroad, and no special glory accrues from abstaining from the use of compulsion.

The only permanent principle involved which distinguishes overseas service from home service, and which makes compulsion easy for home service and difficult for overseas service, is the claim of French Canada that it possesses special minority rights—rights which are of no importance in connection with home defence, for which French-Canadians are as ardent as any other Canadians, but which are of importance in connection with service abroad, because the French-Canadian feels that such service may be for the purposes of a war (not the present one, but some future one) in which he has no interest or to which he may actually be opposed. This claim has obviously no foundation in anything in the British North America Act, but it may have some validity in public ethics and even in national policy. It is unwise for a majority to tell a minority that it, the majority, can always compel the minority to fight whether willing or no.

It is for that reason, and in order to meet this single valid and permanent objection on the ground of principle, that SATURDAY NIGHT has suggested the device of making compulsory overseas service applicable to the eight provinces on enactment by the Dominion, and to Quebec only on ratification by the province. Our desire is to make Quebec responsible for the compulsory service policy of its own people alone. At present Quebec is dictating a non-compulsory service policy for the whole Dominion. Our belief is that, apart from the general principle that Quebec must not be coerced by the other provinces in this highly personal matter, French Canada is as ready to accept compulsory service today as any other part of the country—and will accept it, when imposed by its own legislators. French Canada knows today that the Rome referred to by the Pope in his magnificent broadcast of Sunday is not the Rome of Mussolini.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C243833

3

Take a Plane and Go

THE intimation which has been made public since we last went to press, proceeding from Mr. Churchill himself, that the British Government is desirous of the presence in London of the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, effects a complete change in the situation regarding the duty of Mr. King in the premises. No purely Canadian consideration should now be allowed to stand in the way of his proceeding to London.

2

There need be no question—with Mr. King participating there could be no question—of any attempt to set up an Imperial Cabinet tendering advice to His Majesty as a unit although composed of men responsible to half-a-dozen different legislative bodies. Any such device as that is a constitutional anomaly which need not be feared for the simple reason that it would not work. The essence of cabinet government is the responsibility of the cabinet to the legislative body, and an Imperial cabinet without an Imperial legislative body is an impossibility. Canadian autonomists need not therefore fear that Mr. King's presence in London means that Canadians are going to be governed from Downing street or Buckingham Palace or even Canada House. So long as the Canadian House of Commons can change the Canadian advisers of the Crown whenever it feels like it, the mere presence of the chief of those advisers in London is not going to remove from Canada any of the power of controlling its own affairs.

On the contrary, we believe that the Canadian people as a whole strongly favors the visit of Mr. King to London, and that he would greatly strengthen his hold upon the regard and confidence of the electors by proceeding there at the earliest opportunity,—now that they know that the British Government wants him. Very few Canadians, we can assure him, are disturbed at the prospect of the British Government "putting something over on him" in the present juncture. Rather there is some fear that perhaps Canada is putting something over on the British, by taking advantage of the fact that the British Government will not officially *ask* Canada for anything that it is not assured in advance that Canada will provide, and then throwing the responsibility upon Britain by announcing that she has not asked for any more than we are giving.

We do not think there would be any great alarm among the French-Canadians at such a visit, nourished though they have too long been on the heady wine of Mr. Bourassa's "impérialisme britannique." What little there might be could be considerably mitigated by taking Mr. Lapointe along with him—thereby giving a more real meaning to that honor which we know Mr. Lapointe values above all his other titles, that "Right Honorable" which marks him as of the Imperial Privy Council. As for the rest of Canada, nothing that Mr. King could conceivably do would contribute so much to set him higher in the public esteem as a few press pictures of him standing with Mr. Winston Churchill amid the wreckage of that building from which the Statute of Westminster derives its name.

Take an aeroplane, Mr. King, and go over for a few days at least. There is no danger of the Opposition stealing a march on you while you are gone. You are insistent that your Government always gives the British Government what it asks for; but the British Government has now asked for you. Britain wants you to go. Canada wants you to go. There is nothing to prevent your going. Take an aeroplane and go.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 353, pages C243723-C244353

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Montreal Gazette July 7/41

(Canada)

CANADA HELPS ISOLATIONISTS.

General Sir Archibald Wavell, British Commander in Chief in the Middle East, who is shortly to take over the Indian command, has made the statement that whatever happens in eastern Europe, the final issue of the war will be decided in the West, as it was in the last war, and that in the end it will be a battle of manpower. Wavell is one of the great military heroes of this war. Prime Minister Churchill has asserted repeatedly that the war will be decided in the West. He has emphasized the vital importance of the battle of the Atlantic but there has always been a definite understanding, expressed in the statement of other high British officials, that in the final step the war will be carried into Europe by British land armies. General Wavell says that American manpower will be needed, that airplanes, tanks and guns from the United States will not be enough. There is, he said, a limit to Britain's own manpower.

This has a profound meaning for Canadians whose Prime Minister is going up and down the country denouncing the principle of compulsory service, denouncing it in almost the same breath with the statement that month by month a "world encircling danger is closing in upon this continent." Mr. King said this at Edmonton where he warned an audience that unless the Nazi menace is shattered a "battle of the hemispheres" is certain. The menace grows closer, grows greater, but Canada does not prepare to meet it in the only way that is either adequate or fair. The Government has repeatedly pledged itself to prosecute the war "to the utmost of our strength," the strength of the whole nation. The utmost national strength cannot be exerted if there is a limitation in any one field, and there is a very decided limitation now in the field of manpower. The Minister of National Defence expects to get the 32,000 men for whose services he has asked, but this number does not represent an increase in the country's military strength, only the maintenance of existing military establishments. The call for manpower is coming, coming to this continent. The United States will be asked to respond to it and the United States is already training hundreds of thousands of men under a compulsory service plan.

Canada's duty is clear. It must mobilize its manpower as fully in proportion to its population as the United States is doing or may do. This is not being done now because there is no war plan in this country, no comprehensive picture of what the war effort is intended to be, no objective toward which the Government is striving. A condition of this kind is serious and dangerous in two aspects. In the first place, Canada is doing less than its duty to itself and to the rest of the Empire. It is failing to pull its weight in the war, and the failure, officially at least, is deliberate. The second aspect is the inevitable effect of such a failure upon sentiment in the United States. In the same issue of The Gazette which carried General Wavell's momentous statement there was reproduced an advertisement published in the New York Sunday Mirror by a so-called Peace House and it contained this statement: "It is a matter of interest to observe that "after England's many months of war Can- "ada does not have compulsory military ser- "vice for overseas," etc.

The purpose of this advertisement was to keep the United States out of the war, to provide material for isolationists, and the publishing newspaper linked it up with Prime Minister King's statement at Calgary in repudiation of compulsory service. The plain truth—and a very ugly truth—is that United States isolationists are capitalizing on Canada's failure. Where this country should be leading, as the only belligerent on this hemisphere, it is falling back. If American manpower is going to be needed, and General Wavell says that it will be needed, how much more is the manpower of the only British nation in North America—the foremost of the Dominions—going to be needed? Even if there were nothing else at stake it is time that Canada stopped this business of feeding isolationists propaganda in the United States. The responsibility is upon the Prime Minister.

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Montreal Gazette July 7/41

(Editorial)

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C243723

Montreal Gazette July 7/41

A GENERAL ELECTION.

Newspapers as well as individuals have read into some of Premier King's remarks in western Canada a suggestion that there may be another general election, probably on the conscription issue. Commentators fail to agree as to the propriety of such a procedure. It is argued on one side that a general election would be upsetting, would distract public atention from the war effort and might conceivably retard war production. Those who hold this view are unable to see why an election should be held at this time, especially under these circumstances. They find Mr. King, assuming that his intentions have been correctly interpreted, again playing politics. They find him attempting to shift from the shoulders of the Government to those of the people the responsibility for determining a war policy which it is the Government's own duty to formulate and enforce. They see delay—after many delays—and at a time when delay is acutely dangerous. They believe Mr. King is seeking to capitalize upon the weakness of a disorganized opposition, and to do this at a moment when every ounce of the national energy should be going into the national war effort.

It is not, of course, certain that the Prime Minister is thinking about a general election, but his journey through the West, with an invitation to a war conference in his pocket, is in itself suggestive, and a general election might be first among the "exigencies" which prevented him from acceding to the expressed wish of Premier Churchill. The extraordinary wage policy announced by the Minister of Labor also has a strong election flavor about it, is indeed explainable upon no other basis. At any rate the election theory is being taken seriously. Those who dislike it, probably the vast majority of Canadians are in this category, do so for the reasons outlined above. There is, however, another view. Those who entertain it say that another general election may be the only means of increasing the strength of the Opposition in the House of Commons and of remedying what the Ottawa Citizen describes as the present condition of negative government at Ottawa. The Citizen argues that the people, a year ago last March, voted in the dark, that complacency ruled, that the contest was unreal in the sense that there was no sign of awareness of what might happen in Europe—what actually did happen. The Ottawa newspaper asserts that there is no doubt "about a "growing opinion throughout this country "in favor of something more inspiring than "has so far been produced by party Gov- "ernment." It says that the party machine is very powerful in winning elections but that much has happened since the last general election "to lead the Canadian people "to desire the removal of party limitations "by a war cabinet."

But would a general election necessarily lead to a realization of such a desire? Not if Mr. King could prevent it, and if he is contemplating a general election at all it may be said with perfect safety that his main purpose is another party victory and an escape from the major war issue which he is so evidently unwilling to face. It may be taken for granted that he wants a vote—if there is to be an election at all—against compulsory service, since he has repeatedly committed himself to maintenance of the voluntary enlistment system, but his Vancouver hint of last Monday was accompanied with the words "should a situation de- "velop where the people's representatives in "Parliament believe there should be a re- "versal of policy." The people's representatives in Parliament do not decide reversals of policy. That is the Government's function. A cabinet decision upon a reversal of policy may be submitted to "the people's representatives in Parliament," by whom, as things are now in the House of Commons, it would most certainly meet with majority approval. If it were a reversal of the enlistment policy it would most certainly have the support of the principal Opposition group, and the Government, backed with the support of the people's representatives, would have no occasion to call for a general election.

Hence, an appeal to the people would not commend itself as an expression of administrative courage but rather as a way of escape from, shall we say, an exigency. If war conditions are such as to necessitate a reversal of enlistment policy, if public opinion in this regard is so strong as to have made its mark upon the Prime Minister, the Government should shoulder its responsibility fearlessly and patriotically. If the need is present the responsibility ought to be faced, and if the public want compulsory service and Mr. King knows it, why have an election? Certainly national unity cannot be promoted by the sectional appeals which must inevitably characterize a general election. We cannot believe that Mr. King is contemplating so flagrant an iniquity.

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C24325

Toronto Globe & Mail July 7/41

PROBLEMS FACING MR. KING.

The Prime Minister's party touring Western Canada has discovered that conscription of men for overseas service is a live issue in Alberta and British Columbia. According to competent observers, the demand for selective compulsory service is very strong among business men on the Pacific Coast. Editorial opinion, both in Vancouver and Victoria, favors, without reservations, conscription, and the Prime Minister's entourage even encountered red-hot conscription sentiment among ardent Liberals at a private dinner given in honor of Mr. King. Public demonstrations, it is said, were largely promoted by veterans' organizations and Conservatives, but an effort is now being made in Calgary to draw representatives from all parties into a pro-conscription organization. It is believed that once the present recruiting campaign is over there will be a general move to organize for conscription in Calgary.

The interview given by General Wavell to Mr. Harold Denny, and published on the front page of The Globe and Mail on Saturday, is bound to have an important effect on opinion in North America. General Wavell's declaration that American man-power will be needed to carry the war into Germany is all the more significant because he is one of the great British exponents of mechanized war. Obviously, if American man-power is needed to drive the Germans back across the Rhine, Canadian man-power is also needed. We doubt if the people of this country will be satisfied that they are adequately represented in the march to Berlin by three divisions.

Early in the present conflict we were told this was to be a war of machines. The Allied armies were to sit in the Maginot Line while the British Fleet blockade did its deadly work. The collapse of France changed all that, and it is important for Canadians to remember that Germany, having conquered France and most of Europe, is now consolidating her position for an attack on the British Islands. These things have happened since Mr. King and his Government were returned to power on a platform now obsolete.

The Canadian people are proud of the gallant men who daily risk their lives in the skies of Europe, on land and on the high seas. They are also proud of Canadian achievements on the industrial front, of the production of modern 25-pounder guns, of the delivery of more than 100,000 mechanized transport vehicles, and of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, which bids fair to turn the tide against Germany. But it is doubtful if a majority are equally proud of the Government. The Ministry includes half a dozen key men who are bearing the heat and burden of the day, and it must be discouraging to Ministers who are working so hard to see evidences of unrest in the country. Public dissatisfaction can be attributed to failure of the Prime Minister to follow a courageous and proper course. Lack of civilian spirit is partly due to the Government's attempt to wriggle through the most critical period in our history as a partisan Administration. Dissatisfaction is increased by the knowledge that sectional interests are being favored for political reasons.

The Globe and Mail has not joined in the clamor for a new Government leader. But we do think that Mr. King would be immensely stronger if he would take early steps to do three things:

(1) Reorganize his Cabinet, eliminating the mediocrities and bringing in able and energetic men who will forget politics and concentrate on the supreme task.

(2) Go to England for a conference with Mr. Churchill and other leaders of the Commonwealth, at which plans could be developed for more effective military efforts.

(3) Recast his policy for the recruitment of our defense forces in the light of the cataclysmic changes which have taken place in Europe since his present Ministry was created.

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(C243723)

Toronto Star July5,/41

The Conscription Issue

From many sources comes the suggestion that the pressing demands of war cancel all pledges. It is argued that Mr. King need therefore have no scruples about forgetting the one he made with respect to conscription for overseas service. But while it is true that the present war, to an even greater extent than the previous one, has seen pledges treated "like a scrap of paper," the chief pledge-breaker has been bitterly denounced in this and other British countries. It is not as though Mr. King had simply said, during his present term of office, that conscription will not be imposed. A government has the right to change its mind, and governments frequently do. But in the present instance the original pledge was made by Mr. King prior to the election of 1940, was repeated during the election, and his appeal to be returned to office was conditional upon that solemn assurance.

It was different with Sir Robert Borden. Sir Robert became premier in 1911 as the result of an election in which the issue was reciprocity. The war did not begin until 1914. In its early stages Sir Robert announced there would be no conscription, but that was a statement of government policy, not a pledge on which a leader was seeking election. When his term was about to expire in 1916, Sir Robert repeated "with emphasis" that there would be no conscription. He was shortly to ask parliament to endorse an extension of his term, and wished to make it clear that an issue which might properly demand an appeal to the people (and later did demand it) was at that time non-existent.

The one-year extension approved by parliament was duly endorsed by Westminster. And during that year recruiting fell short of producing the necessary replacements for casualties overseas. It was because of this that the government changed its announced (but not election-pledged) policy, and passed the military service act, the preamble of which said:

"Whereas to maintain and support the Canadian Expeditionary Force now engaged in active service overseas for the defence and security of Canada, the preservation of the empire and of human liberty, it is necessary to provide reinforcements for such Expeditionary Force;

"And whereas enough men do not volunteer to provide such reinforcements;

"Therefore . . . His Majesty enacts . . ." and so on.

The act was not passed because conscription was the fairest way of raising men (although The Star believes it is), but because voluntary recruiting had failed to keep up with heavy casualty lists. It was not passed by a government which had won an election while pledged against conscription. And before attempting to enforce that act, the government held an election. In asking Sir Wilfrid Laurier to join the coalition which he formed before the election was held, Sir Robert Borden said: "I suggest that we form a coalition government, and pass the Military Service Bill with the proviso that it shall not come into force until proclaimed by the governor-in-council after a general election." Sir Wilfrid, of course, did not join. But no attempt was made to raise forces under the act until after the election was held.

This all goes to emphasize the complexities of the present situation quite apart from the question of the degree to which the desirability of conscription from the viewpoint of fairness is offset by the national disunity which would accompany its enforcement. For today there is (as there was not in 1917) a government election-pledged against compulsory overseas service. And today there is absent the compelling factor of 1917—heavy Canadian casualties with insufficient replacements in sight. If conscription necessitated an election under the circumstances which existed in 1917, could the difficulty be otherwise resolved under the circumstances which exist in 1941? And does Canada want a bitter and disunifying election at this stage of the war? These are questions which those who are campaigning for conscription must ask themselves.

There has been one very gratifying development. A dispatch in yesterday's Star said that the army training camp at Cornwall was empty because every young man who reported there this week for compulsory military service for home defence had gone on active duty. That is, the trainees all signified their willingness to serve overseas. It is evident that the classes called up for training and due to remain in uniform "for the duration" in any event will furnish a large number of voluntary recruits for overseas, even if the response to appeals is not always so unanimous as at Cornwall, which is, incidentally, a bilingual camp.

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(illegible)

Toronto Star Jul.[illegible]/41

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER WJT/MDS

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Heeney:

C244327 Jul 7 11-305-4-A 1941.

In the attached clipping from 11-305-22 1941 the "Vancouver Sun" a writer to the paper, W.C.D. Crombie, discusses conscription, and in the last paragraph suggests that the true facts of our wartime enlistment requirements, etc. should be set forth. 11-305-R 1941.

The Prime Minister wants this brought up in the War Committee and the facts gathered if it is possible to do so. If properly presented they should make clear to the Canadian people the impossibility of going in for a large army and at the same time carrying on our present commitments in regard to air training and naval development.

July 12, 1941. W. J. T.

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What Is Your Opinion?

C244328

Conscription Issue

Editor, The Sun: Sir,—In The Sun, June 17, an editorial points out that the question of conscription is apparently definitely shelved until after Parliament reconvenes in November—five months from now. Five and twelve are 17; 17 long months from now is the very earliest it would be possible to turn out properly trained men for our overseas forces if conscription came into effect in November. What is going to happen in the meantime, and does the general public understand the terrible danger which confronts our active service forces if the present failure to obtain recruits for the overseas army, through the breakdown of the voluntary enlistment system, is allowed to continue?

We old soldiers have been reading with feelings of increasing astonishment and apprehension the recent statements attributed to Prime Minister King, Colonel Ralston and the Hon. Mr. Gardiner on the question of enlistment of Canada's "front-line" forces.

The Prime Minister is quoted in the press as saying he has every confidence Canada will obtain by voluntary enlistment all the men she needs. Colonel Ralston is quoted as saying, in effect, you must not mention conscription; conscription will split the country wide open. Mr. Gardiner is quoted as saying an army of 750,000 for Canada's "front line war effort" is a possibility within the next three years. But today, we have the sorry spectacle of a most brazen and distasteful coast to coast government recruiting drive to drum up 32,000 men to enlist voluntarily in the army, not as reinforcements for battle casualties, but simply to bring the existing establishment of active service units up to full establishment strength.

According to what purports to be authoritative statements in the press, Canada's active service forces—the army, navy and air force—today are numerically equivalent to eight Great War divisions; that is approximately twice the number of divisions Canada was able to raise and maintain in the theatre of war during the four years of 1914 to 1918.

Have the Prime Minister, Colonel Ralston and Mr. Gardiner forgotten that in order to maintain only four divisions in the last war, the Military Service Act (that is, conscription) had to be put into effect for one-quarter of the total war effort, because sufficient numbers of men could not be obtained by voluntary enlistment.

Surely any schoolboy could tell these gentlemen that, all things being comparable, it would require approximately twice as many men to maintain our present equivalent of eight divisions as it did our four Great War divisions, and yet the Prime Minister tells the people of Canada he has every confidence Canada can obtain all the men she requires by voluntary enlistment? Impossible.

We know Colonel Ralston was a soldier in the last war who won the respect of all for his courage and ability, and we did not think politics would affect his views and actions or dull his memory, but we fail to understand why he should say in 1941 conscription will split the country wide open, when he not only was one who advocated it in the last war, but that he must know and remember that when conscription was introduced it did not bring about the awesome calamity he now so emphatically prophesies. It may have sounded the death-knell of a political party, but what is that to him compared with saving the honor of Canada in the battlefields?

What then is Canada going to do in the matter of military service? Are we, the citizens of Canada, going to complacently sit by and allow the same inexcusable muddles and mistakes to be perpetrated in this war as they were in 1914-18? Where are the reserves of properly trained men we should now have on hand, and ready to reinforce our divisions in England when they begin to suffer battle casualties? Are we going to break up our third and fourth divisions in Canada, in order to supply trained men for our overseas divisions, as we had to break up our fifth division in the last war, and are we once again going to have to dissipate and sacrifice the efficiency of our manpower by rushing untrained men into the battle zones because the powers that be have not got the intestinal fortitude to take the step which they know full well will have to be taken in order to guarantee and provide an adequate reserve of trained reinforcements for our armies in the field while and as long as the war lasts?

Let us humbly pray that someone in Ottawa will have the guts to come out in the open and tell the true facts of our wartime enlistment requirements; how many divisions we intend to put in the field and maintain; how many trained men it will require to keep these divisions at full efficiency and strength over a period of years, and exactly what will have to be done in order to have a reserve of trained men ready and constantly available, and that conscription will have to be introduced in order to do so.

W. C. D. CROMBIE.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C244329

Prime Minister

Some days ago I received a request to gather together arguments in favour of conscription so that they could be analysed & counter-arguments prepared.

Attached is a first draft, drawn up in collaboration with Mr. Ferns.

Perhaps at convenience you would indicate

- Whether these should be developed more fully
- Whether the form should be changed.

Mr Ferns & myself will watch for new developments on this subject.

24/7/41

Jas.

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DRAFT

ARGUMENT

1) Conscription is the fairest method of placing the manpower of Canada on active service. A system of selective service, (as experience in U.S. suggests) would, in the present situation, prove a unifying influence.

Exhibit A, B, C.

2) Compulsory military service for home defence only cannot be reconciled with an "all-out" war effort; we cannot wage total war to the utmost of our strength if our participation is limited by the limits of voluntary enlistment.

Exhibit D

3) Voluntary military service is inconsistent with the need for manpower to settle the military issue.

Exhibit E

COUNTER ARGUMENT

1) The Government of Canada gave a pledge, not once, but repeatedly, that so long as the present administration remained in office, there would be NO conscription for service outside of Canada.

2) So long as the emphasis remains upon machines of war rather than upon manpower as such, the inauguration of conscription could only be a dividing force within Canada. The war effort has until now been on a singularly united basis.

So far as enlistments are concerned, voluntary enlistment has so far provided all the men needed for keeping up to strength the active service formations, at home and overseas, to which Canada is committed for the current year.

In other directions, notably in machines and materials, the Canadian contribution to the total war effort is of such a nature and on a scale which suggests that conscription is not the essential point on which our war effort should turn.

It should also be remembered how considerable a proportion of Canadian skill and manpower is needed in essential industries in Canada. If this aspect of the war effort is deficient, then no amount of compulsory service could make any difference.

This is a war of machines; and manpower alone without effective mechanized equipment on land, or without high-speed heavily-armed aircraft for the air, or without adequate naval craft, is useless.

There is no advantage in sending outside of Canada troops of whatever arm who are not adequately trained and fully equipped. Conscription in Canada of unspecified numbers of men, without reference to the equipment and training possibilities, would be uneconomic effort and might obscure the more immediate necessities of the war effort.

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ARGUMENT	COUNTER ARGUMENT
4) The present basis of military service in Canada is playing into the hands of isolationists in the United States; "if Canada does not require men to serve abroad except on voluntary enlistment, why should the U.S. help at all?" Exhibit F	The policy of the Canadian Government is decided by the Government of Canada, which is responsible for that policy. The Government of the United States is similarly responsible for whatever policies it determines upon. It is surely a singular commentary that the people most anxious to avoid complying with a policy inaugurated by the Government of the United States should have to look outside their own country for a reason to attack a settled policy of their own Government. The United States is not a belligerent in the present war, and it follows that the policies followed by the Government of the United States may of necessity be different in many particulars.
5) The Government's pledge against conscription for overseas service was not intended to be binding if conditions changed radically; when the General Election was held in 1940 there was: no invasion of the Low Countries no collapse of France no intensified warfare on the scale which has since developed. The stand should now be reversed. Exhibits G, H	If a pledge, so-called, means anything at all, it is made to be kept. The pledge was given with a due appreciation of what might transpire during the lifetime of a new Parliament. It was a deliberate statement of the policy which the Administration, if returned to office, would follow. It may be asked whether those who now put forward this argument are seeking to embarrass the war effort of the Government and have failed to find any other ground upon which to attack? Would require more evidence than has appeared so far
6) "Continuance of present policy of recruiting will prove more destructive of national unity than an open policy involving general conscription of manpower, labor-power, capital, and anything else needed to win the war." (1)	

(1) C.E.Silcox in Toronto Saturday Night, September 27, 1941

C244332

7) Present method of recruiting, however adroit from political point of view, will prove fatal to national unity; and after war will lead to recriminations "which cannot be answered by "facts" because government will never have the nerve to publicize the facts." (2)

Recriminations may be expected in any case from those who are inadequately informed or who decline to see Canadian necessities in light of general world picture.

8) A critical and favourable stage in the war has now been reached; if we lose no time in throwing our maximum weight into the struggle, we may be able, with the magnificent help which Russia is giving and which the United States will give, to crack the enemy by 1942, whereas if we vacillate and confine our war effort to flaming radio addresses, we may find ourselves in for a five or ten-year war. (3)

Government have never disguised the critical character of the struggle, nor that the maximum possible effort will be required of Canada. Our war effort, in terms of money and materials, speaks for itself; whether the conscription of men for overseas service would even now be a useful step must be open to question. The determination whether our greatest contribution is in soldiers or sailors or airmen, or in equipment or food, is a military problem

9) Present policy is bound to create bitterness between those who go voluntarily into the armed forces and those who stay at home and hold down good jobs. National unity will never be served that way (4)...)

Unless there can be voluntary effort the driving force of our war effort will be lost; so far as it is possible to ensure it by legislation and regulation, the interest of men who enlist voluntarily have been protected.

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10) A partial conscription of labour (would) prove a step towards parity of sacrifice . . .(and) might help to keep down the costs of the war and thus prevent the serious after effects of unwise inflationary policies (5)

Financial policy is being devised consistently to prevent inflation so far as possible.

Exhibit J

(2,3,4,5) -- C.E.Silcox, Toronto Saturday Night, September 27/41.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

A

C64333

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date MAY 2 6 1941

Subject

CONSCRIPTION MEANS EQUALITY

(An Editorial From the Canadian Veteran.)

Steadily, persistently, since the start of Great War No. 2, ex-service men of Canada have pressed for conscription of manpower for military service.

Their demand has not been based on idle, ill-considered reasoning which sees conscription as a panacea for all manpower evils, but on sound, logical conclusions which determine that universal service is the only equitable method of procedure.

Why is conscription unavoidable? There are many reasons, but a few are of particular emphasis.

Because it is the only system that will ensure that all citizens of military age bear an equal part in the defense of the country. Under the present hit-and-miss system of voluntary enlistments the best, the most patriotic citizens volunteer willingly — the "slacker" sits back and laughs up his sleeve. The volunteer gives up a good job — he and his dependents get along thereafter on army pay and allowances. The slacker, taking advantage of the war-increased labor demand, wartime wage levels, entrenches himself in the fat job that the $1.30-a-day man defends. And, if post-Great War history in any criterion, to such an extent that the returning sailor, soldier, airman finds himself on the outside looking in when his rehabilitation as a citizen is an immediate problem.

Because it is the only system under which the reservoir of manpower can be effectively controlled by those who must, in the final analysis, employ it. The Department of National Defense needs men—its Minister has said so. And, it is to be presumed, he hopes that the volunteer will step forward in sufficient numbers to satisfy the demand. And again, if such is the case, the best type of citizen will answer—leaving free from threat of danger and real sacrifice those who, at the best, can only be called second-rate citizens. In the meantime the Government goes on, complacently hopeful that the men with real patriotism in their hearts will save it the direful necessity of saying to the men of Canada as a whole, without fear, favor, bias: "Fall in and do your duty as a citizen who has enjoyed the rights, the privileges, the benefits of our democratic system of government and who must now help to pay the price for it."

Conscription must come. There is no avoiding it. The fact that already one half-hearted step has been taken—that of keeping in the service the men now being given their four months' training—is an indication that those "up top" realize that there is no other way out.

Great Britain has realized it—to the full. Must we sit and wait for the emergency to land on our doorstep, even as it has battered at the doors of Britain, before we act?

The Great War taught us the lesson. Even in those days politicians dodged the issue—only to have it forced on them by cold, hard facts.

Voluntary recruiting has failed. That fact is unquestionable. The experiences of the reserve units that made desperate appeals for men to go on active service, and secured them, not by hundreds, not by dozens, but by ones and twos, are the proof. It must be said, in all fairness, that that situation was not a reflection on the courage or the desire of the young men who form those units. The indecision of the past had created a material situation which led to a decision to wait and see what it was all about.

Granted that the labor situation must be taken into serious consideration in connection with any move which will take men from the factory to the armed forces. Conceded that the wheels of industry must be kept turning so that the men on service may have the munitions and equipment without which they are powerless. That, after all, is only a problem of administration, requiring level-headed, courageous handling.

The fact remains that only through a system of selective conscription, with every man given his definite job in the place for which he is best fitted, can we approach the maximum in our war effort. Only in such a manner can we achieve a democratic equality of service and sacrifice. And there must be equality of sacrifice. The payment of a bonus to veterans after

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Office of
The Prime Minister

C243324

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

the war to reconcile their position with that of high-paid munitions workers is a weak palliative. The time to level things out is now, and it can be done only by imaginative, inspired leadership which faces the facts, calls a spade a spade, and gets on with the job that, willy-nilly, has to be done.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C244334

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Prime Minister

B

C24-1035

Name of Publication Saturday Night

Date June 7/41

Subject

We Should Have Conscription Now

BY O. T. G. WILLIAMSON

Conscription has been considered only from the angle of political expediency. The writer of this article argues that the rightness of the principle of conscription must be accepted.

Canadian unity, he says, will be cemented by selective conscription.

The old Canadian Corps must not again, through their sons, fight Canada's battles.

The United States shows us the Democratic way.

THE article by Mr. H. F. Nicholson published in SATURDAY NIGHT on May 24 deserves the close attention of every loyal Canadian. Designed, as he says, "to rally to the defence of the Government," it succeeds in presenting some very just and effective criticism of its military effort.

It is fair to recognize, as Mr. Nicholson does, that ineffective as our present Cabinet has been, the causes are of long standing, and are the responsibility of all our governments since the conclusion of the Great War. The Permanent Force was never properly equipped to be a highly trained professional Army in any modern sense and the N.P.A.M. was starved and crucified. The pacifism which contributed to this situation, while largely induced by the meaner types of politician, must be charged to those of us, who, knowing better, took no active steps to combat the tendency.

Mr. Nicholson is correct when he blames the Department of Munitions and Supply for its share in the lag in our military preparations. A reorganization of this Department, so far stubbornly refused, is an immediate necessity. Even an organizing genius could not hope, singlehanded, to direct efficiently the multiplicity of detail under Mr. Howe's direction.

In the writer's opinion, it is not being traitorous to the principles of democracy to criticize obvious defects in our military effort if constructive alternatives are suggested. It is becoming more and more apparent that the Empire, and that means Canada as well, is in immediate critical danger. At such a time to waste any of our energy on nonessentials is not only stupid, it is wicked. The men, money and materials represented by the Reserve Army, as at present organized, is such a waste. This situation is unaltered if the Reserve Army is called an Army for home defence. Col. Ralston said in the House on April 28, 1941:

"It was reported to us by the reserve units that they found difficulty in getting their men to volunteer for overseas service. Why? Not because of the fact that there was not compulsory mobilization for overseas service, but because of the fact that the men who had enlisted in the reserve units generally speaking were of the type who could not immediately go overseas, who were not medically fit to go overseas, who had enlisted for the purpose of being ready to do their bit in case of an emergency, occupying a place somewhat similar to that occupied by the Home Guard in England; or they

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were business men who had certain responsibilities in connection with their work and who felt that the time had not come for them to go. That is to say, they were not the rank and file of ordinary young men in these reserve units; many of their men regarded themselves as more or less fulfilling the role taken in England by the Home Guard."

Rob Overseas Army

If this Army is to be used for home defence, it will still be composed, to a great extent, of men not fit to go overseas, and of business men who have certain responsibilities in connection with their work. It will not be highly trained and to the extent that it is equipped, it will be robbing the only effective force we have—the Canadian Army Overseas.

The fallacies in Mr. Nicholson's argument, in the writer's opinion are two. First, the assumption that the introduction of conscription would mean the immediate enrollment of larger numbers of men than could be equipped and trained. Secondly, in considering conscription solely from the point of view of immediate need, he was overlooking the fundamental issue involved. With reference to the first, a plan of selective conscription, applied to all eligible men, not merely those in the twenty-year classes, would more readily secure the required number than any haphazard, high-pressure recruiting campaign.

As to the second, few issues, when stripped of sophistry or the camouflaging effect of irrelevancies, will fail to yield a clean-cut answer to the question, "Is this right or wrong?" Conscription of manpower in defence of national existence is certainly not such an issue. This is even more definitely true in a Democracy. Common responsibility for the general good is implicit in the name. Denial of the fundamental rightness of conscription is a denial of democracy.

As an alternative, the employment of foreign mercenaries, immoral as that may be, might still be considered a democratic act. To attempt to employ, by cajolery or sentimental appeal, a loyal section of a democratic people for the defence of the others is neither democratic, nor is it right. The cheap cynicism of any nation adopting as a battle cry "God defend the right," when its own defence is based on obvious injustice, cannot be condoned. It is as despicable as the proclamation of an all-out effort when what is intended is a moderate one.

In Canada the rightness of conscription has never been debated. It has merely been examined from the viewpoint of political expediency. While it has been admitted that in a total effort the services of every man should be applied in the most effective way, not the slightest attempt has been made to implement this principle. Witness the futile and unregarded national registration.

Insult to Quebec

At the outbreak of war and before, both of the great political parties were quick to proclaim their abhorrence of conscription. Neither has since dared to suggest that it is not the democratic way. They have oriented themselves with a political compass but, while looking east, have looked no further than Quebec. This may at the time have been good politics, but, in this writer's opinion, it was a gratuitous insult to Quebec. Without conscience, they have taken a stand which they know to be wrong for the sake of political preferment. One Member only, a Veteran and a National Government man, had the courage to demand the right and he was treated with a deluge of subterfuge which ignored the fundamental issue.

It is time that Canadians gave serious thought to the military situation in Canada. Mr. King was right when he said that the times demand a total effort. Mr. King knows that this can be secured only by a selective process which will most effectually use our total strength. He was wrong when for political reasons he denounced conscription. He will be right if he now reverses his stand.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C244337 Office of The Prime Minister

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Subject.....

He will also achieve true unity in Canada in place of the fictitious unity he now extols. To suggest, as was done in the House recently, that to propose conscription is to drive a wedge into Canadian unity, makes it more than ever necessary that our so-called unity be examined.

The last great demonstration of unity in Canada was shown during the visit of Their Majesties in 1939. We were then indeed united in loyalty to the Crown. There was then no suggestion that Quebec was less ready than Ontario and British Columbia to pay homage. It was not lip service. It came from the heart. Today we have no such unity. Mr. King smugly points to his huge majority in the House as evidence of a united people. Seventy-five per cent of the Members were elected by fifty-four per cent of the popular vote. That was before Dunquerque, before France crumpled up. That was before the soporific effect of over twenty years of pacifism had worn off. That was before Canadians realized that they were being deluded by official propaganda.

The fifty-four per cent would not today vote for a Prime Minister who must be prodded into action. His strength is in the weakness of the Opposition. He holds Quebec in thrall not because that province is disloyal, as Colonel Ralston's reference to conscription would suggest, but simply because it is inarticulate. A group of politicians, vocal beyond all conscience, is its voice but they do not speak the language of the habitant. Leadership at Ottawa would change all that. Canada, like a convoy, is conforming to the speed of the slowest ship. An order from the flagship, "Full speed ahead" would drive every last keel in unison. Conscription is not a wedge to split unity. It will provide the democratic unity we have never known in this war.

So much for conscription and unity, but what of the effect of the present policy. In 1914 we had voluntary service. Conscription came so late that it had no effect on our armed forces. The Canadian Corps was made up of men, civilians for the most part, who did not count the personal cost when Canada and the Empire were at stake. They were men who gave up jobs, businesses and professions to fight for the country. They knew that those who stayed behind were waxing rich. Sixty thousand of them did not return. Thousands more were disabled permanently. Many went away as boys, and, returning as men, could not fit in.

Veterans Good Citizens

No class has been steadier, none better citizens, than the Veterans of the Great War. They have made no selfish demands. They have stood firmly for order and decency. That they have not stood together has been their weakness. The discipline of the war years has survived to this day. They were admittedly the cream of Canadians during the Great War and they are not less so now. What utter folly then it is, what waste of human material to ask these men and their sons once more to rally to our defence. The voluntary system of enlistment is doing just this.

The writer defies the politicians who prate against conscription to prove that seventy-five per cent at the least of the strength of the Active Army today is not composed of ex-service men and their sons. Polls have shown that eighty per cent of units investigated are so constituted. What will the future of this country be if we permit it to be drained of its best blood? Modern tendencies in democratic countries have been enervating enough without this added folly which would give discipline, the right of every man, only to that part of our people to whom some discipline remains. The future well-being of our people is of more consequence than the future well-being of any political party. It is to the latter that politicians look when they pull long faces and rant against conscription.

The U.S. Example

If example is needed let us look to the United States, an examination which should bring no pain to Mr. King. He might well include in his general admiration of our great neighbor to the south some appreciation of their adoption, in truly democratic fashion, of selective conscription. It is being widely and justly applied although that country is not yet actively engaged in war. It was applied at a time when their people had no thought of actual fighting. It was accepted without pro-

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test. It did not cause disunity. Unity was achieved, and Mr. King might well take note, by leadership. Mr. Roosevelt has in his Cabinet two outstanding Republicans in Mr. Knox and Mr. Stimson. After a bitterly fought election campaign, the defeated candidate came strongly to the aid of his President.

Mr. King will achieve leadership and unity when he does what he knows to be right without thought to his political fortunes. He will get the support he badly needs when he makes loyalty to Canada and the Empire, not to himself, the only consideration. He will get a total military effort only when he abolishes all the wasteful, unrealistic clap-trap about home defence and proclaims, what he knows to be true, that home defence can only be attained by meeting the enemy overseas.

It is for Mr. King to say whether he is willing to risk everything for the sake of the future of the Liberal Party, or whether, by the adoption of conscription now, he is prepared to give Canada a chance to save herself as a democracy and not a slave state.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS (24133) Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date JUL 14 1941

Subject

MORE VIGOROUS EFFORT IN WAR ASKED AT RALLY

Conscription, National Government Are Urged by Orange Order

REYNOLDS SPEAKS

Conscription of men and materials and formation of a National Government were demanded in a resolution by Toronto Orangemen Saturday as 10,000 celebrated the 251st anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

In traditional "Glorious Twelfth" settings, the loyalty of the Orange Order to British and democratic principles was stressed and resolutions were unanimously approved calling for more vigorous prosecution of the war by Canada.

Tens of thousands lined Toronto streets for the grand parade along a route that has been followed for forty years. Floats, banners, fife and drum bands, skirling pipes, the tramp, tramp, tramp of marching feet, all blended into colorful and impressive pageantry.

It was estimated that 5,000 Orange followers participated in the three-mile procession from Queen's Park to Exhibition Park, a decided drop in numbers from other years. But to County Master Thomas Addy, the thinning of the Orange parade was illustrative of the loyalty of the Orangemen during the present national emergency. Said he: "We did not expect as many in line today because so many of our men are in their country's uniform or working on munitions orders."

Drum majorettes replaced drum majors in Saturday's march, and paraders included an increased number of women. All marchers wore buttons with Winston Churchill's picture on them. In its entirety, the procession took almost two hours to pass the City Hall, where numerous halts were called while wreaths were placed on the Cenotaph.

Prizes Are Awarded.

Selected as the best motto of the day and originated by Joshua L.O.L. 154 was: "Take it if you dare—the challenge still stands." Other prizes were awarded as follows: Uniformity of dress, McKinley L.O.L. 275; best marching lodge, King William III, L.O.L. 140; special mention, Dian and Maple Leaf lodges; best visiting lodge, Eglinton 269; best Orange Young Britons, No. 92; best girls' juvenile, Anne Lewis Memorial, with special mention for Young Victoria, Unity and Oakridge; best boys' juvenile, York No. 8, with special mention for Sons of Ulster, No. 22; best mixed juvenile, Riverdale.

Guest speaker at the Orange rally in Exhibition Park, Lieut.-Col. C. E. Reynolds, president of the Canadian Corps, advocated compulsory national service and total war effort on the part of the people of Canada of all races and creeds. Rapping the Government's stand on conscription and championing Quebec's increasing war efforts, Lieut.-Col. Reynolds declared:

"National service, which must apply to man power, industry, labor and wealth, is the only fair and equitable solution of our problems and it is a very necessary thing in Ontario."

As a citizen of this Province, he said he had the right to urge this introduction, but that he had no desire to urge it as a vital and necessary thing in the Province of Quebec. "I have confidence," he declared, "that those two great French-Canadian leaders, Cardinal Villeneuve and Premier Godbout, will, in their time, recognize that it is desirable for their Province also, even if only for the purpose of preventing their Province any longer from being used as a political football by our Government."

Unity Necessary.

Canada's total war effort cannot be achieved until all religious, racial and Provincial suspicions and disunity are eliminated, he emphasized. "A fair and equal sacrifice is demanded by Canada of all her citizens, and no politician seeking to obtain advantage for party at this time must be allowed to interfere with this proper concept of duty."

Calling for a loyal and united effort, Lieut.-Col. Reynolds said: "The Orangemen will be true blue and loyal as they have been throughout their history. In this time of crisis, they have one loyalty and one alone. Please God they may inspire, by their example, a common loyalty in a common cause."

Other resolutions adopted by the Orange Order at the rally were: a declaration of loyalty to the King and of admiration for the acts of faith, devotion, and courage by His Majesty and Queen Elizabeth; commendation of the Protestant patriots of Northern Ireland for their zeal in the cause of the British Empire; and to President Roosevelt, appreciation of his outstanding leadership in the cause of freedom and Christian civilization.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C244340

Office of The Prime Minister D

Name of Publication Lethbridge Herald

Date July 5th 41.

Subject

Coleman Branch Of The Canadian Legion In Favor Of Conscription

Motion Will Go to Prime Minister — "Call to Arms" Proclamation

(From Our Own Correspondent)

COLEMAN, July 5.—Many citizens were present at the town hall at 1 p.m. Friday to see Mayor Fred Antrobus being presented by Lieut. Montgomery with the proclamation and hear Mayor Antrobus read the proclamation calling upon the youth of Canada to enlist in Canada's armed forces.

A sequel to the reading of the proclamation was the presentation by the Coleman branch of the Canadian Legion of a written motion which will be sent Prime Minister Mackenzie King and which Mayor Antrobus also read to the gathering. Following its reading a vote was taken to determine the number in favor of conscription. The vote was unanimously in favor of conscription.

The motion:

"We, the Canadian Legion, of the town of Coleman in the province of Alberta, as loyal citizens of the British empire, and thinking only of the welfare of the empire at this time make a motion at this gathering that a letter be sent to Prime Minister Mackenzie King informing him that this gathering of loyal citizens insist that the time for side-stepping the issue is past. If we are to survive as a nation it is time that Canada begins to wage total war against our enemy Hitler. This gathering is further convinced that to do this conscription must be brought in without delay."

The motion was proposed by Wm. Martland, president of the Coleman branch of the Canadian Legion, and seconded by Ernest Hill, private citizen, in the presence of Mayor Fred Antrobus.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C244341 Office of The Prime Minister

E

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date June 20/41

Subject

Canada Urged To Conscript All Manpower

Winnipeg Speaker Wants Total Effort Throughout Empire

To win the war the Allies must land a force in France, Belgium and Holland large enough to overcome all German divisions sent against it, said Major H. G. L. Strange, director of agricultural research for Searle Grain Company, of Winnipeg, in a speech to the Kiwanis Club of Montreal at the Windsor Hotel yesterday.

This is not an impossible task, he believed, but it will require a total war effort throughout the British Empire and the conscription of its entire man power. Canada alone must supply a minimum of 12 divisions. Britain already has 10 per cent of its population in uniform.

"Not one country in history has raised eight per cent of its population for military service without introducing conscription," Major Strange explained. "Canada will have to put conscription into force to raise 10 per cent.

"I don't like the phrase 'defence of Canada'", he protested. "It gives us a Maginot-line sort of mind. The only way to ward off the enemy is to get after him wherever he may be in Europe or in Asia. It will be too late to beat Hitler when he lands here."

MORE SOLDIERS WANTED

Major Strange declared that the British want more soldiers to help them. "No battle was ever lost because of too many men, but several have been lost because of too few," he said.

"Premier King may have promised during election time that he would never introduce conscription," he admitted, "but since when has it become fashionable that any political promise should be kept? Political expediency must now make way to national emergency."

Major Strange concluded with the suggestion that post-war planning should commence immediately and that Canadian soldiers should not surrender their victory to the politicians but should be guided by the knowledge of the best economists, historians, and philosophers in the land.

John Ryan introduced the speaker, and Don Ross expressed the club's appreciation. The vice-president, T. H. McEvoy presided.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C243742 Office of The Prime Minister F

TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Name of Publication

Date JUL 10 1941

Subject

AMERICA AND MANPOWER.

American isolationists are sedulously exploiting Canada's failure to enforce full conscription as an argument that the United States should not be called upon to make any further sacrifices for freedom's cause beyond giving help with materials. An advertisement published by a pacifist organization in the New York Daily Mirror recently stressed the laggardness of Canada in regard to her military contribution to the common cause.

Now Sir Claude Auchinleck, who has taken over the command of the British forces in the Middle East from General Wavell, supports in a press interview his predecessor's belief that American manpower will be needed for a fully adequate victory, which in his view must be completed on the actual soil of Germany. So here are two of Britain's foremost generals frankly admitting that the subjugation of the totalitarian dictators, without which all our sacrifices and travails will have been in vain, will be impossible without the co-operation of the manpower of the United States.

Undoubtedly the great majority of the American people are willing and anxious to assist the British Commonwealth and its allies in compassing the defeat of the dictators, but the minority, which still firmly opposes the despatch of any American expeditionary force to Europe, is still very numerous and active, and as long as Canada, the largest of the overseas Dominions of the British Commonwealth, balks at full conscription it will find in this fact immensely powerful ammunition for its case that, as long as the manpower of the British Commonwealth is not exhausted, the youth of the United States should not be called upon to shed its blood in foreign lands for the sake of rescuing Britain.

There are good grounds for believing that one of the factors animating Sir Robert Borden to introduce military conscription in the last war was a definite intimation from Washington that Canada must undertake to impose it before the United States became an active belligerent. The Wilson Administration had made up its mind to enforce conscription as soon as it declared war, and obviously there would be great difficulty in making the draft effective if young Americans who wanted to evade it could slip across the border and secure immunity from

in a country which had no machinery for rounding up its own slackers for military service. So it may well happen that one of these days Mr. Mackenzie King will get a plain hint from his friend President Roosevelt that he had better forget his pre-election pledges against conscription. Good reasons will then be discovered at Ottawa for a rapid change of front on this issue.

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Name of Publication Ottawa Journal

Date July 2/41

Subject

Prime Minister King And Conscription.

Many in this country must be becoming impatient with Prime Minister KING'S continued assertion that no matter what happens this country can't have conscription because of anti-conscription pledges which he gave in the last election.

That sort of talk is so remote from realities, so blind to the desperate peril of this war, it is discouraging to have a responsible war leader use it.

Whether conscription is desirable or necessary at this time is perhaps debatable.

It is not debatable on the irrelevancy of what Mr. KING and Dr. MANION said during the last election. Actually, this country at this moment doesn't care a tinker's curse what Mr. KING and Dr. MANION said in the last election. If they said that this country must never have conscription, and failed to qualify their statement, they both said something they had no right to say. Not if they were talking —as they purported to be talking—about "all out", unlimited war.

Whether Canada needs, or doesn't need, conscription at the present time, or in the near future, depends, it seems to THE JOURNAL, upon two things:

1. Whether the Government's policy is merely replacements and reinforcements for the divisions and units that have already been authorized; or

2. Whether it is the Government's policy to authorize additional divisions and units.

If the first be the Government's policy, with replacements and reinforcements for existing divisions the sole need, then it may be that the voluntary system is adequate, conscription unnecessary. If the second be the Government's policy, with additional divisions and units to be raised, then it may be doubted—on the basis of existing enlistments—whether the voluntary system is adequate; held that conscription is necessary.

Prime Minister KING, we think, should deal with conscription on that basis, and on no other basis. He should tell the country frankly how many men the Government intends to raise, or thinks it can afford to raise; can afford to train and equip. Deciding and explaining that, we should then be in a position to judge whether conscription is or isn't necessary.

The country can't judge or decide about conscription intelligently without the Government first informing it of its military manpower policy. It certainly doesn't want to decide or judge or discuss the question on the basis of what politicians said or thought about the matter more than 15 months ago. During those 15 months HITLER has crushed 10 countries, is presently devastating another.

It seems time some political Rip Van Winkles in this country woke up.

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"The political issue, so far as it relates to the promises given by Mr. King and Dr. Manion to the electors in 1940, can be disregarded. Politicians always make indiscreet promises before election, and even if it is highly desirable that they occasionally keep their word, they have one loyalty which is higher than that to their pre-election promises. Mr. King has taken the oath of office and sworn loyally to support and defend this country and its sovereign, and when he promised that he would never, never, 'well, hardly ever' apply conscription, he did so, knowing full well that the law of the land gave him authority to call able-bodied Canadians to the colors if the defence of this country made such a call imperative. He could not tell how serious the situation might become, and consequently he had no moral right to make any such promise. Nor can his promise be binding if the situation is sufficiently serious to warrant his use of the powers inherent in the law of the Dominion. Indeed, he would be unfaithful to his oath of office if, in such an emergency, he did not use the powers which the law of the land (which is above his promises) has committed into his keeping. He must decide whether the situation is sufficiently critical to warrant the use of the powers at his disposal. If he does not consider it sufficiently critical, he may be forgiven for continuing the present policy even if he may later have to pay the price for a mistake in judgment. If he considers it extremely and supremely critical, then, as an honorable man who has solemnly sworn to defend the independence of the nation, he has no choice but to use his power and apply conscription. To the moral theologian, the issue is clear, and his pre-election promises mean little or nothing."

From: The Higher Rationale of Conscription
by Claris Edwin Silcox,
Toronto Saturday Night, Sept.27, 1941.

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"There is no valid reason why, in this war, we should not conscript a certain amount of labor for our industries as well as for the military. There is no reason why we should expect some of the more adventurous youths from 20 to 30, unmarried and without dependents, to volunteer for the armed forces at $1.35 a day with board, uniforms and other perquisites, while other youths, similarly circumstanced, are given ever-increasing pay with bonuses in war-factories. There is no reason why we should not call the men up by classes, and let those who cannot serve best in the army or air-force be drafted into industrial undertakings, preferably in government arsenals, at a wage commensurate with that given the men who are risking their lives on sea, land or in the air that we should be safe for whatever it is that warrants our salvation. Of course, the labor unions might fear that this arrangement would prove a damper on some union ambitions, but unless something is done to stabilize wages in the war-industries, we shall experience a type of inflation which may make any economic adjustment after the war practically impossible.

From: The Higher Rationale of Conscription
by Claris Edwin Silcox,
Toronto Saturday Night, Sept.27, 194 1

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C244346

For the Prime Minister

The Prime Minister may not wish to have this letter sent, but I could not refrain from expressing my real feelings regarding this outrageous attack.

J. W. P.

August 2, 1941

No answer needed
better not - let
letter remain
Later. Release
10-8-41

(These letters confidential
J. W. Pickersgill, Aug. 2 1941)
J.C.

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N.305-61-R
1941
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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

Ottawa, August 2, 1941.

Theodore W. Lyman, Esq.,
485 McGill Street,
Montreal, P.Q.

Dear Sir:

I wish, on behalf of the Prime Minister, to acknowledge your recent letter, with which you enclosed an extract from the Montreal Gazette containing a report of a public meeting held in Toronto under the auspices of the Canadian Corps Association.

Mr. King wishes me to point out that the so-called charges contained in this statement are, on the face of it, obviously incorrect. Furthermore, they constitute a serious reflection upon unnamed high officials in the service of the British government. The communications which pass between the Prime Ministers of Canada and Great Britain regarding matters of policy are highly confidential. It is suggested in this report that the contents of such confidential communications were revealed to private individuals having no right whatever to see them. Regardless of what opinion you may hold of public men in Canada, you will, I think, agree that no responsible and honourable British officials would be guilty of such a breach of trust.

May I reply to your question, "Why should the best blood volunteer and the scum remain behind to grab their jobs", by asking a question in turn. The question is: What use to the armed forces would the men be that you are pleased to call "scum"? Surely if the Canadian forces are to be an effective

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instrument in this war and to live up to the high traditions and good name of Canada, they must obviously be recruited from among the best men we have in Canada. It might be added that the tendency to describe one's fellow-citizens as "scum" is in itself scarcely a contribution to national unity.

You suggest that Canadian unity is being lost because the government is pandering to a minority. May I remind you that the present administration is supported by the largest majority which ever gave its confidence to a government in the history of Canada. It is surely unlikely that the members elected by the people, and presumably, therefore, in close touch with popular opinion, would continue to give their confidence to an administration which no longer had the confidence of the people themselves. It is probably safe, and certainly more democratic, to assume that the House of Commons is a better reflection of the people of Canada than certain self-appointed leaders who undertake to tell the government what is the will of the people. This is doubly true in the case of those whose record since the outbreak of war has consisted of an unbroken succession of destructive criticism and abuse, and who have, on no occasion, made the slightest positive contribution to the prosecution of the war.

Yours faithfully,

H. R. L. Henry,
Private Secretary.

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C244349

485 McGILL STREET

MONTREAL

Right Hon W L M King.

Are these charges true.
If so you are a traitor to
all loyal Canadians.

If not they should be
answered.

We need conscription for
a fair + efficient war effort.
Why should the best blood
volunteer + the scum
remain behind to grab
their jobs.

Canadian Unity is being
lost by your pandering.

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to a minority

Theodore W Lyman

C244350

JUL 3 1 1941

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C244351

King Charged with Asking Britain To Say No Canadian Force Needed

Toronto, July 29.—(CP)—Lt.-Col. C. E. Reynolds, president of the Canadian Corps Association, addressing a public meeting tonight said that Prime Minister Mackenzie King sent a telegram to Neville Chamberlain six days before Canada entered the war suggesting that the then British Prime Minister announce that no expeditionary force was expected of Canada.

The meeting, called by the Corps Association at Maple Leaf Gardens and attended by about 2,000 persons, passed two resolutions, one declaring the meeting's will "that immediate steps be taken to decree and enforce total war" and the other demanding "that the King-Lapointe Government be removed from office." The resolutions were passed by standing vote of the crowd.

Lt.-Col. Reynolds said he had seen a certified copy of a telegram from Mr. King to Mr. Chamberlain suggesting that Mr. Chamberlain state in the British House of Commons that "the British Government does not ask, expect or need an expeditionary force from Canada in this war."

The telegram, said Col. Reynolds, was shown him by a "high British officer in the War Office," and was dated September 4, 1939.

Major W. D. Herridge, former Canadian Minister to Washington, who also addressed the meeting, declared that he was told by a "high official" in England "that the Canadian Government, in consequence of entering into the Commonwealth Air Training Plan had asked the British Government for a statement in Parliament that no further contribution was expected of Canada."

"I was also told the British Government declined," he said.

The first resolution passed stated Canada has failed to make its maximum contribution to the war effort and that "enactment of a law of national service" is necessary.

The second resolution, which described the Government as "the King-Lapointe Government" (Hon. Ernest Lapointe is Minister of Justice in the Government) declared that the Government "has neither the will nor the ability to decree and enforce a state of total war" and "condemned" the Government on this point.

In his address Col. Reynolds said he had seen photographs of members of Canada's First Division embarking at an Atlantic port "clad only in the clothes they stood up in." It left "inadequately trained and inadequately equipped," he said. "and I challenge Mr. King to deny it."

"It is not a pleasant duty to criticize the Government's efforts in war time, but it is the duty every loyal citizen must perform," he said "It should be welcomed by a loyal government. It is so in Britain and it should be so here. Our present Government's false optimism is a cloak for its lack of effort."

Col. Reynolds said Canada now has one completely trained and equipped division overseas, one division partly equipped and a tank division "without a tank."

He compared Canada's trained manpower with the soldiers Australia had sent overseas, saying that Canada should have six divisions already in the field to equal Australia.

"Britain has done 10 times what we have done.

"Why have Canadian troops not been used in the fighting fronts?" he asked. "Is it because they are not fully trained and equipped, or is it because the British Government has not received permission from the Canadian Government to let them go into the front line?"

Maj. Herridge described Prime Minister Mackenzie King as "a pacifist by nature, an isolationist by training and incompetent by the will of God; he is the author of the disunity in Canada."

Maj. Herridge told of his visit to England in October, 1939, in company with Col. Reynolds.

Of the statements that Mr. King sought limitations to Canada's contribution to the war, Maj. Herridge said: "Col. Reynolds has challenged Mr. King to dispute what he has said. and so do I."

Father Claims Child After Ten-Year Lapse

Salesman Rings Bell, N.Y. House Explodes

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SECRET

C244352

J. L. Ralston
WWII - Canada's War Effort
" - Conscription

Received for file August 2/41

N-305-1
1941

N-305-4
(cont'd)

A sixth division and conscription

WWII - Manpower
" - Voluntary Enlistment

The attached articles by Mr. Grant Dexter suggest that, in spite of our increased population, there were in Canada in 1939 about the same number of men of military age as there were in 1914.

Before the Military Service Act came into force in 1917, in a period of rather more than three years, voluntary enlistments for the army totalled about 465,000 men. Enlistments in the navy were negligible.

In the armed forces today, in less than two years of war, there are over 300,000 men enrolled for service anywhere in the world.

In other words, from approximately the same total (if Dexter's figures are correct) we have, in this war, taken, in less than two thirds of the time, just under two-thirds of the men who had enlisted up to the time conscription was applied in 1917.

If the number who have been discharged in this war, some 40,000, are added, the drain on manpower has proceeded at a greater rate than it did in the last war.

It is probably a fair conclusion that far more men of military age are indispensable today in war industries and essential services than in 1914-18.

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Unless, therefore, the voluntary spirit is much stronger than it was in the last war, these considerations, if correct, suggest that the limits of voluntary enlistment will be reached in a shorter period of time.

If we are not prepared to run grave risks of a shortage of volunteers, it is therefore important to secure a careful estimate of available manpower and of requirements to maintain the strength of establishments to which we are already committed, and to make sure that commitments are not made which it will be impossible to realize within the limits of the policy of the government.

(J. W. P.!)

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Memoranda and Notes

1940-1950

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Sept 12/41

Conscription

Canadian Corps Assoc'n.

C244354

12/9/41

...."to achieve our maximum contribution, Canada must adopt the system of total war.

The essence of this system is Total National Service, involving conscription of man-power, wealth and industry.

The selective conscription of man-power for overseas service is imperative.

It is equally important, in the development of our maximum industrial power, to apply selective conscription for war-time civilian employment.

Wealth and industry must also be made to conform in order that there may be equality of sacrifice.

.... the volunteer system has failed to secure the enlistment of the numbers needed (for reinforcement and replacement). "

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C244355

Section 10
Conscription

DRAFT

ARGUMENT	COUNTER ARGUMENT
1) Conscription is the fairest method of placing the the manpower of Canada on active service. A system of selective service, (as experience in U.S. suggests) would, in the present situation, prove a unifying influence.	1) The Government of Canada gave a pledge, not once, but repeatedly, that so long as the present administration remained in office, there would be NO conscription for service outside of Canada. 2) So long as the emphasis remains upon machines of war rather than upon manpower as such, the inauguration of conscription could only be a dividing force within Canada. The war effort has until now been on a singularly united basis.
2) Compulsory military service for home defence only cannot be reconciled with an "all-out" war effort; we cannot wage total war to the utmost of our strength if our participation is limited by the limits of voluntary enlistment.	So far as enlistments are concerned, voluntary enlistment has so far provided all the men needed for keeping up to strength the active service formations, at home and overseas, to which Canada is committed for the current year. In other directions, notably in machines and materials, the Canadian contribution to the total war effort is of such a nature and on a scale which suggests that conscription is not the essential point on which our war effort should turn. It should also be remembered how considerable a proportion of Canadian skill and manpower is needed in essential industries in Canada. If this aspect of the war effort is deficient, then no amount of compulsory service could make any difference.
3) Voluntary military service is inconsistent with the need for manpower to settle the military issue.	This is a war of machines; and manpower alone without effective mechanized equipment on land, or without high-speed heavily-armed aircraft for the air, or without adequate naval craft, is useless. There is no advantage in sending outside of Canada troops of whatever arm who are not adequately trained and fully equipped. Conscription in Canada of unspecified numbers of men, without reference to the equipment and training possibilities, would be uneconomic effort and might obscure the more immediate necessities of the war effort.

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ARGUMENT	COUNTER ARGUMENT
4) The present basis of military service in Canada is playing into the hands of isolationists in the United States: "if Canada does not require men to serve abroad except on voluntary enlistment, why should the U.S. help at all?"	The policy of the Canadian Government is decided by the Government of Canada, which is responsible for that policy. The Government of the United States is similarly responsible for whatever policies it determines upon. It is surely a singular commentary that the people most anxious to avoid complying with a policy inaugurated by the Government of the United States should have to look outside their own country for a reason to attack a settled policy of their own Government. The United States is not a belligerent in the present war, and it follows that the policies followed by the Government of the United States may of necessity be different in many particulars.
5) The Government's pledge against conscription for overseas service was not intended to be binding if conditions changed radically: when the General Election was held in 1940 there was: no invasion of the Low Countries no collapse of France no intensified warfare on the scale which has since developed. The stand should now be reversed.	If a pledge, so-called, means anything at all, it is made to be kept. The pledge was given with a due appreciation of what might transpire during the lifetime of a new Parliament. It was a deliberate statement of the policy which the Administration, if returned to office, would follow.
6) "Continuance of present policy of recruiting will prove more destructive of national unity than an open policy involving general conscription of manpower, labor-power, capital, and anything else needed to win the war." (1)	It may be asked whether those who now put forward this argument are seeking to embarrass the war effort of the Government and have failed to find any other ground upon which to attack? Would require more evidence than has appeared so far

(2) C.H.Silcox in Toronto Saturday Night, September 27, 1941

C244357

7) Present method of recruiting, however adroit from political point of view, will prove fatal to national unity; and after war will lead to recriminations "which cannot be answered by "facts" because government will never have the nerve to publicize the facts." (2)

Recriminations may be expected in any case from those who are inadequately informed or who decline to see Canadian necessities in light of general world picture.

8) A critical and favourable stage in the war has now been reached; if we lose no time in throwing our maximum weight into the struggle, we may be able, with the magnificent help which Russia is giving and which theyUnited States will give, to crush the enemy by 1942, whereas if we vacillate and confine our war effort to flaming radio addresses, we may find ourselves in for a five or ten-year war. (3)

Government have never disguised the critical character of the struggle, nor that the maximum possible effort will be required of Canada. Our war effort, in terms of money and materials, speaks for itself; whether the conscription of men for overseas service would even now be a useful step must be open to question. The determination whether our greatest contribution is in soldiers or sailors or airmen, or in equipment or food, is a military problem

9) Present policy is bound to create bitterness between those who go voluntarily into the armed forces and those who stay at home and hold down good jobs. National unity will never be served that way (4)...)

Unless there can be voluntary effort the driving force of our war effort will be lost; so far as it is possible to ensure it by legislation and regulation, the interest of men who enlist voluntarily have been protected.

---

10) A partial conscription of labour (would) prove a step towards parity of sacrifice . . .(and) might help to keep down the costs of the war and thus prevent the serious after effects of unwise inflationary policies (5)

Financial policy is being devised consistently to prevent inflation so far as possible.

(2,3,4,5) -- C.H.Silcox, Toronto Saturday Night, September 27/41.

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W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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"The political issue, so far as it relates to the promises given by Mr. King and Dr. Manion to the electors in 1940, can be disregarded. Politicians always make indiscreet promises before election, and even if it is highly desirable that they occasionally keep their word, they have one loyalty which is higher than that to their pre-election promises. Mr. King has taken the oath of office and sworn loyally to support and defend this country and its sovereign, and when he promised that he would never, never, 'well, hardly ever' apply conscription, he did so, knowing full well that the law of the land gave him authority to call able-bodied Canadians to the colors if the defence of this country made such a call imperative. He could not tell how serious the situation might become, and consequently he had no moral right to make any such promise. Nor can his promise be binding if the situation is sufficiently serious to warrant his use of the powers inherent in the law of the Dominion. Indeed, he would be unfaithful to his oath of office if, in such an emergency, he did not use the powers which the law of the land (which is above his promises) has committed into his keeping. He must decide whether the situation is sufficiently critical to warrant the use of the powers at his disposal. If he does not consider it sufficiently critical, he may be forgiven for continuing the present policy even if he may later have to pay the price for a mistake in judgment. If he considers it extremely and supremely critical, then, as an honorable man who has solemnly sworn to defend the independence of the nation, he has no choice but to use his power and apply conscription. To the moral theologian, the issue is clear, and his pre-election promises mean little or nothing."

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UK/ C244359

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The Department of External Affairs
DEC 1

[C 10750/125/62] Copy No. 068a

Note from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Polish Ambassador of October 2, 1941, regarding Military Conscription of Allied nationals in the United Kingdom.

(Similar notes were addressed at the same time to the Diplomatic Representatives of Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway, and through His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires to the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister. The proposals of His Majesty's Government were also explained to the Greek and Yugoslav Ministers in notes of October 9, which are on the lines of the earlier circular, omitting references to the promise of August 15, 1940.)

Your Excellency, *Foreign Office, October 2, 1941.*

YOUR Excellency will recall that in a note of the 15th August, 1940, Viscount Halifax made certain proposals for the purpose of facilitating the employment of male Allied nationals in the United Kingdom in the common Allied war effort. These proposals were based upon the two broad principles that the obligations for war service on Allied nationals should so far as possible be the same as those on British subjects, and that the Allied Governments temporarily established in this country should have the right of prior call upon the services of their own citizens. It was stated that His Majesty's Government contemplated submitting legislation to Parliament to enable the Allied Governments to call up their nationals for military service in accordance with their own national laws, and it was hoped that it might be possible to arrange that the Allied Governments should be in a position to direct their nationals to war service in a civilian capacity, in particular to service in the mercantile marine. In order to facilitate the suitable employment of other Allied nationals, it was proposed that they should all be registered under arrangements concerted between the British Ministry of Labour and the appropriate Allied authorities with a view to their being placed as rapidly as possible in industrial or other civilian employment.

2. These proposals received a general welcome from the Allied Governments and considerable progress has been made in giving effect to them. A comprehensive registration of Allied nationals has been carried out and special offices have been set up to facilitate the placing of Allied citizens in useful employment. The Allied Powers (Maritime Courts) Act has been passed by Parliament to enable the Allied Governments both to maintain discipline among their merchant seamen and to direct them, where necessary, to serve upon Allied merchant ships. It is only in the field of military conscription that progress has not so far been made, and this has been due, as I am sure you appreciate, partly to the necessity for dealing first with the larger and more urgent question of Allied merchant seamen, and partly to certain very real difficulties of law and policy, which the particular problem of military conscription presents for His Majesty's Government.

3. The question of military conscription has, however, been under constant consideration between the various Departments, as a result of which certain conclusions have been reached which I am instructed to communicate to you with a request that they may be laid before the Polish Government and that the Foreign Office may receive as soon as possible any comments which the Polish Government may wish to offer before any final decision is taken as to the form of the legislation to be submitted on this subject to Parliament.

4. The present position, as I understand it, is that the Allied Governments established since last year in the United Kingdom have been engaged, since their arrival, in calling up their nationals of military age under their own law for service with their respective national forces as reconstituted in this country. It

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is assumed that calling-up notices have by now been served upon the greater part of the available Allied man-power in this country and that, in most cases, the persons concerned have responded voluntarily in accordance with the obligations laid upon them by their own national law, except in so far as they have been reserved from military service in view of the greater importance of their services in civilian war work. The Polish Government will no doubt have noticed with satisfaction that a recent judgment delivered by the Lord Chief Justice in a Divisional Court of the High Court of Justice has recognised the right of an Allied Government to call up its citizens in the United Kingdom under its own law and established that Allied citizens who respond to this call-up and enlist in the Allied forces are subject to the provisions of the Allied Forces Act after joining their units. This judgment, against which an appeal has been entered, does not and cannot, of course, authorise the enforcement, either under United Kingdom or Allied law, of Allied conscription on Allied citizens who refuse voluntarily to report to the Allied military authorities, as the compulsion of such persons to comply with their calling-up notices and to report for medical examination or enlistment can only be exercised by the intermediary of the courts and police authorities of the United Kingdom, who cannot take the necessary action without the authority of specific legislation by Parliament.

5. The Service Departments of His Majesty's Government have, however, been guided by the principle that Allied nationals should as a general rule serve in their own Allied forces, and they have refused to accept Allied citizens for the British forces except in certain very special cases. Moreover, the Home Office have co-operated by withholding the grant to Allied citizens of military age of exit permits to leave this country, unless the Allied Government concerned had previously released them from their military obligations.

6. Compulsory powers to enforce conscription upon Allied nationals are therefore only required in respect of a minority whose total number, making due allowance for those in reserved civilian occupations, appears from available statistics to be very small. Indeed, the residuary figure for all the Allies is thought to be not more than 5,000 in the aggregate. The experience of the past year has, however, shown that this minority is composed to a considerable extent of persons who are unwilling to serve with their national forces on the ground that by reason of long residence in this country they have lost touch with their country of origin and have a strong preference for serving in the British forces, or for some other reason. After careful consideration of all aspects of the problem, His Majesty's Government have arrived at the conclusion that Parliament and public opinion in this country would not accept a proposal to put such persons automatically under the authority of a Government established in this country and would insist upon arrangements being made to deal with such special cases.

7. His Majesty's Government consider that, in the circumstances, effect can best be given to the general principle that Allied nationals should have the same obligations for military service as British subjects by providing that Allied citizens who do not join their own Allied forces shall become liable to the National Service Acts of the United Kingdom, which would be amended for the purpose. The question then becomes one of the machinery to decide whether a given individual is to join his own Allied forces or the British forces. This could be done in one of two ways—either by setting up a special tribunal with authority to examine individual cases and to grant in certain circumstances an option to join the British forces, or by conceding a free right of option between the Allied or British forces in each individual case.

8. His Majesty's Government feel sure that the Allied Governments will agree that the procedure of a special tribunal would be open to a number of grave objections. Such a tribunal would, in accordance with the traditions of this country, have to sit in public, and applicants would have to be allowed to state their case fully. Political considerations and arguments would certainly be ventilated during the proceedings and would obtain wide publicity. Unfortunate and misleading impressions in regard not only to the Allied armed forces but also to Allied political affairs might well be created. Moreover, the questions which would have to be considered by such a tribunal, in conjunction with all the possible difficulties of evidence and procedure which might arise or in certain cases be deliberately fostered, would clearly lead in many instances to great delay and embarrassment being caused before a final decision was definitely reached.

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9. If, on the other hand, a free option between the Allied and British forces were conceded to all the persons concerned, the difficulties connected with the establishment and operation of the tribunal would disappear, while the principle of equal obligations for military service would be no less maintained. I would emphasise that His Majesty's Government do not suggest that the free option should have retrospective effect, and it would be made absolutely clear that it did not in any way apply to existing members of the Allied armed forces or to persons subsequently joining the Allied forces of their own free will. Moreover, in order to avoid as far as possible the risk of options for the British forces on frivolous grounds, it is proposed that Allied nationals electing to place themselves under the British National Service Acts should be admitted only to the British Pioneer Corps, unless they possessed special experience or qualifications which made them particularly suitable for the Royal Air Force.

10. I would therefore express the hope that the Polish Government will be prepared to accept a scheme whereby Allied nationals within the age limit of United Kingdom military conscription (18 to 41), who are not already serving in the Allied or British forces, will be made liable by an Act of Parliament to compulsory military service, to be performed at choice either in the Allied or British forces. His Majesty's Government regret that the solution of this problem which they propose is not in strict accordance with the general promise given to the Allied Governments last year. But, as already explained, they are convinced by the experience they have gained since then that it would not be in the Allied any more than the British interest that recalcitrants should be allowed to state publicly the reasons why they do not wish to join their national forces, and that it would be greatly preferable not to attempt to force such persons to serve against their will in their national forces. It is not believed that Allied nationals would prefer to join the British Pioneer Corps instead of their national forces unless they had very strong reasons for the choice. If so, it would not appear to be to the advantage of the Allied forces to take in the men.

11. I should be grateful if you would submit to your Government the new proposal outlined in the present note, and would be so good as to inform me of their attitude.

I have, &c.
ANTHONY EDEN.

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Ottawa, October 21, 1941.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Re: The Demand for Conscription by the Canadian Legion.

The Prime Minister will recall that he met a delegation from the Dominion Executive of the Canadian Legion on June 5th, 1940, shortly before the collapse of France. At that time the Legion Executive urged "Steps to conscript the total manpower, wealth and industry for the full prosecution of Canada's war effort." (Exhibit "A")

On August 4th, 1941, Mr. Alex Walker, the Dominion President of the Legion, told the B.C. Command at their annual conference that "there has been and there will be no let-up whatever in the efforts of the Canadian Legion to obtain immediate introduction of the scientific mobilization of Canada's manpower, industries and resources." (Exhibit "B")

On August 12th he repeated these words to the convention of the Ontario Command at St. Catharines. (Exhibit "C")

On October 3rd, 1941, an article appeared in the Legionary, the official organ of the Canadian Legion, in which it was stated that: "Members of the Canadian Legion, however, will judge the success of the Prime Minister's visit to Britain more on what he says and does now that he is back than on what he said and did over there. Mr. King has now seen with his own eyes what 'total' war means: what complete, all-out mobilization of a country's manpower and resources means." (Exhibit "D")

On October 13th, 1941, Mr. Walker addressed a Legion rally at Wetaskiwin, Alberta, and he appealed to Federal Government for "the utmost, all-out conscription

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of which this Dominion of ours is capable, for service wherever our front line lies.

"They (the government) will find that the great majority of the Canadian people will back them to the limit." Mr. Walker then proceeded to demand an army of 1,000,000 men.

Finally, he attacked Hon. T. A. Crerar for his statement at Toronto. (Exhibit "E")

On October 20th there appeared in the Ottawa newspapers a story to the effect that the Legion were going to demand the resignation of some members of the Cabinet. Mr. Walker has denied this in these words:

"It is most unfortunate that such a statement should have been made, because nothing of that kind has been contemplated. The question of the resignation of any member of the government was not even discussed at the council meeting.

"That statement was not made by any member of the Dominion Executive Council of the Canadian Legion, nor was it authorized, and we must make it clear that such a statement did not emanate from this body." (reported in Ottawa Journal October 21st, 1941)

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C244364 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date JUN 10 1940

Subject

LEGION PLEADS FOR MOBILIZING OF ALL CANADA

Ottawa Urged to Conscript Men, Wealth and Industry

QUICK ACTION IS ASKED

Resolutions Presented to King, Rogers and Lapointe at Separate Conferences

(Special to The Gazette.)

Ottawa, June 9.—Prime Minister Mackenzie King has been strongly urged by the Dominion Executive Council of the Canadian Legion to take immediate steps to conscript the total manpower, wealth and industry for the full prosecution of Canada's war effort, Alex. Walker, of Calgary, Dominion president of the Legion, said today.

Separate conferences with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of National Defence and the Minister for Air were held this week when numerous resolutions passed at the recent Dominion convention of the Legion were personally presented by Mr. Walker.

The demands for national mobilization reaffirms the principle of resolutions passed at Legion conventions held in 1932, 1934, and 1938 and are fully supported by ex-service men representing all parts of Canada, the veterans' leader said.

The Legion Council, represented by Mr. Walker, Lieut.-Col. W. C. Nicholson, D.S.O., M.C., K.C., of Montreal, first vice-president, and J. R. Bowler, M.B.E., general secretary, also recommended to the Prime Minister that the Dominion Government should immediately assume the responsibility for all protective duties at points throughout Canada subject to sabotage by enemy agents. The Legion officials said that the present system of internal security has failed to provide such protection and has lead to disputes between municipal authorities and heads of transportation systems and industrial concerns as to who should assume the cost of maintaining protective measures. In a number of instances, it was charged, these disputes have resulted in complete lack of action and a "very large" number of vital points are completely unguarded.

In taking over full responsibility for protective duties throughout the whole of Canada, the Government should assume power to assess such part of the costs which, in the Government's opinion, rests with other authorities or private owners, the Legion officials urged.

Mr. Walker said that a separate interview held with Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, permitted very frank discussions on many other phases of internal security and fifth column activities. He expressed satisfaction that the Government has ruled certain organizations in Canada are illegal and that "this ruling is identical to resolutions made during the Legion's convention which we placed in the hands of the authorities."

The Minister of Justice was urged by the Legion to grant the R.C.M.P. entire freedom of action essential to deal with subversive activities and to make the Mounted Police the sole controlling authority for the enforcement of the Defence of Canada Regulations.

"The opinion was emphatically expressed at our convention that no success in enforcement can be achieved under divided authority, and we have recommended that the efforts of provincial and municipal police should be co-ordinated with those of the R.C.M.P.," Mr. Walker said. "We have also recommended that the application of peacetime standards to treatment of enemy aliens, naturalized foreign-born citizens and others suspected of anti-British activities should be abandoned and more rigid standards adopted. This would involve the suspension of all grants of naturalization during the war and the immediate revoking of naturalization of those persons suspected of subversive activities," he added.

The setting up of a national information and intelligence bureau, with branches in appropriate centres in each province, where citizens can place before the proper authorities information concerning suspected enemy movements, was also recommended to Mr. Lapointe, the Legion president stated.

In their interview with Hon. Norman Rogers, Minister of National Defence, the Legion officials suggested that the National Veterans' Survey, completed by the Legion in 1939, should be used for recruiting the Veterans' Home Guard. This survey bears the names of more than 100,000 ex-service men who have volunteered to serve anywhere in any capacity, and the Minister was asked to consider enlarging this force "because of the entire inadequacy of existing military provisions for the defence of vital and strategic areas."

During the conference with Mr. Rogers the concern of members of the Legion with Canada's war effort was made fully known, Mr. Walker stated, and all resolutions passed at the Legion's convention were personally placed in his hands.

"It now remains to be seen," Mr. Walker added, "just what action the Government proposes to take. The Legion intends to watch developments closely and will not hesitate, if necessary, to make further representations."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C244365 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date AUG 5 1941

Subject

LEGION CONTINUING WAR-AID POLICIES

Release from 'Political Pledges' Urged to Speed Prosecution

New Westminster, B.C., August 4. (CP)—Alex Walker, of Calgary, Dominion president of the Canadian Legion, told delegates to the British Columbia command's annual convention here today that "there has been and will be no let-up whatever" in efforts of the Canadian Legion to obtain immediate introduction of "scientific mobilization of Canada's manpower, industries and resources."

Walker said the question should be stripped of all political considerations.

"The issue is far too serious for this," he said, "it is a matter of our very existence. Political pledges have been made—undoubtedly in good faith at the time—but if such pledges are now found to interfere with the 100 per cent. prosecution of total war then, in the Legion's opinion, a release from such pledges must be obtained forthwith by whatever means are necessary."

Delegates decided to send a protest to Prime Minister Mackenzie King against the loading of a Japanese ship with a cargo of "wheat and other materials in Vancouver."

(The only Japanese ship in Vancouver at present is the Kosui Maru in port to load grain for North China. It is not yet certain if she will be permitted to take on the cargo.)

When informed by a delegate that loading of the Japanese boat had not yet been authorized, William McKinstry, provincial president, replied, "well, we will nip it in the bud."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN C244366 4/14

Date AUG 13 1941

Subject

Legion Persists In Demand For All-Out Effort

No Let-up in Cry for Conscription, Says Dominion Head. "Govt. Must Play Ball," Convention Told.

ST. CATHARINES, Ont., Aug. 12 — (C.P.) — The demand of the Canadian Legion for conscription was reiterated by the Dominion president today in an address to the 12th biennial convention of the Ontario Command of the Canadian Legion.

No Let-up in Efforts.

The president, Alex Walker of Calgary, said "there will be no let-up in the efforts of the Legion for the introduction of scientific mobilization of manpower, wealth and industry for an all-out effort to beat Hitler and all he stands for."

Referring to rehabilitation of men returning from the war, Mr. Walker said, "If nothing more is done for them than was done for the men coming home from the last war, they'll change our economic system, and maybe not too wisely.

"The government must play ball also. Jobs must be awarded through right and not political patronage."

Mr. Walker, saying he directed his questions at the government, asked, "What happens to soldiers, sailors or airmen who have been bombed and become mental cases; have they been returned to Canada? What is the condition in the camps while they wait? Is there any delay in their return? Is there adequate transportation for the purpose? Are there any Canadian hospital ships? Are arrangements in hospitals in Canada adequate?"

Mr. Walker said of the Department of Pensions that "there are some men in the department who have out-lived their usefulness and are not in sympathy with us in helping our comrades." He spoke of trouble concerning dependants' allowances and said they are sometimes handled like relief and in the same atmosphere.

Mr. Walker added he had been shocked to learn that the government through its agencies was attaching allowances. "There should be an end to this. God knows the allowances are small enough and when a man lays down his life for his country he should be sure that his wife is not being hounded to death. The whole policy should be reviewed."

He said regarding conscription and the Legion's attitude toward it, "Surely it will be heard and heeded. Nothing but an unqualified yes will satisfy the people of Canada. . . . We feel sure that the people of Canada are behind us in our efforts and we will continue to press the need of national mobilization.

Worried About Strikes.

"Perhaps we are doing a fair job in Canada; if we are let them tell us. I would like to know if we are pulling our weight in the war. Frankly I am worried about strikes. I will ask Mr. King to prepare a bold statement and take the people of Canada into his confidence. There's a little too much hush-hush in Canada."

Mr. Walker stressed need for an air division in the Canadian army. He said "it would give people on the Western coast confidence to know troops could move rapidly from Halifax to Vancouver, to know that if they needed help they could get it."

He told the gathering that President Roosevelt would be asked to accept an honorary life membership in the Canadian Legion.

Earlier today the convention passed resolutions favoring national, compulsory service of wealth, industry, business, resources and manpower, irrespective of religious beliefs, conscientious objectors or racial background.

Other resolutions passed included one asking the government to provide free railroad transportation to and from recruiting stations for rejected prospective recruits.

Badges For Discharged.

A resolution asked for recognition badges for Canadians discharged from the forces since war's outbreak. Another expressed approval of the government action in setting up an appeal board "to grant internment releases where the facts honestly warrant such releases." The resolution further asked that the facts "leading to the internment and subsequent release of the Franceshini brothers be made public."

The housing shortage in Ontario was dealt with in a resolution and another asked the government to increase allowance to widows.

The convention petitioned the Dominion command to ask the British government to ease restrictions governing export of British funds essential to the maintenance and well-being of Britons "who are by stress of times forced to take up residence in Canada."

Also For Conscription.

Immediate conscription was advocated by Capt. Thomas Magladery of New Liskeard, president of the Ontario command of the Legion.

"Canada's attitude toward conscription hardly arises from an unwillingness tonight. There never was a people so keen to tackle a war job to the limit—if only our leaders knew it. In making this statement," Capt. Magladery said, "I am including our sister province of Quebec, which in this war has already four entirely French-Canadian regiments overseas."

The Ontario canteen fund was reported to have $600,000 still available for distribution among needy ex-service men in Ontario.

Internee Situation.

During discussion of a resolution expressing appreciation of the Dominion government's action in setting up an appeal board to "grant releases where the facts honestly warrant such releases," criticism of the handling of the internee situation was made.

The resolution further asked that "the facts leading to the internment and subsequent release of the Franceschini brothers be made public."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of the Prime Minister

C244307

Name of Publication

Date

Subject

We Can Win Only By Manpower

From The Legionary (Ottawa), official publication of the Canadian Legion British Empire Service League.

Congratulations are due the Prime Minister on his courageous trip to Britain and on his safe homecoming. Whatever their political beliefs, Canadians are agreed that Mr. Mackenzie King's visit overseas was a gallant gesture for a man of 67 to make, and that his pronouncements and activities in the United Kingdom were creditable to himself and to Canada.

Members of the Canadian Legion, however, will judge the success of the Prime Minister's visit to Britain more on what he says and does now that he is back than on what he said and did over there. Mr. King has now seen with his own eyes what "total" war means; what complete, all-out mobilization of a country's manpower and resources means. He has had the priceless opportunity of long, intimate talks with the master mind of the Empire, Mr. Churchill, and the chiefs of Britain's economic, production and fighting services. Their past experiences in this war, and the future plans they doubtless laid before him, should be of tremendous value to Mr. King in his war leadership in days ahead.

* * *

For there are still hard and terribly important tasks ahead for this Dominion, for Mr. King and his government. There is, first and foremost, the question of manpower, a task very far from being solved. The Legion's demand for universal mobilization, including selective conscription for service anywhere and not just in Canada, has been vigorously voiced—at conventions, through *The Legionary* and the press generally, and through the Dominion president and council who on three occasions in the past 12 months have placed the Legion's views before the Prime Minister personally.

* * *

With regard to the question of manpower, an important pronouncement was made earlier this month by the adjutant-general of the Canadian army, Major-General B. W. Browne, D.S.O., M.C., who spoke over a C.B.C national network on his recent visit to England. General Browne's address was not given the publicity it deserved, and the following extracts are therefore recorded for the information of *Legionary* readers:

"My visit overseas has impressed on me more deeply than before the supreme importance of MANPOWER.

"Wars have always been fought and won, or lost, by men. This war is no exception. No matter how efficient the modern machinery of war has become, it has only served to further demonstrate the prime position of MANPOWER. Our army must have more and more men—the best and finest men of this Dominion, trained to fighting pitch, skilled in the handling of every weapon, and in the handling of men, too.

"This fight for freedom that democracies throughout the world are waging against the unlimited ambitions of dictators can be won only by MANPOWER. . . ."

* * *

General Browne, whose gallant service in the first Canadian Corps is well remembered by his old comrades-in-arms, has hit the nail on the head, and his blunt, courageous words will be applauded by members of the Canadian Legion from sea to sea. But what the adjutant-general didn't say, and as a professional soldier couldn't say, is that the hundreds of thousands of men so desperately needed for our army overseas to play a *substantial* part in the extermination of the Nazi vermin, cannot and will not be obtained by the voluntary method of recruiting. All honest, observant Canadians recognize this as a fact, a disappointing and unpleasant fact, but one that simply must be faced, and without delay. General Browne's recruiting officers know this, Defence Headquarters officers know it, and freely admit it in private conversation.

* * *

The Canadian Legion has repeatedly urged compulsory conscription as the only completely satisfactory, the only completely democratic way of solving the manpower problem. Britain—the home of freedom and of volunteer armies—has had conscription since the beginning of this war; New Zealand—with a Labor government in power—has conscription; the United States—"the land of the free"—has conscription as the only equitable way of national service. Canada, forsooth, has conscription, too, but for home defence only. "Home Defence" indeed! If the purpose of the present compulsory conscription plan really is to train men to fight the enemy on Canadian soil only, then, we say, it is an indefensible waste

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of our financial resources, for every honest Canadian knows that if the Boche ever got through the bastions of Britain and were able to launch a *blitzkrieg* on this Dominion, we wouldn't even stand a Chinaman's chance.

Soldeirs, we submit, are trained for one purpose only—to fight; and the place to fight is where the enemy is: in the front-line. Under our present set-up, then, our compulsory "trainees" will either never do any fighting or they will be fighting a hopeless battle. Canada's front-line, we maintain, is where the Empire's front-line is, and that front-line—wherever it may be in the fateful times ahead—is where *all* our trained fighting men should be. Other reasons apart, it is infinitely the safest place from which to defend Canada. Even the most rabid anti-conscriptionist must realize that by now.

* * *

The Prime Minister has made a good beginning on his return from Britain by warning Canadians that the war will be long and hard. It is to be sincerely hoped that, with his fuller knowledge of the enormous gravity of the situation, and the inspiration he has received from Mr. Churchill and the British people, he will now assume the vigorous, determined leadership for which this country has been waiting; that, as a first step, he will extend our present conscription plan to service *at the front*. We feel supremely confident the vast majority of Canadians would back him up.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE
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E

Date

Subject

Legion President Answers Crerar, Reiterates Plea for Conscription

(Special to The Gazette.)

Wetaskiwin, Alta., October 13. — Amplifying his recent announcement that the Dominion Executive Council of the Canadian Legion has been called to Ottawa for an extraordinary war session on October 20 and 21, Mr. Alex Walker, of Calgary, Dominion President, today answered criticism of the legion's stand made by the Hon. T. A. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources, in a Toronto address last week. Mr. Walker's statement was made in a speech to a Legion rally held here Thanksgiving Day. It read, in part:

"As the Legion sees it, the war has now reached a stage where immediate and drastic action is necessary to meet an extremely perilous situation. The seriousness of the rapidly developing position in Russia alone demands the urgent organization of all possible resources for war by this Dominion, including the most important item of an effective control of our country's manpower.

"It had been the hope of the Legion that our Prime Minister, after his courageous and very creditable trip to Britain, would have announced a vigorous and determined policy for a greatly increased war effort by Canada, and that, as a first step, the Dominion Government would extend our present weak and totally ineffective conscription plan to service at the front, wherever the enemy is. On his return from overseas the Prime Minister warned us that the war will be long and hard, and many of us thought that, with his fuller knowledge of the enormous gravity of the situation and the inspiration he had received from Mr. Churchill and the British people, he would have done more than sound a solemn warning, however true and timely that was. But after weeks of waiting for some word of action, we were disappointed, and deeply concerned, and it was then that I, after consultation with our senior Dominion officers, decided to call an extraordinary session at Ottawa of the Legion's Dominion Executive Council in order to focus the attention of our Government and people sharply and effectively on this momentous and desperately urgent issue, and in order to formally present the Legion's views to the Prime Minister and his cabinet colleagues.

"The criticism of my announcement, which was made in a Toronto address last week by the Hon. T. A. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources, will be discussed fully by the Dominion Council, but in the meantime I shall deal briefly with one of the Minister's statements, as reported by the efficient and reliable Canadian Press news service. Mr. Crerar said he was convinced that the majority of Canadians would approve conscription for overseas service if they believed it was the one thing necessary to defeat Hitler, and that he would do so himself. 'But,' he added, 'I am equally convinced that an assumption of this kind has no basis in common sense in the present discussion.'

"The Minister made this statement on October 8. On September 8—just one month earlier—the Adjutant-General of the Canadian Army, Major-General B. W. Browne, who has jurisdiction over recruiting and personnel, said this over the national network of the CBC:

"'Our need is grave. There is only one power on earth that will beat Hitler—man-power. Never let it be said that our men were of the best but our numbers too few.'

"Now, there we have two diametrically opposite views expressed by two great servants of the State at this crucial hour. On the one hand the Minister of Mines and Resources—a fine Canadian citizen who in the administration of his own department has rendered distinguished service to the Dominion but has had no war or military experience whatever. He says that conscription for overseas service is not necessary to defeat Hitler, and that 'an assumption of this kind has no basis in common sense.'

"On the other hand we have the Adjutant-General—a distinguished officer whose gallant service in the first Canadian Corps is well remembered by many of his fellow-veterans and who since the last war has been a full-time soldier. He says that 'only one power on earth can beat Hitler—man-power,' and that is exactly what the Canadian Legion says. I leave it to the Canadian people to judge whether the Mines Minister—however able and efficient in his own calling—is better qualified to determine what is required to defeat the Nazi barbarians than are the Adjutant-General of the Forces and the veterans of the Canadian Legion, who 23 years ago helped to defeat that same unspeakable enemy.

"In making this reply to Mr. Crerar's criticism, I desire to reiterate the oft-stated policy of the Canadian Legion: total disinterest in party politics, and consequent complete abstinence from participation in party politics. An organization such as the Legion, whose membership constitutes an entire cross-section of Canada's population and represents every shade of political opinion, can have no other policy.

"As regards selective conscription for service anywhere, the Legion urges with all its strength that this vital question be stripped clean of political considerations. No regard for party prestige should be permitted to come between the plain duty of our leaders and the immediate adoption of a plan for the utilization of the whole of Canada's effective manpower and resources. Mr. Crerar's remarks about the guns, tanks and planes being turned out would be more comforting to ex-Service men if accompanied by evidence of equal regard for increasing the number of men trained to handle them against the foe.

"All of us who fought the Hun in the last war know from experience that, however magnificent a leader General McNaughton unquestionably is, and however splendid the men and equipment of the present Canadian Corps, our overseas forces of only 100,000 officers and men simply aren't large enough to play any decisive part in the gigantic battles that assuredly lie ahead. To do that, we should have an army of at least one million men, with ancillary troops and modern equipment. And Canada is quite capable of raising and maintaining such a force, Mr. Crerar to the contrary notwithstanding. It does, however, require fearless, determined leadership, and the introduction without delay of compulsory selective national service.

"To veterans of the First Great War conscription is the only way the problem of manpower can be satisfactorily solved, and it is the only democratic way because, properly administered, it gives that equality of sacrifice which is completely missing from our present system. And when the Legion talks about conscription it means for service at the front. What else are soldiers being trained for? The Legion, moreover, holds—and we believe that millions of our fellow-Canadians agree with us—that the frontline of the British Commonwealth, wherever it may be, constitutes the frontline of Canada's defence. This answers the people who would have our men—except the volunteers—serve only within the borders of the Dominion. Their contention, however, is never taken to its logical conclusion—that every dominion should fight for itself only: that Britain should look after

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Name of Publication

Date

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her own; that against the concentrated attack of the greatest military power in history the Empire's forces are to remain in their respective areas, to offer themselves piecemeal, dominion by dominion, to be disposed of at the enemy's leisure, as were Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and all the rest of the unfortunate victims of Teutonic tyranny.

"With all my strength of conviction I say on behalf of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League: Let our Government give us the utmost, all-out conscription of which this Dominion of ours is capable for service wherever our frontline lies, and they will find that the great majority of the Canadian people will back them up to the hilt.

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WWII - Conscription

JWP/PM
29.10.41

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

C244371

Re: Conscription for overseas service

-- In the attached brief I have tried to set out all the important arguments advanced for conscription, and to meet them. An attempt has been made to be persuasive and reasonable in tone with a view to appealing to reasonable people who might be attracted by the case for conscription.

The section on the motives underlying the conscriptionist campaign has not been developed at length, for fear of distracting attention from the non-political considerations which are likely to make more appeal to the "honestly bewildered". The material for the development of this section (if desired) is
-- available in the attached folder containing a chronology of the Conscription Campaign since the beginning of June, with press clippings.

-- There is also attached a selected collection of clippings illustrating the more significant of the manpower problems raised in the press: the principal points have been covered in the brief.

The most effective way of using the attached material might perhaps be as an introduction to any announcement which may be made to Parliament of such measures as may be taken along the lines recommended in the recent survey of manpower.

J.W.P.
J.W. Pickersgill

Mr Crerar's statement + report of Lord Beaverbrook's statement attached

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Conscription for Overseas Service

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Conscription for Overseas Service

Canada's war effort in perspective

Since the outbreak of war, there has been a tendency, particularly among those who are old enough to remember the last great war, to give a disproportionate emphasis to service in the army. It is quite natural, but nonetheless dangerous that this should be so. The army has its part, and it may well become a larger part in Canadian war effort. But we must not let the part overshadow the whole. We cannot afford to fight the last war over again, when the enemy is fighting the present war with new methods, new machines and a new strategy.

This disproportionate emphasis on service in the army is being reflected once more in a revival, in certain quarters, of a vociferous demand for conscription for service in the army overseas. Before discussing the issue of conscription, let me attempt to place the question in its proper perspective.

The enlistment of recruits for the army is only one of the many demands which war is making upon Canada's manpower. And we must never forget that our total manpower is limited by our relatively small population. In this war we have a growing navy. While it is true that the number of men in the navy is small, it is nevertheless

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approaching the numbers required to make two army divisions. Indirectly the navy makes additional demands on our manpower. Its growth depends upon shipbuilding and men are needed to build - and, let us not forget, to repair its ships.

The air force, too, must have its quota of men, and its demands are not so modest as those of the navy. Already enlisted in the air force are numbers equivalent to five army divisions. The manpower needs of the air force are far from being satisfied by the men actually enrolled in its ranks. The construction of training establishments and air fields, the manufacture of aircraft, of weapons and supplies all require men in considerable numbers.

The manpower requirements of the army itself are far from being satisfied by the men in uniform. The strength of a modern army depends upon mechanization and fire-power. In order to give the men in uniform the machines to equal, and, ultimately, to surpass the enemy, thousands of men must be kept in the factories.

Su Suplw >

In addition we are making machines of war for Britain as well as ourselves. The machines for Britain cannot be made without men to make them. More men are needed to produce the food on which Britain's very survival depends. Men are also engaged in transporting supplies to the seaboard, and in building merchant ships to carry the goods across the sea.

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All of these are vital services, and the men engaged in them are contributing to the war effort of Canada and of Britain. It is the duty of the government to maintain in proper balance the many, and sometimes competing demands for men. Unless the navy, the air force and war production are to suffer, the whole of our attention and all the energies of the government cannot be concentrated on raising the army. The government is as anxious as any of its critics to raise as large an army as Canada can equip and maintain in the field, having due regard to two vital factors. First, the army must not be allowed to absorb so many men that the navy, the air force and war production will be starved of manpower. Secondly, the army establishment must not be permitted to grow so large that the reinforcements will not be available to keep up its strength to the very end of a long war.

Surely it behooves all of us to profit from the experience of Russia. The Russians have not lacked manpower in their armies. The shortage which is appearing is not a shortage of men but a shortage of supplies. It is also clear from the recent debates in Britain that it was lack of equipment rather than a lack of men which precluded a military diversion in Europe during the past summer. If this war has taught us any lesson, we have surely learned

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that one superbly equipped division is worth three or four, or even more, which are inadequately equipped. Let us not forget the military factors which contributed to the collapse of France. I made the same point to the House on December 2nd of last year. Time has not diminished the force of my words.

I said on that occasion,

> "Let me give an illustration, the force of which will be immediately recognized. Had we been guided by vociferous demands that were made at the outset, we would have concentrated our effort, our wealth and our strength on recruiting large numbers of men for service in the army overseas, rushing them across the ocean, with conscription as probably the only method of maintaining large supernumerary armies in the field. That might have served to meet a certain clamour of the hour, but, in the long run, it would have made for disunity in Canada, and in meeting Britain's need, proven to be, in large part, wanton waste. Instead of aiding Great Britain, as we are doing today, with our forces in the air and at sea, with munitions, with ships and with other equipment, material and supplies in ever-increasing measure, we would have placed upon a beleaguered island the added burden of feeding numbers of men not required at the present time.
>
> "We did not yield to the clamour. The government, instead, laid its plans for a balanced development of all branches. We built up an air force and a navy, as well as an army. We developed war industries, and we conserved exchange for the use of Britain and ourselves. While planning for the battles overseas, we have also been mindful of our own shores, and the dangers with which they may at any moment be beset as the scenes of conflict change and war's terrors become intensified. This type of planning does not lend itself to display. But it brings real results in the end. As it is inevitable that the war will be long, it is equally inevitable that the results of a sustained effort can be realized only with the passage of time."

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Voluntary recruiting has not failed

It is largely because undue emphasis has been laid upon the army that disproportionate attention has been directed to the question of conscription for overseas service. The advocates of conscription for overseas service say that the present voluntary system of recruitment has failed or is failing. No doubt mistakes have been made in recruiting, as they have in other aspects of our war effort. The government has never made any claim to perfection. There is equally no doubt that recruiting methods will require to be changed from time to time to meet changing conditions of war. But a method which has already resulted in the enlistment of 230,000 men in the active army, in addition to 100,000 in the air force and the navy in a little more than two years of war can scarcely be called a failure.

And recruits are still offering themselves voluntarily for all three services. Of course it is not so easy to get recruits today as it was two years ago, or even a year ago. There would be something very wrong with our war effort if recruits were still as easy to obtain. We have entered a period not merely of full employment, but of actual scarcity of many kinds of skilled labour. A large proportion of the more adventurous and of those with the fewest ties and responsibilities are already in the

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armed forces. Enlistment for many who remain undoubtedly involves a careful balancing of conflicting claims, and a deeper conviction of duty. Theoretically, of course, all these difficulties would vanish if compulsion were applied and the government undertook to direct each individual to his duty, and then compelled him to do it.

Practically it would be by no means so simple. Let no one make the mistake of thinking that we would advance our effort by compelling men to do what they did only unwillingly. The need for persuasion would still be there. Unless men were personally convinced of the urgency of the need, we should succeed only in demoralizing our whole army and ruining our effort.

Then, too, any sustem of compulsion requires complicated machinery of enforcement: it requires large staffs of men to operate it. The last way to further our effort is to employ large numbers of men in performing unnecessary tasks. In the interests of the economy of manpower alone, it is surely only common sense to exhaust the possibilities of the voluntary system, of persuasion and of education, before we set up a clamour for a different method.

It is difficult not to arrive at the conviction that, if even one half of the energy devoted to the campaign for conscription were devoted to the more immediate

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and pressing task of explaining to our young men the urgency of the need and pointing out to them, in a persuasive way, the path of duty, the stimulus to voluntary recruiting would be real and lasting.

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Comparative merits of two systems

It cannot be denied that conscription in theory has many attractions. Theoretically, it is the fairest method of raising an army; there are many who say it is more democratic; and the crowning argument is that it is more efficient. It is not my intention to enter into a detailed consideration of its theoretical merits; we have no choice but to take account of the practical circumstances of men and affairs--history, tradition, geography and a host of other complex facts which go into the make-up of our country and our people.

But let me glance briefly at the theoretical points I have mentioned. Why is conscription for overseas service a fairer method of recruitment than voluntary enlistment? The argument is based on a single assumption: that service in the army is something to be avoided and that it is an advantage to stay at home and escape such service. It is true that service at home involves no sacrifice comparable with the sacrifice of life itself which the soldier must be prepared, if need be, to make. The imposition of conscription for overseas service would, however, do nothing whatever to remove any material advantages enjoyed by those who remain at home over those who enlist in the armed forces. The way to remedy such

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inequalities is not through conscription. The only way is to take positive steps to see that military service does not carry with it economic disabilities. No country in the world has done more than Canada to ensure that the compensation of its fighting men, now and in the future, shall on average be at least equal to their probable earnings if they remained in civilian occupations. Canada's army pay is the highest in the world; we make the most generous allowances to dependents; we are taking every feasible step to ensure the re-employment of our soldiers, sailors and airmen when they leave the service; recently we have extended to them the protection afforded by unemployment insurance. The fullest consideration will be given to every proposal to ensure at least equal material compensation and future economic opportunities to our fighting men and their dependents.

I shall not waste time on the contention that conscription is more democratic than voluntary service. That depends largely on one's definition of democracy. Perhaps it is enough to say that, in Canada, we do not need conscription to make democrats of the sons of dukes.

The argument that conscription is more efficient than voluntary recruiting deserves more serious consideration. In a narrow technical sense, it is probably true that it would be more efficient to work out certain specified categories of men and then compel them to serve. But even here, there is an argument on the other side. The

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The qualities of a good soldier cannot all be measured and defined and placed in categories. There is such a thing as a military vocation; a good soldier needs moral, yes, spiritual qualities which defy precise definition. There are some advantages in letting the men become soldiers who themselves choose to be soldiers. But, again, it is not really a question of comparative theoretical advantages; it is simply a question--or it should be-- of what will work best in practice.

There is, in fact, only one test we are really justified in applying. Let us ask one simple question: which method of recruiting for overseas service, compulsory or voluntary, will, under conditions as they actually exist in Canada, contribute most to a maximum war effort? That is the practical test, and the only practical test, for those who are sincerely and single-mindedly concerned that Canada should put forth her utmost effort.

The government is not only convinced that conscription for overseas service would not contribute to a maximum effort; we believe that it would, in fact, weaken, if it did not destroy, the effort we are making.

Every Canadian who is old enough to remember the last war; every Canadian who is familiar with the history of our country knows that the controversy over conscription divided the country in 1917 and left a deep wound in our

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national life which was barely healed after twenty years. That wound has not been opened; but the scar remains. Surely no man in his senses would pretend that we would increase our strength, as a people, by opening the wound once more. And let me add that it is not in one province alone that an attempt to force the issue of conscription for overseas service would lead to controversy, division and probable disunity.

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The real objection to conscription.

In order to appreciate the deep resentment occasioned by conscription in the last war, the real cause of the resentment requires to be understood. Conscription was regarded by French Canada as the coercion of a large and a proud minority by an unsympathetic majority. It has been considered, ever since, as the symbol of racial tyranny and racial prejudice. The fact that no such motives inspired most of those who supported conscription does not alter the equally important fact it was, and, in large measure, still is so considered. And here may I pause to observe that the unconcealed or ill-concealed racial prejudice of a few of the outspoken advocates of conscription today is doing nothing to lessen that impression.

So long as any measure would be regarded by a third, at least, of our population as coercion, no government of a free country which took its responsibilities seriously would contemplate the adoption of such a measure, unless the alternative promised certain disaster. I think enough has been said already to show that failure to adopt conscription for overseas service will not bring disaster or even insuperable difficulties.

We have experienced no difficulty whatever in getting more volunteers than are needed for the navy and the air force. Such difficulties as have arisen in securing volunteers for the army have been overcome, and I am con-

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vinced that, given the requisite effort and co-operation will continue to be overcome.

In any event, these difficulties are not nearly so great as those which would be created, now and in the future, by an attempt to force on an unwilling minority, a policy to which they were deeply opposed. Our unity as a people would be shattered and, instead of concentrating our energies on the defeat of the enemy, a large part of our time would be taken up with domestic controversy if worse consequences did not follow.

In the course of threequarters of a century, Canada has developed a large measure of spiritual unity. Our unity is based upon mutual tolerance and respect for differences of view and feeling. It is not the unity of a homogeneous people. We have not all the same racial and cultural traditions and the quickest way to destroy our unity is to try to ride rough-shod over our differences. On the other hand, if we are able to maintain our unity by bridging our differences, Canada may, through the national unity of two proud races in a single state, give the world the most useful of all examples in the building of a new order. Who will deny that the preservation of our national unity will be a greater service to mankind than a few more men unwillingly forced to serve in the army of a country divided against itself?

It is because of the danger of destroying our unity

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and for that reason alone, that the pledge was given, both before the outbreak of war and repeatedly since, that conscription for overseas service would not be introduced by the present administration. I gave that pledge because I believed it was essential to a united national effort and I intend to keep it for the same reason.

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Sinister Motives Behind Campaign

I do not doubt that many Canadians sincerely and honestly believe conscription for overseas service is desirable; I respect their views, although I do not agree with them. In what I have now to say I am not referring to them or to their attitude.

There is, however, another small but very vociferous minority who have other motives for advocating conscription for overseas service. They are the very people who accuse the present administration and myself in particular of "playing politics". And before I discuss them, let me dispose of that charge. Canada is a democratic country. In a democratic country, the will of the majority must prevail in the end. These people pretend that the majority of the people want conscription. Let me ask this question: What course would a man take who wished to "play politics" in that situation? There is only one answer. He would take up the popular course in order to get the support of the majority. Now let me carry the argument one stage further. If I am in fact "playing politics" that means the majority of the people do not want conscription and the government of a democratic country would not be justified in introducing it. If the majority does in fact want conscription and the government is thwarting the will of the people by keeping its pledge, that can hardly be called "playing politics" very intelligently.

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I should like to add that it was not I who made a trip through Western Canada in the midst of the recent recruiting campaign to find out what public sentiment was on the subject of conscription for overseas service with a view to adjusting the party line to the prevailing wind. My position in this matter is based and has always been based on my conviction as to the wisest policy to further the national interest in the successful prosecution of the war.

It will be recalled that the agitation for conscription was intensified during the recruiting campaign early last summer; and that it died down for a time when the gloomy predictions of its sponsors were disappointed by the success of that campaign.

The fact that it has been renewed once more on the eve of a session of Parliament is not, I believe, without significance. What is even more significant is the political complexion of many of the sponsors of the campaign. I exclude specifically from what I am about to say the perfectly honest and consistent policy of the Canadian Legion. In the brief which the Legion recently submitted to the government, the recommendation of conscription for overseas service was only one aspect of their representations. I refer rather to those who have sought to magnify this one question which affects only one aspect of our vast war

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effort. I think that anyone who examines the sources of the agitation and its timing will find it difficult to escape the conviction that its real basis is to be found in the same quarter and among the same interests which have for years been the professional agitators for national government, for the reduction of social services, for the suppression of labour, and for every other reactionary course. Behind this agitation, as on other occasions, is a deep and bitter hostility to the present administration and particularly to myself. Behind it also is the hope of finding some political issue or some catch-word which will gather sufficient popular support to enable its advocates to overthrow the government and gain control of the administration. I am quite prepared to abide by the choice of the people between my colleagues and myself on the one hand and the interests to which I have referred on the other.

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A Constructive Man-Power Policy

The fact that the government is not prepared to break its pledge regarding conscription for overseas service should not be misinterpreted. No like pledge and no like conditions which made that pledge necessary exist to preclude the use of compulsion within our own country. In fact, the very opposite situation prevails. Parliament and the country have accepted the principle of compulsion almost unanimously. It has been embodied in our public law in the National Resources Mobilization Act. It has been invoked in the compulsory training programme and in the application of compulsory service in the Reserve Army. The principle of compulsion has been given far-reaching application in the recent measures taken to control the cost of living. It has been employed to regulate or to prohibit certain kinds of production, commerce and consumption. It will have to be employed on an increasing scale as the war effort grows in complexity. The government refuses to resort to compulsion for the sake of compulsion. Sometimes it would almost seem that our critics feel there is no merit in any achievement unless force has been used to accomplish it. We do not believe in regimentation as such. But this I do say, with all the emphasis at my command, the government will shrink from no measure of compulsion, within Canada, however drastic it may be, which, after balancing the advantages and disadvantages, it believes will

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serve to strengthen our national effort in the prosecution of the war.

It may well be that resort will soon be had to additional measures for the compulsory allocation and employment of Canadian manpower. It will probably be necessary, from time to time, to modify the measures already taken. There will be no hesitation in undertaking whatever measures may be required. But, let no one minimize the difficulties involved, and let no one suppose that young men alone will be affected.

The advantages of a comprehensive plan for the compulsory allocation of all the men and women in the country are being constantly preached. I do not deny the attractive nature of such proposals. They have all the appeal of largeness and boldness. But let us pause to consider all that is involved. First there must be a minute and detailed classification of the whole population on a far more comprehensive scale than anything attempted in the National Registration or the Census. And the task must be performed by experts. Next, there must be a very large body of persons more expert still to sort out the various classifications and to determine the relative fitness of persons for varying tasks. Then it would be necessary

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to find the men to make the actual allocations, and the skill and judgment they would require to perform the task efficiently would have to be of the highest order. I do not say the task is impossible; but I do say that it would demand a very large number of able officials whose services, if they could be found at all, would be lost to other essential tasks. These are facts which must be faced. And we should not forget that an inefficient and wasteful scheme of universal compulsion would defeat the very object we have in view: a more effective total effort.

I suggest that a more practical and constructive, if less utopian approach to the manpower problem will involve instead the right combination of voluntary service and compulsion. In those fields where men and women offer themselves of their own accord in sufficient numbers for the essential tasks, let us be thankful that we are spared the problems and difficulties and the expense inseparable from any system of compulsion. Let us concentrate instead on the solution of the problems of scarcity of manpower where they arise, exercising always whatever foresight we possess to anticipate the problems and to be ready with the solutions.

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Those who concentrate their attention on the conscription of men for overseas service, are, I believe, approaching the problem from the wrong end. They fail to see what is really involved in total war. They are giving undue emphasis to the purely military effort, and particularly to the army. In modern total war, the whole nation must be organized for war. All parts must fit together into a common plan.

The ~~formation~~ foundation of any plan for a maximum effort is a correct decision as to the minimum requirements of the population in order to maintain health and efficiency. Once that is determined, production and consumption, for all purposes except the prosecution of the war must be progressively reduced to the minimum. Waste must be eliminated. The whole surplus of available manpower and other resources must be devoted to the making of war. It is in the direction of cutting down unessential employment of men and women and other resources that compulsion is most necessary. The government has moved steadily along that road since the outbreak of war. In recent months, the pace has been accelerated and it will inevitably become faster. It will involve the disappearance during the war of many peacetime occupations. It will free men

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and women for war work. Some direction will have to be given to their movement, and it will be given. But the larger the number who can make their own way into spheres of wartime usefulness, the smaller will be the problem of directing their activities and the greater will be the energy left for tasks more immediately concerned with carrying on the war.

In conclusion, I should like to appeal to my fellow-citizens to examine all sides of every problem which arises in prosecuting the war; to try to understand the complexity of modern war and the necessity of keeping its many demands in perspective; and, above all, not to condemn the whole effort because the government fails to follow their individual inclinations in one particular direction or another. My colleagues and I are, at the very least, no less aware of the immensity of the peril and the extent of the effort required to meet it than are our severest critics. To put the matter on no higher level, we have nothing to gain and everything to lose by the weakness or the failure of Canada's war effort. If it fails, we will be the first to be blamed - and rightly so. Even those who deny our patriotism can hardly fail to see that self interest would oblige the government to take the measures, which in its judgment, would achieve

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the maximum results. I come back at the end to the point where I began: the present administration will not adopt conscription for overseas service because we believe it would weaken rather than strengthen Canada's war effort.

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C244396

(1)

(iii) The Honourable R.B. Hanson, Leader of the Opposition, October 30th, 1941 - quoted from Montreal Daily Star:

"I have been urged to declare for conscription of manpower", Mr. Hanson said, "What would happen if I did ? Immediately the Conservative Party in Parliament nailed conscription to its masthead, we'd consolidate all those forces that have been opposed to us since 1917, and they would be marshalled against us. Conscription is bound to come to the front more and more insistently, but it must come from the people themselves. To make it a political move would defeat the very purpose of those who would have it in view ... Our sense of citizenship must be such that we will go out and tell the people what the situation is, but if you make conscription a political issue you will retard its adoption."

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Notes on: C214394
The Conscription Issue
November 1941

APEX
VERTICAL FOLDER
No. Sp. 421 V
Made in all sizes
Patent No. 216772

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C244398

Nov 1, 9

Memorandum for PM

21/10/44

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JWP/MS
9.11.41

C244399

NOTE FOR MR. GIBSON:

-- I am attaching the Prime Minister's copy and an additional copy for you of the speech material re conscription in outline form. In order to complete this material, ten exhibits are required as follows:

-- 1. Ralston (attached)

✓ 2. Victor Sifton

✓ 3. Stalin

-- ✓ 4. Howe (attached)

-- 5. P.M. on price control (attached)

-- 6. Sasseville Roy (attached)

✓ 7. Churchill re Northern Ireland

✓ 8. Churchill at Mansion House

✓ 9. P.M. at Vancouver (section re conscription)

✓ 10. Saturday night, November 8th, front page re Meighen

I think it was understood on Saturday that you would provide the exhibits. I think that apart from those already included they are probably readily available at Laurier House, and I don't know quite where to turn to find them here on Sunday. In consequence I am taking you at your word.

J. W. P.

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C244400

Copy of speech by
Mr. Lifton requested
by the Prime Minister.

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COLLATERAL ON WWII - conscription

C244401

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE

(ARMY)

O T T A W A

Release No. 849
October 1 , 1941

Following is the text of an address by Mr. Victor Sifton, Master-General of the Ordnance, over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation national network at 7:50 p.m. E.D.T. October 5th, 1941. FOR RELEASE IN MORNING NEWSPAPERS OF OCTOBER 6th. NOT TO BE PUBLISHED OR BROADCAST BEFORE 8:00 P.M. SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5th. PLEASE GUARD AGAINST PREMATURE PUBLICATION OR BROADCASTING.

The simplest way of showing the extent to which our army is mechanized is to say that there is not one horse or horse-drawn vehicle in the whole establishment. The forage for to-day's army is gasoline.

Mechanization is technical and difficult to discuss but it is a vitally important factor in modern war. It is, of course, in mechanization that the great increase in the cost of war has occurred. We spend five dollars for every dollar we spent in the last war on armament and transport. By contrast, the cost of feeding, clothing, housing and paying our troops is very little greater - about 15 per cent.

$
5-1

One of the results of mechanization is that we can produce much greater fire power with 17,000 men, a modern division, than we could with 21,000 in the division of 1918.

Mechanization means speed and efficiency of movement. In 1914-18 an infantry division moved on foot at a speed of 2½ miles per hour. A division was doing well to cover 20 miles a day. Today an infantry division moves on wheels at a minimum speed of 10 miles per hour amd in case of necessity may move very much faster.

Ten German armoured divisions in May and June of

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1940, with the aid of air supremacy enabled the German Army to cut through allied armies in France in 18 days; outflank the Maginot line; defeat France and expose Britain to the greatest peril she has ever known. The difference between those ten divisions and any ten divisions on our side was not in the men. It was in mechanization and its resultant increase in armament and fire power. Therefore, when we talk of mechanization we are talking of one of the essentials of victory.

Rather than give you a mass of technical detail I will contrast the last war with this one. A Canadian infantry 1918 division in 1918 had 153 motor vehicles and 4,400 horses. The cost plus upkeep at the front for one year was two million dollars.

1941 A division today has no horses or wagons but it has 3,500 motor vehicles of more than 160 different types, practically all of which are being manufactured in Canada. Although there are more than 160 types, only 7 models of engines are used to drive them. The cost of the vehicles used by a modern division plus one year's upkeep is 12 million dollars.

Incidentally you will be interested to know that the 1st and 2nd Canadian divisions in England are completely equipped. In fact, there are no better equipped divisions in the British army.

1918 The fire power of a division in 1918 was 48 field guns; 96 machine guns; 40 trench mortars and 432 Lewis guns. The cost for one year, including upkeep and ammunition, was $3,150,000.

Today an infantry division has increased its strength in field guns, doubled the number of automatic small arms, has new and better mortars and many types of weapons unknown in 1918 such as anti-tank rifles and guns and anti-aircraft guns. Today's division has many times the fire power of a division in 1914-18. The cost for one year of equipping and

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maintaining a modern division with these weapons including wastage and ammunition under battle conditions is 28 million dollars. The comparison is between 5 millions in 1918 and 28 millions in 1941.

Apart from rifles and pistols, the 1941 weapons are of much higher quality and of greater fire power than the weapons of the last war.

I have given you comparisons of transport and fire power costs. But, apart from the personnel, all the costs are higher. The overall cost of a division in 1914-18 varied from 30 to 48 millions according to the severity of the fighting. Today's cost of creating and maintaining an infantry division for one year is 86 million dollars.

It is interesting to compare the Canadian Cavalry brigade of the last war with the Canadian Army Tank Brigade of the present war. Both these formations have approximately the same strength in men. But the striking power of the Tank Brigade is vastly greater and, unfortunately, the cost has increased 9 to 1. The cost of the cavalry brigade for 1 year, including ammunition, was 3 and 1/2 million dollars. The cost of the tank brigade for 1 year on a similar basis is 32 million dollars. The difference in fire power is so great that a comparison is not possible.

Perhaps the most interesting formation in the Canadian army is the Armoured Division. To equip and maintain it in action in the field for 1 year will cost this country 155 million dollars. An armoured division is, of course, the most powerful and the costliest of all land fighting formations. There was no military formation in 1918 with which it can be compared. But its cost can be compared with the cost of maintaining the whole Canadian Corps in France in the full fiscal year 1916-17 which was 143 millions or 12 millions less than the cost of maintaining our armoured division. And it

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will be remembered that 1916-17 was a year of heavy fighting, including St. Eloi, Sanctuary Wood and the Somme.

The infantry division today can move long distances and arrive at the point of action fresh and strong.

In the last war a division of infantry in column of route occupied 15 miles of road - today a division in column of route occupies from 60 to 140 miles of road depending on its tactical situation.

At 10 vehicles per mile, the Canadian Corps at present in England would occupy on the road a distance equal to the distance from Toronto to Vancouver.

Nor is the efficiency of modern war equipment easily impaired by weather or road conditions. Bad weather has often been the decisive factor in campaigns. Thousands of soldiers and great quantities of armament and supplies were lost by Napoleon in the retreat from Moscow because his horses were not shod and could not hold their feet on the ice. Our military vehicles today are equipped with specially designed non-skid tires which can run for miles without air. Some of these trucks have as many as 8 gear ratios which provide traction under almost any condition.

A comparison between the horse power used by the army and the electrical energy used in this country is interesting. We are, as you know, tremendous users of electrical energy.

One armoured division develops 394,237 horse power which is as much as the electrical power used in the city of Toronto. In a word - the 12,000 soldiers in an armoured division have at their disposal and under their control as much mechanical power as used in terms of electrical energy by all the citizens of Toronto.

In the last war, 12,000 soldiers had at their disposal in army equipment, 3,300 horse power which is about equivalent to the electrical power used in Gananoque or Lindsay.

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One armoured division plus one infantry division develops more horse power than all the electrical energy used in the province of Manitoba.

The Canadian army is an army of machines and the efficient use of machines depends upon skilled men to operate and maintain them. Industrial training is an essential preparation for the modern army.

In the last war the best type of recruit was a farm lad. He was strong and handy and knew how to handle horses. He is still an excellent recruit, the more so if he has had experience repairing farm machinery and operating the tractor.

Today, 25 per cent of infantry must be mechanics; 4,100 out of 17,000 men in a division must be skilled in one or other of 53 trades. A lack of skilled mechanics might easily paralyse the army.

The scientific employment of machines rather than flesh and blood is the goal at which we are aiming.

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MANPOWER PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

Manpower needed in war time for:

1. Essential civilian services;
2. Production of war supplies;
3. Production of food for Britain;
4. Armed forces:
   - (a) navy
   - (b) air force
   - (c) army

Priorities already fixed:

navy;

air force;

(See Ralston, Unr. Hansard, Nov. 5, p. 4449)

Priorities not fixed

between army on one hand

and war industry and agriculture on the other;

manpower survey recently completed to enable

government to work out detailed programme;

success of war effort and effectiveness of army

depends upon proper balance;

(See Ralston, Unr. Hansard, p.4449)

4451-2

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Mechanization vs. Numbers

More men needed in production to maintain army in 1941 than 1918 at least 4 to 1

(No 2)

(See Victor Sifton)
- get estimate of ratio -

Canadian production must supply Britain as well as Canada;

Limited population and competing demands;

One well-equipped division worth several ill-equipped;

(No 3)

e.g. Battle of Low Countries,
Dunkirk, Battle of France,
Russian campaign
(See Stalin's speech)

Contrast Germany and Canada

Germans have slave population for production - can mobilize more Germans

Canada has to supply Britain as well as Canadian forces - reduces numbers available for service in army.

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Disproportionate emphasis on army

Tradition from last war;

Letting part overshadow whole;

Army limited by needs for:

navy

air force

production

re-inforcements over period of years

(Repeat statement by

Prime Minister on December 2,

1940)

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VOLUNTARY RECRUITING NOT A FAILURE

Total enlistment for service anywhere:
350,000 men;
waiting list for navy;
ample volunteers for air force;
army difficulties comprehensible;
(See Ralston's three reasons
Hansard pp. 4449-50)

Compulsion simpler in theory: not in practice:
need for persuasion still exists;
army would be demoralized by unwilling recruits;
complicated machinery of enforcement - diversion of manpower
(cf. oil control -
Mr. Howe on rationing
Hansard pp. 4533-34)
(See also Prime Minister's statement in speech on Price Control p. 7 - the same arguments apply)

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Considerations of <u>efficiency</u> alone on the side of exhausting possibilities of voluntary system before clamouring for different system;

Vigorous support for voluntary system would help war effort more than clamour for change.

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COMPARISON OF COMPULSORY AND VOLUNTARY SYSTEMS

Theoretical virtues of conscription

1. Fair
2. Democratic
4. Efficient

Argument re fairness based on assumption that men seek to avoid military service and gain advantages by staying at home.

Remedy not conscription, but removal of economic and material disadvantages (if any) of military services:

pay and allowances;

security for re-employment;

pensions; etc.;

Men in fighting services entitled to a material advantage rather than a disadvantage;

Argument re democracy - depends upon definition of democracy.

(Beverley Baxter's - Sons of Dukes)

Argument re efficiency

(See above re complications of compulsory system)

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Qualities of a good soldier not all capable of precise classification;
Soldiering, like other occupations, a vocation.

Practical considerations

Only one valid test:

Which method of recruiting army for overseas will contribute most to a maximum war effort in all its aspects?

Government convinced that voluntary system better in Canada for practical historical reasons;
Will not help to open the wound of 1917;
Will arouse controversy throughout the country to attempt conscription for overseas service.

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(No 3)

PRESS CLIPPINGS C244413

Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication: Montreal Gazette

Date: November 7, 1941

Subject:

TEXT OF STALIN'S SPEECH

London, November 6 — (AP) — Following are textual excerpts from the speech by Josef Stalin broadcast today from Moscow. This version was recorded, translated and distributed by the Soviet Monitor, London listening post of Tass, Russian news agency:

Comrades, 24 years have just passed since the October Revolution. At this meeting we usually sum up the results of our peaceful labors.

We have spent more than four months of fierce struggle against the German invaders. War has stopped our peaceful construction for some exents.

We are faced now with the task of winning this war.

The enemy has taken a large part of the Ukraine, White Russia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and a number of other parts of our country.

The German Fascist invaders are plundering our country. They are seizing the best lands of our peasants. They are torturing our peasants and our women and children.

The enemy is throwing ever new forces into the front, making every effort to seize Leningrad and Moscow, for he knows that winter will be bad for him.

The French Government allowed itself to be frightened by the spectre of revolution. They went on their knees to Hitler and refused to defend their own country.

Despite the efforts of Hess, not only did Britain and America not join the campaign of the German Fascist invaders against our country but, on the contrary, found themselves in the same camp as the Soviet Union against Hitlerite Germany.

It appears that the German policy of frightening with the spectre of revolution has exhausted itself and is no longer of any use in the new situation. And not only is it of no use but it is also dangerous in some respects. War will have a directly opposite result. Hitler's position is not stable; his rear is not stable because of the firm stand of our Red army. Here, also, Hitler miscalculated.

It is quite clear that any other state having lost in territory that we have had at the present time would not have withstood it but would have fainted away. If the Soviet system for five months has stood this test and has strengthened its rear, still more it means that the Soviet . . . (a few words drowned out by applause).

Even here they miscalculated, having overestimated their own strength and underestimated our resistance. It is true that both our army and our navy are still young. They have not yet had enough for their strength to get full experience of modern warfare. However, they are confronting a German army and navy consisting exclusively of soldiers who have experience of two years of war.

Our army operates among its own people. It enjoys the continued support of its rear, which ensures it supplies of arms, munitions and foodstuffs. It is completely confident in its rear. That is why our army has proved itself to be stronger than the Germans assumed and the German army proved to be weaker than one could have supposed if he had judged by the boastful statements of the German invaders.

The defense of Leningrad and Moscow, where only recently our divisions annihilated about three dozen German regular divisions, has shown that the war for our fatherland has forged new Red army men and commanders, airmen, gunners, tankists, mortar crews, infantrymen and sailors who will annihilate the enemy of the U.S.S.R.

During the first four months of war we have lost 350,000 men killed, 1,020,000 wounded and 378,000 missing without trace. German casualties are 4,800,000 in killed, wounded and prisoners.

There is no doubt that all these facts have contributed to the collapse of the lightning war on the eastern front. But it is also true that besides these favorable conditions for the Red army, there are some unfavorable conditions which led to the temporary ill-successes for our army. The Red army was forced to retreat and yield to the enemy a number of regions of the Soviet Union.

What are those unfavorable conditions? What is the cause of the temporary lack of success of the Red army? One of the causes is definitely the lack of a second front in Europe against the German Fascists.

The matter is that at the present time on the European continent there are no armies of Great Britain or the United States

conducting war against the German Fascist armies.

Therefore the Germans need not divide their forces to conduct a war on two fronts in the west and in the east, and Britain enables the Germans to move all their forces and the forces of their satellites to the east against the Soviet Union because they consider their rear is secure in the west.

This situation is such that our country leads a war of liberation alone against the united strength of the Germans, Rumanians, Italians, Finns and Hungarians.

The Germans boast of their temporary success and think that they will always achieve success against the Red army in battles, one after the other, if that were true it cannot be explained why the Germans have brought in their assistance the Italian soldiers, Hungarians and Rumanians against the Red army.

There is no doubt that the lack of a second front in the west considerably improves the position of the German army. [illegible] there be any doubt that the establishment of a front on the European continent, which, under the present circumstances, would be effective, would [illegible] the Soviet Union.

[illegible] conducted war against the German Fascist armies.

[illegible] aimed at world domination — the Hitler regime ceased to be a national party . . .

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We are faced now with the task of winning this war.

The enemy has taken a large part of the Ukraine, White Russia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and a number of other parts of our country.

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Despite the efforts of Hess, not only did Britain and America not join the campaign of the German Fascist invaders against our country but on the contrary found themselves in the same camp as the Soviet Union against Hitlerite Germany.

It appears that the German policy of frightening with the spectre of revolution has exhausted itself and is no longer of any use in the new situation. And not only is it of no use but it is also dangerous in some respects. War will have a directly opposite result. Hitler's position is not stable; his rear is not stable because of the firm stand of our Red army. Here, also, Hitler miscalculated.

It is quite clear that any other state having losses in territory that we have had at the present time would not have withstood it but would have fainted away. If the Soviet system for five months has stood the test and has strengthened its rear still more it means that the Soviet . . . (a few words drowned out by applause).

Even here they miscalculated, having overestimated their own strength and underestimated our resistance. It is true that both our army and our navy are still young, they have only been fighting for four months, they do not entirely consist of regular units, whereas they are confronted by a German army and navy consisting of regular soldiers and sailors who have experience of two years of war.

Our army operates among its own people. It enjoys the continued support of its rear, which ensures it supplies of arms, munitions and foodstuffs. It is completely confident in its rear. That is why our army has proved itself to be stronger than the Germans assumed and the German army proved to be weaker than one could have supposed if he had judged by the boastful statements of the German invaders.

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There is no doubt that all these facts have contributed to the collapse of the lightning war on the eastern front. But it is also true that besides these favorable conditions for the Red army, there are some unfavorable conditions which led to the temporary ill-successes for our army. The Red army was forced to retreat and yield to the enemy a number of regions of the Soviet Union.

What are those unfavorable conditions? What is the cause of the temporary lack of success of the Red army? one of the causes is definitely the lack of a second front in Europe against the German Fascists.

The matter is that at the present time on the European continent there are no armies of Great Britain or the United States conducting war against the German Fascist armies.

Therefore the Germans need not divide their forces to conduct a war on two fronts in the west and in the east. This situation enables the Germans to send all their forces and the forces of their European allies to the east against the Soviet Union because they consider their rear is secure in the west.

This situation is such that our country leads a war of liberation alone against the united strength of the Germans, Rumanians, Italians, Finns and Hungarians.

The Germans boast of their temporary success and think that they will always achieve successes against the Red army in battles one after the other. If that were true it cannot be explained why the Germans have brought to their assistance the Finns, Italians, Hungarians and Rumanians against the Red army.

There is no doubt that the lack of a second front in the west considerably improves the position of the German army. Neither can there be any doubt that the establishment of a front on the European continent, which, under the present circumstances, would undoubtedly be effective, would considerably ease the position of the Red army.

One of the reasons for the temporary lack of success of our army is an insufficient number of tanks. [illegible] without tanks and the support of an air force, has a very difficult task.

Our air force is qualitatively superior to the German. Our gallant airmen have won glory and honor. But at the moment we have fewer planes than the Germans.

Our tanks are qualitatively superior to the German tanks. Our gallant tankists and artillery men have many times put to flight "famous" German troops. Nevertheless the quantity of our tanks is several times less than those of the Germans. We cannot say our tank industry is working badly or is giving few tanks to the front. But nevertheless the Germans are producing many more tanks because they have the industries of Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium and Holland.

If it had not been for this circumstance, the Red army would have defeated the German army long ago.

When they started to attack the Czechs, the Slovaks, Poles, Norwegians, Danes, Hollanders, Belgians, French, Serbs, Greeks, Ukrainians, White Russians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians—when they started to aim at world domination — the Hitler party ceased to be a nationalist party. . . .

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To hide the real nature of their internal regime, the Hitlerites pretended to the whole world that Britain and the United States are plutocratic states. In those countries there exist workers' parties, workers' trade unions and parliaments. But in Germany under the Hitlerite regime all these are destroyed and butchers enforce the reactionary Hitlerite regime. . . .

Henceforth our task, the task of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the task of our Red army men, commanders, and political instructors of the Red army and Red fleet, will be to annihilate all Germans from now onwards who dare to get on to our territory. We will give the German invaders death.

There are three basic factors which will bring about the inevitable destruction of the Hitlerites. They are, first of all, the unstable rear in Germany itself and the instability of the regime in Europe.

The German invaders have enslaved the peoples on the continent of Europe from France to the Soviet Baltic . . . only Hitlerite fools can fail to understand that the enslaved peoples of Europe will fight and will rise up in arms against the Hitlerite yoke. Great Britain and the U.S.A. will give every help to the peoples as we will.

Secondly there is instability of the rear of the Hitlerite invaders.

A short while ago at a conference in Moscow the representative of the U.S.A., Mr. Harriman, said he would systematically aid our country with tanks and airplanes. As is known, we have begun to receive arms from the U.S.A. and once more it can be said with confidence that with the aid of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, the Soviet Union . . . (drowned by applause).

These are factors which determine the inevitable doom of the German Fascist regime . . .

Our first task, of course, is to liberate our own territory and our own people from the German Fascist yoke. We have no war aims of imposing our regime, Slav or otherwise, on the enslaved peoples of the world who are waiting for our help. Nor can we have such aims.

Our aim is to help these people, to liberate them from the Hitlerite tyranny, and then to leave them free to live on their own lands as they wish. There can be no interference in the affairs of other people. To reach our aim we have to crush the war might of the German invaders, we must annihilate all Germans who set foot on our country . . .

Revenge is now our task. We must and can carry it out . . .

Long live our Red army, our Red fleet! Long live our glorious native land! Our cause is right! Victory will be ours!

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PRESS CLIPPINGS C244414 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

To hide the real nature of their internal regime, the Hitlerites pretended to the whole world that Britain and the United States are plutocratic states. In those countries there exist workers' parties, workers' trade unions and parliaments. But in Germany under the Hitlerite regime all these are destroyed and butchers enforce the reactionary Hitlerite regime. . . .

Henceforth our task, the task of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the task of our Red army men, commanders, and political instructors of the Red army and Red fleet, will be to annihilate all Germans from now onwards who dare to get on to our territory. We will give the German invaders death.

There are three basic factors which will bring about the inevitable destruction of the Hitlerites. They are, first of all, the unstable rear in Germany itself and the instability of the regime in Europe.

The German invaders have enslaved the peoples on the continent of Europe from France to the Soviet Baltic . . . only Hitlerite fools can fail to understand that the enslaved peoples of Europe will fight and will rise up in arms against the Hitlerite yoke. Great Britain and the U.S.A. will give every help to the peoples as we will.

Secondly there is instability of the rear of the Hitlerite invaders.

A short while ago at a conference in Moscow the representative of the U.S.A., Mr. Harriman, said he would systematically aid our country with tanks and airplanes. As is known, we have begun to receive arms from the U.S.A. and once more it can be said with confidence that with the aid of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, the Soviet Union . . . (drowned by applause).

These are factors which determine the inevitable doom of the German Fascist regime . . .

Our first task, of course, is to liberate our own territory and our own people from the German Fascist yoke. We have no war aims of imposing our regime, Slav or otherwise, on the enslaved peoples of the world who are waiting for our help. Nor can we have such aims.

Our aim is to help these people, to liberate them from the Hitlerite tyranny, and then to leave them free to live on their own lands as they wish. There can be no interference in the affairs of other people. To reach our aim we have to crush the war might of the German invaders, we must annihilate all Germans who set foot on our country . . .

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THE REAL OBJECTION TO CONSCRIPTION

The attitude of French Canada

Conscription the symbol of racial strife
(See Mr. Sasseville Roy)

Government justified in risking racial strife only if a worse disaster the certain alternative

Difficulties of getting volunteers for army can be overcome:
not as great as difficulties, now and in future, of imposing conscription
(See Hanson's speech to Albany Club)
(cf. Churchill's attitude to conscription in Northern Ireland)

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Nature of Canadian unity

Not racial - but spiritual - based on

Tolerance and mutual respect

(See Churchill at Mansion House)

Danger to unity sole reason for giving pledge; and paramount reason for keeping pledge.

Sanctity of pledges

(cf. Vancouver speech)

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(204) Mr. Howe : re. Rationing C244417

Mr. HOWE: There has been an increase; we are, I suppose, the chief buyers of fuel oil. I am assured by my officers that it is in proportion to the yield of crude oil as against gasoline.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): What has been the increase?

Mr. HOWE: I cannot say. I shall be glad to place a statement on *Hansard* showing the increase on all by-products.

Mr. MacNICOL: Before the minister proceeds, may I ask a question? The minister spoke about control over the sale of gasoline. Here is what I went through one afternoon, which I do not think should be described by the word "control." My gasoline was running low, and I drove to the first gas station I came to on St. Clair Avenue in Toronto. The attendant said, "Sorry, we are out of gas." I said, "Have you no gas in your tanks?" "Oh, yes, lots of gas in the tanks, but we have sold our quota for to-day." I drove to the next gasoline station and was told the same thing. I drove to a third and was told the same. I asked the same question in each case, and the answer was, "Yes, we have lots of gasoline but we have sold our quota for the day." I drove to another station and before I had time to ask the young man said, "Shall I fill her up?" I said, "Yes, fill her up."

That is not gasoline control. Had I been on a serious errand of life or death and run out of gasoline and they had told me, "Yes, we have lots of gas but have filled our quota for the day and cannot give you any more," what would have been my position? That is not control. I should like the minister to tell us whether the rationing system has been properly surveyed. For instance, all this week my car is standing in the garage, I am not using any gasoline. When I go away for a month my car is in the garage. But when I come back, not having used any gasoline for some time, I am told, "Yes, the tanks are full, but we cannot sell you any." That kind of control is a farce. Surely there is some sensible way of rationing gasoline.

Mr. HOWE: My hon. friend says it is not control, but it is one kind of control. It is control of consumption. If we cut the sale of gasoline by twenty per cent we have saved that twenty per cent. I admit at once it is a crude way, but it is a quick way; it was adopted by the United States on the eastern seaboard and was adopted in Canada to consolidate our gains. We wanted a reduction in gasoline consumption; we achieved it in that way; it has worked from the government point of view, but perhaps not so well from the point of view of the public.

Now we are working towards a rationing system for gasoline. In due course it will be necessary to have a coupon book in order to obtain gasoline. Why have we not done it before? It is a very complex problem. First you have to determine the classification of users; then you have to decide the relative amounts that should be given to this and that user. It is not easy; it took England eighteen months to put her rationing system in operation.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): It is operating there now.

Mr. HOWE: Yes, definitely, but it was a difficult problem. It was not working well when I was there; they were still making adjustments. In Canada, which is more highly mechanized, more dependent upon internal combustion engines, it is much more difficult. The mere printing of the coupon books is no small task. That work, however, is well under way. It is the only fair method. Each man is given so much gas per month, according to his needs; if he wishes to use it all in a week, that is his affair.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): Could the rationing not be done through the provincial governments in connection with the licensing system?

Mr. HOWE: As a matter of fact that is what we have in mind, we hope to have the two issued concurrently. The purpose of the control is to save gasoline and nothing else. It has been the purpose of the oil controller to bring into Canada every gallon of petroleum products he can bring in. I notice editorials are beginning to appear stating that the real reason behind this control is the saving of United States exchange. It is true that petroleum products do constitute the greatest single drain on our United States exchange. But the purpose of oil conservation has not been to save United States exchange. We have been conserving gasoline because if we give it to the pleasure driver we go short in the war effort.

The United States furnished a large number of tankers to the British government and Canada furnished its share, a fair number of our Norwegian flag tankers. The United States is getting a number of its tankers back; we are not getting any of ours back. At the moment the situation in Canada is no better, because we have no more new tanker space; our stocks to-day are lower than they have ever been since the war started.

But we have the Montreal pipeline coming into operation, which will help somewhat, and we know that as soon as the situation in the United States is squared away they will give

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us some help. We hope the situation this winter will be better. We are going to put in a flexible system of rationing, and we are going to make the rations just as liberal as our supplies of gasoline will permit. At the beginning of each month, or perhaps earlier, the oil controller will announce how many gallons of gasoline a coupon will entitle a person to obtain, and we hope it will entitle a driver to as many gallons as he will want to use. If it does not it will be because the gasoline is not available; but we shall be in a better position to deal with another shortage if one should occur. And it is very likely to occur. The submarines are out again; winter is coming on, and the prospects are not too bright. If there are sinkings in anything like the proportion of last winter, there will be another shortage in the spring. Through a system of rationing, we shall be able to distribute the gasoline not required by the war effort, to the citizens of Canada for non-war purposes as equitably as possible.

There is everything to be said for a rationing system. The public are, I think, more or less demanding it, and we believe that it is the fairest and best system to adopt. The reason why it is not in effect to-day is that it has not been found possible to organize its administration so quickly.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I am glad to hear the minister say that at last the government are becoming realistic in connection with the matter of rationing in the present gasoline situation. An ordinary member of parliament cannot visualize the difficulty of putting into effect a system of this kind, but such a system is in operation in England and it is just too bad for anyone who does not take care of his position over there. As far as I know anything about public opinion, I believe the public of Canada will welcome any decent system of rationing if it is in the interests of the war effort of this country. I do not believe there is any sacrifice the loyal people of Canada are not prepared to make, and surely this is one of the least that could be asked.

Under the system of moral suasion and appeals to save gasoline I do not think our people have taken the matter very much to heart. I heard of the case of a gentleman in the city of Toronto who put up his cars and walked. Yet one day he was confronted with the spectacle of hundreds of cars coming away from the Woodbine race track, each one with a V for victory on the windshield. That is the sort of thing that makes one sick to contemplate, the thoughtlessness of people.

[Mr. Howe.]

Mr. HOWE: Nevertheless the saving was very considerable.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I agree that there was a saving, but it was brought about by the conscientious people of this country rather than by those who were thoughtless, and I am not going to characterize them in any other way.

I should like to throw out this suggestion to the minister for his consideration when he comes to deal with this question of rationing. I suggest that those who are careful to keep their consumption of gasoline as far as possible under the limit might be given credit for being so careful, so that, if an emergency should arise during a succeeding month, they might be able to take advantage of what they had saved previously. What I mean is that a credit created by a non-user in this way might be stored up, to be used by that person in case of an emergency, so that the gasoline represented by the coupons not used would not be wiped off the slate at the end of the month. It may not be possible to adopt that suggestion, though I do not see why it should not; but I commend it to the minister and his advisers when they come to consider this rationing system.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: What was the basis of the allotment when the supply to distributors was reduced this fall?

Mr. HOWE: I do not remember the exact figure; it was either fifteen or twenty per cent, based on the records of the previous year.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: For any particular month?

Mr. HOWE: Month by month; that is, each month was compared with the same month of the previous year.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: It was not based on the July consumption, for instance?

Mr. HOWE: No; I think July was based on July, August on August and September on September.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: Of the previous year?

Mr. HOWE: Yes. I spoke of two increases, each of one cent, in the price of gasoline. So far as the prairie provinces were concerned, there was only one increase, for the reason that the cost there was largely local cost. The only lift in price to the refineries there was the 27 cents a barrel which brought about the first increase of one cent a gallon.

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(No 26)

JOINT PASTORAL LETTER AND DECREE

Of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Quebec, and of Their Excellencies the Archbishops, Bishops, and Other Ordinaries of Canada, concerning the position of our Catholic people in the present war.

We, by the grace of God and authority of the Apostolic See, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries of Canada.

To the Clergy, Religious, and Laity of our dioceses, Health and Benediction in the Lord.

Dearly beloved in Christ :

1. Because of continued developments in the war zone, our hopes for a complete victory, together with a just and lasting peace, seem deferred to a future more distant than we had anticipated. Indeed the danger is coming nearer home, and is threatening more ominously every day. Since the beginning of the war, each of Us has, in his own diocese, recalled to your minds the principles that should always guide us as citizens of our great country. The time has now come when we feel the need of opening our hearts to you, and with one mind and one voice, expressing our intimate sentiments on this momentous question.

Mandements des Évêques d'Ottawa, volume I.

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2. His Holiness Pope Pius XII has never ceased to exhort all nations to respect the rights of God and of the Christian conscience. He has multiplied his writings and addresses ; every day he has offered his prayers and mortifications to bring back peace to the world. We, on our part, have bent all our efforts towards that same peace ; not a superficial and merely external peace, not a mere cessation of hostilities, which would open the way to domination by force and would allow the denial of God and social injustices of all kinds to go unpunished. Rather, the peace for which we long must be a true peace, the fruit of justice and charity : peace that will establish a wise and strong international order, which in turn will guarantee the personal rights of individuals, as well as the general good of nations and of the human race.

3. A faulty peace, an unjust peace, would serve only to sow the seeds of future wars and more cruel sufferings. A true peace, based on a renewed Christian order, should, with the help of God, bring all nations many years of tranquillity and prosperity. In other words, civil and international society must be so organized on the unshakeable principles of the Gospel, that the individual, the family and the state may find free scope for their legitimate aptitudes and aims, and that for the whole human race, social life may once more become an aid and a support, rather than a hindrance, in attaining their eternal destiny.

4. This is why, dearly beloved in Christ, you have not wavered in the face of the varied sacrifices which the virtue of fortitude imposes on people engaged in a just war.

5. One has only to study the anti-Christian doctrines and principles of Nazism in the light of the Encyclical " *Mit brennender Sorge* " of Pope Pius XI, and of the statements of the German hierarchy, and of the record of oppression and destruction in every country which has come under the yoke

of Nazism, to realize the extremities of barbarism, persecution and irreligion, to which it would reduce all nations in the world conquest of which it dreams and towards which it strives.

6. Consequently, dearly beloved in Christ, We were not surprised but sincerely and deeply elated at seeing you, from the very beginning of the conflict, generously respond to the call of your country. Truly a glorious page in our history will recall the devotion, courage and heroism aroused in our people by this present war.

7. Dearly beloved in Christ, you have taken your place side by side with your fellow-citizens of every class and creed, in this ready and generous response. And in order to express Our satisfaction, We are glad to borrow the very words which His Holiness Pope Pius XII addressed to the world on June 29th last : " *We, like you, feel Our heart grow faint at the thought of the tempest of evil, of suffering, and of anguish, that now rages over the world. However, there are not lacking, in the darkness of the storm, comforting thoughts which dilate Our heart with holy and great expectation: generous courage in defence of the fundamentals of Christian civilization, and confident hope in their triumph; the strongest love for fatherland, the most heroic acts of virtue, chosen souls ready for every sacrifice, and widespread reawakening of faith and piety, are not lacking.*" (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXXIII, 1941, pp. 320-321).

8. We must acknowledge that this spirit of sacrifice and devotion finds its highest expression in those who courageously enter active service, on land, on the sea, or in the air. We owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to our fellow-citizens who are bravely rendering such admirable service to their country and to humanity in general. Their heroic courage is a pledge of final victory ; their loyalty is a credit to our country ; their fidelity to duty is the bulwark of our freedom. Every day we become more proud of their constancy and courage in the face of obstacles and struggles. They are showing them-

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selves worthy of the past history of our brave young nation. Determined as they are to conquer or die, their hearts are animated with the fortitude of heroes. The very ties by which they are attached to everything they hold dear are so many additional motives urging them on to the glorious discharge of their office as defenders of our liberty. In the face of danger, let them repeat the words of Machabeus : *" If our time be come, let us die manfully for the brethren, and let us not stain our glory."* (1 Mach. 9 : 10). Let them remember that anyone, be he soldier, sailor, airman or civilian, who gives his life for his fellow-citizens, if animated with dispositions of faith and zeal for justice, attains to the highest degree of charity.

9. Let us pray, then, for our fighting men, that inspired with such thoughts and with a pure intention, they may persevere to the end, determined, intrepid, heroic. Let us often think of the loneliness they experience by their separation from their dear ones at home, of the suffering of the wounded, and of the agony of the dying. We should therefore support them by our constant prayers and sacrifices.

10. However, we must remember that a modern war is not won by the fighting forces alone. The war inflicted on us by our enemies demands a combined effort on the part of all people. We must therefore be prepared to support our fighting forces also in a material way ; by our labour in war industries and agriculture and by participating in the auxiliary services. Again, by investing in war loans, by readily accepting the regulations concerning the saving and rationing of our resources, by submitting to the thousand restrictions imposed on us by wartime production and civilian defence, by assisting in plans for rehabilitation after the war ; in all these ways we can devote ourselves to the welfare of our country. It is a source of joy to Us that you have grasped this truth and have responded generously.

11. At the same time, when we think of the sufferings and privations inflicted on so many countries, we should thank God for having mercifully spared us from such trials up to the present.

* * *

12. However, dearly beloved in Christ, We feel it our duty to urge you as strongly as We can, not to draw down the anger of God on our nation by frivolity and by the inordinate pursuit of wealth and pleasure. On the contrary, we should appease the wrath of God by examining our own consciences, discovering our faults, and making reparation for them in a true spirit of penance. The more faithfully our individual lives reflect an enlightened and active Christianity, the more we can hope that our political leaders will be guided by Christian principles and will conscientiously endeavour to apply them, in the various activities over which they exercise jurisdiction during these troubled times.

13. We must ensure the future welfare of our nation by perfect fidelity to the laws of Christian morality. Those who have been called to the training camps should remember that they need a more sublime heroism there than even on the battlefield ; for they must show themselves worthy of the name of Christian ; they must remain faithful to their wives, their homes and their families ; in their leisure time they must not compromise their moral and physical integrity in sinful pleasures, and waste the strength they need for the service of God and country.

14. Here also We must register a particularly vehement protest against certain abominable practices which might make war conditions the occasion of disseminating themselves. We refer to the increase of vice on a commercial basis, and the

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use of contraceptives, which unprincipled propagandists make bold to advertise even among the armed forces.

15. At the same time We feel obliged to sound a warning against certain lamentable abuses in the matter of strong drink. The figures issued in the public accounts give more convincing evidence of its abuse than even the painful sights We witness every day. We consider it Our pressing duty to urge the public and military authorities to use all the means in their power to curb these abuses, which are so injurious to the common good and prejudicial to our hopes for victory. It would indeed be foolish to expect that any nation would be strong and vigorous in its morale and physically fit, without that self-mastery which can be preserved only by the spirit of sacrifice, self-denial and discipline.

16. With all Our heart We deplore the practice of blaspheming and profaning the Name of God, which too often obtains among military men. We appeal to the officers to do all in their power to stamp out this habit, which is so directly opposed to divine and human law.

17. Likewise, We consider it Our duty to call the attention of the proper authorities to the respect due the Lord's Day. Extreme necessities of national defence and the production of war materials may, to some extent, justify the continuation of certain servile work on Sunday ; but it would be unchristian if motives of avarice were to insinuate themselves under the pretext of necessity. And the true welfare of the nation demands that all working people be guaranteed an opportunity on Sunday of getting some bodily rest, and of fulfilling their religious duties and receiving moral instruction, so necessary to nourish and strengthen their souls.

18. It is scarcely necessary to mention the apprehension We experience at seeing so many women, and especially mothers, drawn away from their homes by wartime regulations,

into factory work and other occupations so foreign to their sex. His Holiness Pope Pius XII has recently called attention to this danger : " The family is sacred ; it is the cradle not only of children but also of the nation, — of its force and its glory ; a nation cannot subsist with its family life disrupted." (Radio address May 13, 1942). We have grave fear that this interference with our family life will undermine the entire social life of our country.

19. Finally, once more We wish to warn those who have the authority to unmask it, against the propaganda of atheistic communism. What a tragedy it would be, if, through the relaxation of our laws against the subversive activities of the godless, the valiant resistance of the Russian people against their aggressors should bring to our country the discord and class struggles which communism always insidiously foments ! If this should happen, our victory in this war would be only a truce before revolution ; the bloody sacrifices of war would give place to the worse terror of internal strife ; and after fighting for Christianity, we should be at the mercy of the enemies of the very name of God.

* * *

20. It is needless to add, dearly beloved in Christ, that such virtue in civil and military life is impossible without the help of God, which can be obtained only by prayer : " *Some put their trust in chariots, some in steeds ; but we in the Name of the Lord our God.*" (Ps. 19: 8).

21. Let us become more convinced than ever that final victory must come through the power of God. Again we would impress this conviction on all our fighting forces on land, on the sea and in the air. We must so spiritualize our war effort that the sword with which we hope to conquer, will be the

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Sword of the Spirit, as we have been invited to do by the allied nations of Europe.

22. First of all, let us bend every effort to earn victory by our prayers and by fidelity to our religion. We appeal especially to our soldiers, sailors and airmen, to offer at least a short prayer for this intention every day ; for example, the Our Father and the Hail Mary, with the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Contrition. Let them never be ashamed to carry on their person some external sign of their faith : a medal, the Scapular, or the Rosary. They should take every advantage of the presence of their chaplains to put their consciences in order, and strengthen themselves frequently with the graces of the Sacrament of Penance. They should never miss an opportunity to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and receive the Bread of the Strong in Holy Communion. We exhort all men in active service to receive Holy Communion at least one Sunday a month, in order to observe the Lord's Day more fully.

23. Likewise we strongly urge all our people to pray every day, and receive Holy Communion once a month, if possible on the First Friday, for the intention of peace with victory.

24. Yes, dearly beloved, let us pray ! Let us pray for those dear children of Canada, our sons, our brothers, our fellow-citizens, many of whom have already fallen in battle, and who make up our first line of defence and protection. Let us pray also for our governments ; for all those whose responsibility it is to lead us to victory, and to the more difficult triumphs of a true and permanent peace, and the social reconstruction which must follow the war. For we need to scrutinize not only our enemies, but also ourselves. We must keep in mind that victory over our enemies will be useless, unless afterwards we establish a more just and equitable social order, in which human rights will be more completely respected, wealht

more fairly distributed, and intellectual, moral and religious education more thorough and widespread.

25. We should indeed appreciate the advantages we have, at least if we save our inherent human rights from the ravages of totalitarianism, and we should do all in our power to improve our civil institutions. Later on, guided by sound social principles, we should erect in our country a society founded on a new order of justice and charity, in which religion, law and equity will ensure true peace. Then even the most severe and bloody sacrifices of the present time will bear fruit in the eyes of God and men.

* * *

26. Finally, in order to draw down the protection and assistance of God on our country, on her rulers and on her childrent We have decided to reconsecrate Canada solemnly to Christ the King, the Lord of all, Who has dominion over the whole land "*from sea to sea*". (Ps. 71: 8). May this consecration speed the establishment of Christ's Kingdom, "*a kingdom of truth and of life, a kingdom of sanctification and of grace, a kingdom of justice, love and peace,*" (Preface of Christ the King), over our nation and over all the nations of the world !

27. On Sunday June 14th, the Solemnity of the Feast of the Sacred Heart, in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, We Ourselves, each for his own diocese, will pronounce the formula of consecration to Christ the King ; pastors and rectors of churches and oratories will read it for their parishes and communities ; and we recommend the head of every family to recite it also in the home.

28. This present joint pastoral letter shall be read in every parish church and in the chapter of every religious community on the Sunday following its reception.

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Given at Quebec, at the Palace of the Cardinal, under Our seal, and countersigned by the Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Quebec, on the feast of the most Holy Trinity, May 31, 1942.

† J.-M.-Rodrigue Cardinal VILLENEUVE, O. M. I.,
Archbishop of Quebec.

† ARTHUR, *Archbishop of Saint Boniface.*
† ALFRED ARTHUR, *Archbishop of Winnipeg.*
† WILLIAM MARK, *Archbishop of Vancouver.*
† MICHAEL JOSEPH, *Archbishop of Kingston.*
† JAMES CHARLES, *Archbishop of Toronto.*
† PETER JOSEPH, *Archbishop of Regina.*
† JOHN HUGH, *Archbishop of Edmonton.*
† JOHN THOMAS, *Archbishop of Halifax.*
† GABRIEL, O. M. I., *Titular Archbishop of Garella, Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.*
† ALEXANDRE, *Archbishop of Ottawa.*
† JOSEPH, *Archbishop of Montreal.*
† GEORGES, *Titular Archbishop of Anchialo, Coadjutor of Saint Boniface.*
† JAMES, *Bishop of Antigonish.*
† ÉMILE-MARIE, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Tentyre, Vicar Apostolic of the Yukon.*
† JOSEPH-EUGÈNE, *Bishop of Mont Laurier.*
† FRANCOIS-XAVIER, *Bishop of Gaspé.*
† LOUIS, O. M. I., *Bishop of Timmins.*
† FABIEN-ZOËL, *Bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe.*
† JOSEPH-ALFRED, *Bishop of Valleyfield.*
† JOHN THOMAS, *Bishop of London.*
† ALFRED-ODILON, *Bishop of Trois-Rivières.*

† JOSEPH-OMER, *Titular Bishop of Dobero, Auxiliary of Quebec.*
† GEORGES, *Bishop of Rimouski.*
† JOSEPH-ARTHUR, *Bishop of Joliette.*
† BASIL VLADIMIR, *Titular Bishop of Abydo, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop.*
† JOSEPH, O. M. I., *Bishop of Gravelbourg.*
† GERALD, C. SS. R., *Bishop of Saskatoon.*
† DENIS, *Bishop of Peterborough.*
† JOSEPH-ALDÉE, *Bishop of Amos.*
† JOSEPH, *Bishop of Charlottetown.*
† ARSÈNE, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Ptolemais, Vicar Apostolic of Hudson Bay.*
† MARTIN, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Bonusta, Vicar Apostolic of Keewatin.*
† ANASTASE, *Bishop of Saint-Jean-de-Quebec.*
† RAPHAEL HUBERT, *Bishop os Sault Sainte-Marie.*
† FRANCIS, *Bishop of Calgary.*
† JEAN, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Rhodiapolis, Coadjutor of the Yukon.*
† PATRICK ALBERT, C. J. M., *Bishop of Saint John, New Brunswick.*
† MARTIN MICHAEL, *Bishop of Nelson.*
† JOHN, *Bishop of Victoria.*
† CHARLES LEO, *Bishop of Pembroke.*
† JOSEPH, *Bishop of Hamilton.*
† PHILIPPE, *Bishop of Sherbrooke.*
† RÉGINALD, O. P., *Bishop of Prince Albert.*
† UBALD, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Risino, Vicar Apostolic of Grouard.*

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Sword of the Spirit, as we have been invited to do by the allied nations of Europe.

22. First of all, let us bend every effort to earn victory by our prayers and by fidelity to our religion. We appeal especially to our soldiers, sailors and airmen, to offer at least a short prayer for this intention every day ; for example, the Our Father and the Hail Mary, with the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Contrition. Let them never be ashamed to carry on their person some external sign of their faith : a medal, the Scapular, or the Rosary. They should take every advantage of the presence of their chaplains to put their consciences in order, and strengthen themselves frequently with the graces of the Sacrament of Penance. They should never miss an opportunity to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and receive the Bread of the Strong in Holy Communion. We exhort all men in active service to receive Holy Communion at least one Sunday a month, in order to observe the Lord's Day more fully.

23. Likewise we strongly urge all our people to pray every day, and receive Holy Communion once a month, if possible on the First Friday, for the intention of peace with victory.

24. Yes, dearly beloved, let us pray ! Let us pray for those dear children of Canada, our sons, our brothers, our fellow-citizens, many of whom have already fallen in battle, and who make up our first line of defence and protection. Let us pray also for our governments ; for all those whose responsibility it is to lead us to victory, and to the more difficult triumphs of a true and permanent peace, and the social reconstruction which must follow the war. For we need to scrutinize not only our enemies, but also ourselves. We must keep in mind that victory over our enemies will be useless, unless afterwards we establish a more just and equitable social order, in which human rights will be more completely respected, wealht

more fairly distributed, and intellectual, moral and religious education more thorough and widespread.

25. We should indeed appreciate the advantages we have, at least if we save our inherent human rights from the ravages of totalitarianism, and we should do all in our power to improve our civil institutions. Later on, guided by sound social principles, we should erect in our country a society founded on a new order of justice and charity, in which religion, law and equity will ensure true peace. Then even the most severe and bloody sacrifices of the present time will bear fruit in the eyes of God and men.

* * *

26. Finally, in order to draw down the protection and assistance of God on our country, on her rulers and on her childrent We have decided to reconsecrate Canada solemnly to Christ the King, the Lord of all, Who has dominion over the whole land "*from sea to sea*". (Ps. 71: 8). May this consecration speed the establishment of Christ's Kingdom, "*a kingdom of truth and of life, a kingdom of sanctification and of grace, a kingdom of justice, love and peace,*" (Preface of Christ the King), over our nation and over all the nations of the world !

27. On Sunday June 14th, the Solemnity of the Feast of the Sacred Heart, in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, We Ourselves, each for his own diocese, will pronounce the formula of consecration to Christ the King ; pastors and rectors of churches and oratories will read it for their parishes and communities ; and we recommend the head of every family to recite it also in the home.

28. This present joint pastoral letter shall be read in every parish church and in the chapter of every religious community on the Sunday following its reception.

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Given at Quebec, at the Palace of the Cardinal, under Our seal, and countersigned by the Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Quebec, on the feast of the most Holy Trinity, May 31, 1942.

† J.-M.-Rodrigue Cardinal VILLENEUVE, O. M. I.,
Archbishop of Quebec.

† ARTHUR, *Archbishop of Saint Boniface.*
† ALFRED ARTHUR, *Archbishop of Winnipeg.*
† WILLIAM MARK, *Archbishop of Vancouver.*
† MICHAEL JOSEPH, *Archbishop of Kingston.*
† JAMES CHARLES, *Archbishop of Toronto.*
† PETER JOSEPH, *Archbishop of Regina.*
† JOHN HUGH, *Archbishop of Edmonton.*
† JOHN THOMAS, *Archbishop of Halifax.*
† GABRIEL, O. M. I., *Titular Archbishop of Garella, Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.*
† ALEXANDRE, *Archbishop of Ottawa.*
† JOSEPH, *Archbishop of Montreal.*
† GEORGES, *Titular Archbishop of Anchialo, Coadjuter of Saint Boniface.*
† JAMES, *Bishop of Antigonish.*
† ÉMILE-MARIE, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Tentyre, Vicar Apostolic of the Yukon.*
† JOSEPH-EUGÈNE, *Bishop of Mont Laurier.*
† FRANCOIS-XAVIER, *Bishop of Gaspé.*
† LOUIS, O. M. I., *Bishop of Timmins.*
† FABIEN-ZOËL, *Bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe.*
† JOSEPH-ALFRED, *Bishop of Valleyfield.*
† JOHN THOMAS, *Bishop of London.*
† ALFRED-ODILON, *Bishop of Trois-Rivières.*

† JOSEPH-OMER, *Titular Bishop of Dobero, Auxiliary of Quebec.*
† GEORGES, *Bishop of Rimouski.*
† JOSEPH-ARTHUR, *Bishop of Joliette.*
† BASIL VLADIMIR, *Titular Bishop of Abydo, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop.*
† JOSEPH, O. M. I., *Bishop of Gravelbourg.*
† GERALD, C. SS. R., *Bishop of Saskatoon.*
† DENIS, *Bishop of Peterborough.*
† JOSEPH-ALDÉE, *Bishop of Amos.*
† JOSEPH, *Bishop of Charlottetown.*
† ARSÈNE, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Ptolemais, Vicar Apostolic of Hudson Bay.*
† MARTIN, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Bonusta, Vicar Apostolic of Keewatin.*
† ANASTASE, *Bishop of Saint-Jean-de-Quebec.*
† RAPHAEL HUBERT, *Bishop os Sault Sainte-Marie.*
† FRANCIS, *Bishop of Calgary.*
† JEAN, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Rhodiapolis, Coadjutor of the Yukon.*
† PATRICK ALBERT, C. J. M., *Bishop of Saint John, New Brunswick.*
† MARTIN MICHAEL, *Bishop of Nelson.*
† JOHN, *Bishop of Victoria.*
† CHARLES LEO, *Bishop of Pembroke.*
† JOSEPH, *Bishop of Hamilton.*
† PHILIPPE, *Bishop of Sherbrooke.*
† RÉGINALD, O. P., *Bishop of Prince Albert.*
† UBALD, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Risino, Vicar Apostolic of Grouard.*

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PERMISD

† Napoléon-Alexandre, C. J. M., *Titular Bishop of Limata, Vicar Apostolic of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.*

† Albini, *Bishop of Nicolet.*

† Arthur, *Titular Bishop of Vita, Coadjutor of Saint-Hyacinthe.*

† Henri, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Perrhé, Vicar Apostolic of James Bay.*

† Georges, *Bishop of Chicoutimi.*

† Joseph-Marie, O. M. I., *Titular Bishop of Adramitium, Coadjutor of Mackenzie.*

† Albini, *Bishop of Hearst.*

† Edward, Quentin, *Titular Bishop of Salena, Auxiliary of Vancouver.*

† Rosario, *Bishop of Alexandria.*

† Conrad, *Titular Bishop of Arena, Auxiliary of Montreal.*

† Lawrence Patrick, *Titular Bishop of Opos, Auxiliary of Montreal.*

† Severin Gertken, O. S. B., *Abbott-Ordinary of St. Peter's Abbey, Muenster.*

François Daigle, *Vicar Capitular of Moncton.*

Norbert Robichaud, *Vicar Capitular of Bathurst.*

By decree of His Eminence and Their Excellencies,

Paul Bernier, C. S. ,
Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Quebec.

ACT OF CONSECRATION TO CHRIST THE KING

Most sweet Jesus, Redeemer of the human race, look down upon us humbly prostrate before Thy altar. We are Thine, and Thine we wish to be ; but to be more surely united with Thee, behold each one of us freely consecrates himself today to Thy most Sacred Heart.

Many indeed have never known Thee ; many too, despising Thy precepts, have rejected Thee. Have mercy on them all, most merciful Jesus, and draw them to Thy Sacred Heart.

Be Thou King, O Lord, not only of the faithful who have never forsaken Thee, but also of the prodigal children who have abandoned Thee ; grant that they may quickly return to their Father's house lest they die of wretchedness and hunger.

Be Thou King of those who are deceived by erroneous opinions, or whom discord keeps aloof, and call them back to the harbour of truth and unity of faith, so that soon there may be but one flock and one Shepherd. Be Thou King of all those who are still involved in the darkness of idolatry or of Islamism, and refuse not to draw them all into the light and kingdom of God. Turn Thine eyes of mercy toward the children of that race, once Thy chosen people. Of old they called down upon themselves the Blood of the Saviour ; may it now descend upon them a laver of redemption and of life.

Grant, O. Lord, to Thy Church assurance of freedom and immunity from harm ; give peace and order to all nations, and make the earth resound from pole to pole with one cry: Praise to the divine Heart that wrought our salvation ; to It be glory and honour forever.

Amen.

Chancellerie de l'Archevêché,
Québec, Canada.

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MOTIVES BEHIND CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

Respect for honest convictions:

e.g. attitude of Canadian Legion;

Government not "playing politics";

A small group seeking a plausible issue to divide the government and secure power for itself:
the professional agitators of national government.

(See Saturday Night, Nov. 8 on Meighen leadership)

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(no. 5)

See p 7. re Compulsion & its difficulties

CANADA AND THE WAR

C244433

CONTROLLING THE COST OF LIVING

The Stabilization of Prices and Wages

BROADCAST BY

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

OCTOBER 18, 1941

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

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1941

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CANADA AND THE WAR

CONTROLLING THE COST OF LIVING

The Stabilization of Prices and Wages

BROADCAST BY

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

OCTOBER 18, 1941

The thoughts of us all to-night are turned, I am sure, towards the Russian front and the gathering threats in the Far East. What has happened and what is threatened, make clear that now, more than ever, Canada must rally all the power within herself to fortify her strength. If we are to be strong enough to do our duty abroad, we must be strong and united at home.

I am, therefore, going to speak to you to-night about an action which the government proposes to take in connection with conditions within Canada. I believe that what is proposed will vitally affect our war effort, because it will affect every man, woman and child within Canada.

The action which I am about to explain represents an experiment hitherto untried on this continent, and perhaps having regard to its breadth and variety, hitherto untried by the will and consent of any free people anywhere.

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It has to do with the price of goods and services, and the price of the products of land and sea. It has to do with wages. It is of the greatest importance to every citizen in Canada, and of particular importance to every housewife, every worker, and every farmer. It will affect the daily lives of each one of us. It will require the co-operation and support of all. It will help to intensify the effort of this country in war. It will help to prevent a repetition of distress and depression after the war.

The Menace of Inflation

We have heard much in recent weeks about rising prices. They have affected the budget of every family in Canada. We have heard and seen something of the dangers of inflation. But comparatively few of us, I imagine, understand those dangers fully, and what their effect may be upon our lives and our labours. By inflation we mean a rise in prices and costs brought about by abnormal conditions whereby our money is able to buy less of the things we need.

Rising prices unless controlled will make it more costly and therefore more difficult to finance the war. Rising prices, unchecked, will spread confusion and uncertainty in industry and trade. They will hinder production and the proper distribution of supplies. They will make the cost of living rise more rapidly than wages and salaries. The value of savings will be materially lessened. The result would be hardship to nearly every one, and hardship in very unequal measure.

It is scarcely necessary for me to say that a rising cost of living is a source of acute personal anxiety to all and, particularly, to those with small incomes. And it is this very anxiety which is the danger to our war effort. For in the making of war no weapon is more powerful than peace of mind. We all know that we cannot do our best work and put forth our utmost effort if we are beset by personal fears and anxieties. And we know that a maximum war effort for Canada depends upon each and all working together in conditions that are just to all. That is why the government, which is responsible for the direction of Canada's war effort, is deeply concerned about the effect of rapidly rising prices upon the prosecution of the war. That is why the government has decided that hereafter prices must be controlled more rigorously than they have been during the first two years of war. The needs of to-day demand it.

It has been the experience of countries at war, in modern times at least, that at a certain stage in the conflict, prices begin to rise rapidly. Many of us recall the experience in the last war. During the first two years there was only a modest increase in prices, but in 1916 prices began to rise suddenly and the rise continued with increasing rapidity until 1920. Much hardship resulted because the incomes of the mass of the people did not keep pace with prices.

Unfortunately, in a period of rapidly rising prices, they never do. A few made large fortunes; they were the people to whom the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States referred recently, in reminding his fellow-citizens that only the profiteer, the speculator and the hoarder gain from inflation.

Many of us recall, too, the sudden drop in prices in 1920 which brought in its train depression and unemployment. No one wants to see those experiences repeated—much less the far worse experience of many European countries with their disastrous sequence of uncontrolled inflation, sudden deflation, prolonged depression and misery, Fascist or Nazi dictatorship, and finally war.

The Cause of Rising Prices

After two years of the present war, we have reached the same stage we had reached after two years of the last war. Prices are again rising rapidly. To speak generally, prices are rising again because the public has more money to spend and there is less of the things people wish to buy. For two years the government has been competing with the individual consumer for almost every commodity Canada produces or imports. The government must have the goods to build and maintain our war machine; to clothe, feed and equip our fighting men; and to aid Britain and other allies with arms and with food. We sometimes forget that the same sheet of aluminum cannot be used to make a plane and to make pots and pans. The same gallon of gasoline cannot be used in any army tank and a pleasure motor car. The same pound of cheese cannot be eaten in Britain and in Canada. And most important of all, the same men cannot make machine guns and washing machines at the same time.

With every week that has passed since the outbreak of war, the services of more and more men have been required to meet the needs of war. To-day, more than a million Canadians are engaged in war service in the forces, in the factories, and in the fields. The stage of taking up the slack of partial employment has now passed and the need for more men for the armed forces and for war industry is still growing.

We must face the fact that there are not enough men; there are not enough machines; there are not enough materials to meet the demands of consumers and the needs of war. Since the government, with the full support of the Canadian people, is determined to maintain and to intensify the war effort, we have no choice but to reduce our consumption of goods. To us, too, has come the choice between guns and butter.

The problem we face to-day is more acute than the corresponding problem was in 1916. It is estimated that at no stage in the last war was more than 10 per cent of our national income devoted to war purposes. In the present struggle we expect, this year, to be devoting some 40 per cent of the national income to the prosecution of the

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war. Translated into everyday language this means that, in the last war, only one-tenth of our economic energies were consumed in waging war, while, to-day, we are approaching the point where nearly one-half of our energies are being used for war.

The Effect of Rising Prices

It stands to reason that all the goods and services we are accustomed to enjoy in peace time cannot be provided when only a little more than half our energies can be spared to provide them. Most goods and services are becoming increasingly scarce and will become scarcer still. We must face the problem of sharing what is scarce. If we let prices rise unduly, we know what will happen. Ask any housewife. For no one feels the effect of rising prices more than the housewife.

Rising prices—a rising cost of living—do not have the same effect on all households. The smaller the family income and the larger the family, the more serious the hardship imposed. For those with small incomes, rising prices of clothing, food and other necessaries may mean serious hardship, while for those with larger incomes only luxuries and small comforts may have to be given up.

Rising prices thus serve to aggravate the inequalities in society, and to throw the heaviest burdens on those least able to bear them. Wartime experience has shown that prices rise faster than wages or salaries, and bear more heavily still on those who live on small pensions or life savings.

Nor is the position of the farmer any happier than that of the wage-earner. The present war is a war of machines. Because of the heavy demands of war on industry, the scarcity of manufactured goods is likely to be greater than the scarcity of farm products. The rise in prices will consequently be unequal, if prices are left to themselves. The things farmers have to buy tend to go up in price, more than the things they have to sell.

Moreover, some farm prices left to themselves would not rise at all under present circumstances. This is notably true of the price of wheat, although there are other products in the same class. It is recognized, however, that wheat and other non-perishable products, held in reserve, constitute an invaluable war asset. Agriculture itself is a national asset which must be preserved. The uncontrolled rise of prices would throw an intolerable burden upon wheat farmers and others similarly situated. Their situation differs from what it was in the last war. At that time, we had fewer acres, by many millions, in production. We produced much less wheat. There were more allies to feed.

The truth is that all but an insignificant minority of the population would be worse off as a result of rising prices, if prices were permitted to rise unchecked, and, in general, the relatively poor would suffer more than the relatively well-to-do.

Government Control of Prices Generally

I think I have said enough to make it clear why the government is unwilling, as a means of reducing consumption, to allow prices to rise unchecked. That would be the easy way out of the immediate difficulty. But it would be unfair and unjust now, and perilous for the future. Therefore, the government has decided to halt the rise of prices; to undertake the control of all prices; and, where necessary, to take other steps to control civilian consumption in fair and equitable ways.

Let me pause to interject a word of warning. There is no panacea or cure-all for the evil of rising prices. The government does not pretend to have a magic formula which can be applied. We are all aware that the task of controlling prices is very difficult. It has not been easy to control prices even in totalitarian countries which can enforce their controls by brutal methods which no free country would contemplate. In a democratic country, price control cannot succeed without the active support and co-operation of the mass of the people.

From the outset of the war, the government has been aware that the problem of a general rise in prices would ultimately have to be faced. We felt it advisable, however, to postpone the control of all prices, until it was really necessary. Complete control involves many complications and restrictions; moreover, it requires a large staff to administer the machinery of enforcement. It was clearly undesirable to take men's services from other tasks one moment before they were needed.

It is only in recent months that the necessity for the control of prices generally has become clearly apparent. In the summer of 1939, prices were abnormally low. This was particularly true of many agricultural products. The price increases of the early months of the war were, in most cases, little more than a healthy recovery from the low levels obtaining when war broke out. This recovery of prices had the effect of stimulating the employment of labour and capital. During the next twelve months, prices were relatively stable. The price increases which did occur resulted, in most cases, from one or other of the following causes: the premium on United States' funds; the rapid increase in ocean freight rates; war taxation on a wide range of commodities; and the normal recovery of excessively low agricultural prices. During this period a control of the prices of individual commodities worked satisfactorily. All price changes were, of course, carefully watched by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. When the prices of individual commodities or groups of commodities threatened to rise unduly or suddenly, the Board acted promptly. For example, at the beginning of the war, the panic-buying of sugar was quickly checked. Speculating was stopped; hoarding was stopped; profiteering was stopped. In regions where there was an acute shortage of housing, rent control

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was applied. This piecemeal method could be used, when the problems arose piecemeal. To-day we face a different situation. We have entered the period of full employment. The upward trend of prices has become too widespread and powerful to be checked adequately by controlling the prices of a few commodities. To continue to attempt to control the rise in prices, piecemeal, might only serve to augment the very evil it is desired to avoid by occasioning through fear of the future, a precipitate rise in the prices of those commodities which are not already controlled. The problem is a general problem, and it calls for general treatment. It has spread just as the war has spread.

The government has, therefore, decided to halt the rise in the prices of all goods or services sold in Canada by imposing a general ceiling on prices. By a ceiling is meant an upper limit above which prices will not be allowed to rise. Theoretically, this is a simple policy, but the government realizes fully how great the practical administrative difficulties are. It will call for new and complicated administrative machinery. It will interfere with established methods of running business; it will impose irksome restrictions; and its success will depend, not alone upon the government, but equally upon the willingness of all who are affected to accept, and to accept cheerfully, the limitations imposed upon them as a necessary contribution to Canada's maximum war effort.

Method of Stabilizing Prices

This is what we propose to do. It is simple to understand. It will be more difficult to perform. On and after November 17, 1941, no person may sell any goods or supply any services at a price or rate higher than the maximum price or rate charged by him for such goods or services during the four weeks from September 15th to October 11th, of the present year. In other words, prices are to be halted at a level they have already reached. Except in cases where minimum prices are fixed, prices will be free to fall below the ceiling.

Full details of the policy will be made public later, but I can say now that the limit or ceiling on prices will apply to all goods, except sales for export. It will also apply to all rentals. The limit will also apply to the rates charged for electricity, gas, steam heat, and water; telegraph, wireless and telephone services; the transportation of goods and persons and the provision of dock, harbour and pier facilities; warehousing and storage; undertaking and embalming; laundering; cleaning; tailoring and dressmaking; hairdressing and related services; plumbing and heating; painting and decorating; repairing of all kinds; the supplying of meals, refreshments and beverages. Power is given to the Wartime Prices and Trade Board to add to this list. In the case of most agricultural

products and fish, the maximum prices will be based upon market prices during the four weeks prior to October 11th, rather than upon the actual selling prices of individual farmers or fishermen.

The imposition of a price-ceiling will ensure that the hardships and scarcities resulting from the steadily increasing requirements of war will be more equitably spread among the whole people.

Control of Production Costs: Stabilization of Wages

I come now to the next feature of the policy of controlling the cost of living. It is obvious that the prices of finished goods cannot be controlled successfully unless the cost of production is also controlled. Wages are a large element in the cost of producing the manufactured goods required by consumers. That is why the cost of living cannot be controlled unless wages are also stabilized. The policy of limiting the rise of wages is, in other words, a vital part of the policy of safeguarding the wage-earners, as consumers, from the evil effects of a rising cost of living. With the policy of stabilizing wages the government is extending its policy of safe-guarding the earnings of the wage-earners.

A beginning was made in working out a wage policy at the end of last year when what is called Order in Council P.C. 7440 was enacted. This Order, which was for the guidance of boards of conciliation, fixed basic wage rates in general at the relatively high level then existing. It provided that sub-normal wages could be adjusted upward and that any further upward adjustment in wages should be by way of a cost-of-living bonus. While this experiment has been widely accepted by employers and employees in war industry, certain defects in the procedure must now be remedied. Industries not engaged in war production have not been subject to this control. Wage rates of many of these industries have continued to rise. In others there has been no rise to offset the increased cost of living. Even in the war industries, because of the increasing scarcity of labour and the absence of penalties for violation, the policy was not completely successful. This has been unfair to those employers and employees in industry, who loyally accepted the policy.

After consultation with representatives of the provinces, of employers and employees, the government has found general agreement with its view that its wartime wages policy could succeed only if it were broadened and strengthened and if machinery were established for its enforcement.

Extension of Government Wartime Wage Policy

The government has therefore decided to extend its wartime wage policy to cover all industry. The only exception will be certain smaller employers who are excluded solely for administrative reasons. Henceforward no employer in Canadian industry or commerce may, without permission, increase his present basic wage rates.

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After November 15th every employer will be obliged to pay a bonus in accordance with the terms specified by government order, and to adjust the bonus regularly every three months in accordance with a definite formula. The bonuses now being paid will require to be adjusted to the cost of living index as of the effective date. In future all employers will pay a bonus on the same basis. Penalties will be imposed for failure to comply with the order.

The administrative machinery will consist of a National War Labour Board and several regional War Labour Boards. Each will be equally representative of employers and employees. They will supervise a co-operative inspection and enforcement service by the joint staffs of the Dominion and Provincial Departments of Labour. One of the primary functions of the Boards will be to observe how the policy works in practice and to recommend its revision or modification in the light of experience. The Boards will also be expected to advise the Minister of Labour about the further development of policy in all matters relating to labour and industrial relations.

Despite the careful thought given to the plan, it will no doubt have to be improved in detail from time to time. It is a step forward into new territory; success will depend upon the co-operation accorded by employers and workers, and not least by the support of the consuming public.

The Position of Agriculture

In undertaking to control the cost of living, particular attention has been given by the government to the effect of its policy on the position of agriculture. The policy touches the farmer in two ways. The principle of the price-ceiling will be applied to agricultural prices, while, at the same time, total agricultural income will be supported, where necessary, by government action. In other words, while wages and the prices of farm products will be stabilized, the income of both labour and agriculture will be safeguarded.

Agricultural prices, with a few conspicuous exceptions, especially wheat, are higher to-day than they have been at any time during the past ten years. In cases where agricultural prices have not kept pace with increases in costs of production, measures are being taken to bring about a more satisfactory relationship without significantly affecting the general level of retail prices to the consumer.

The major problem of maintaining incomes in Western Canada, where grain growing is the largest source of income, is closely related to the problem in Eastern Canada where feed supplies are not sufficient to enable farmers to produce the bacon and dairy products required for Britain and ourselves. Both these situations need adjustment. It is therefore the intention of the government to make supplementary payments to farmers in the spring wheat area, on the basis of their cultivated acreage as defined under the Prairie Farm

Assistance Act. For farmers in Eastern Canada, the government will provide the transportation costs on feed grain and other feed from Fort William or Port Arthur to points in Eastern Canada.

In determining the price of farm products, it is obvious that the maximum price cannot be based upon the individual selling prices of individual farmers, which is the method applied to factories and stores. Instead, the Wartime Prices and Trade Board will determine maximum prices for certain farm products on the basis of maximum market prices during the four-week period ending on October 11th, last.

Other special adaptations may be found necessary. Thus, in the case of farm products whose prices rise and fall seasonally, the setting of maximum prices may also require the setting of minimum prices, or action to remove temporary surpluses from the market. In most cases, however, the demand for food products, especially the export demand, is so great as to assure that prices will not fall much, if at all, below the maximum. For example, in the cases of bacon and cheese, reasonably stable prices have been or will be assured under large-scale agreements with the United Kingdom.

The Wartime Prices and Trade Board will, before November 17th, take the necessary action, or advise the government as to the steps which should be taken, to achieve these objectives without violating the basic principle of the general price-ceiling.

Control of Prices and Wages an Essential of War Policy

The comprehensive measures which I have just outlined constitute a logical development of the economic and financial policy initiated by the government at the outset of the war. But we must bear in mind that the control of prices, by itself, will not ensure the cutting down of consumption, and it will only indirectly affect the direction of private spending. Other measures are required to safeguard adequate supplies of commodities needed by the government for war purposes. To give direction to private spending, definite restrictions have already been imposed on both production and consumption.

Restrictions have already been placed on the purchase of machine tools, aluminum and other metals, iron and steel, foreign exchange; on the production of automobiles, stoves, washing machines, refrigerators, radios; on the sale of gasoline, bacon and cheese. Restrictions have also been placed on new construction for purposes other than war and on the production of capital goods. These restrictions have been directed against the use of scarce commodities by civilian consumers. More recently there has been a significant broadening of this policy of restriction through the order of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board relating to instalment buying.

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Further restrictions will have to be imposed from time to time. These direct controls of production and consumption are essential to the development of war production. They have, however, contributed to the scarcity of civilian goods and have, therefore, been one of the factors contributing to the rise in prices which the government is now undertaking to control. Steps may have to be taken to see that the necessities of life are fairly distributed.

In embarking upon the policy of price control by means of a general ceiling on prices, the government realizes that it will not be possible to maintain the exact price structure, in every particular, as it exists at the date on which the prices are to be fixed. The ceiling will not be absolutely rigid and entirely unchangeable. The control and stabilization of the general price level is the considered policy, but the detail will be a matter of administration in the hands of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.

Co-operation on the Part of all Essential to Success

Let me repeat: The policy of control as it affects industry, commerce, agriculture and labour, demands a degree of restriction to which Canadians, hitherto, have been quite unaccustomed. It will demand qualities of self-discipline and self-control. It will need, as it deserves, the whole-hearted support of everyone who has the well-being of his fellow-citizens at heart. In these perilous times, we must not shrink from any course of action which will help to preserve and strengthen the morale of our country.

By its policy the government hopes to avoid the fears, the sense of insecurity, the suffering and the profiteering which the inflation of prices inevitably brings in its train. The measures now being announced should help in the winning of the war, and, after the war, facilitate recovery and reconstruction.

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A CONSTRUCTIVE MANPOWER POLICY

Compulsion within Canada universally acceptable:

National Resources Mobilization Act;

Limitation of Production;

Price Control;

Wage Stabilization.

Government will not hesitate to undertake any measure of compulsion within Canada which will strengthen the war effort.

Difficulties of 100% compulsion:

1. Survey by experts
2. Classification by experts
3. Allocation by experts

Not impossible but difficult and expensive.

Inefficient compulsion would defeat object in view.

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Practical and Constructive approach

Use voluntary methods to the limit

Impose compulsion only where needed

Conscription for overseas service at wrong end

Right method: cut out progressively unessential uses of manpower

Maintain balance.

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Mr. Sasseville Roy

No 6

C244446

Speaker leave the chair and will suggest that the sitting be continued in committee of the whole with the Deputy Speaker in the chair.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition: The statement just made by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) I think substantially covers the arrangement made yesterday afternoon. It will be recognized that the observance of this arrangement depends almost entirely upon consent; I do not see how we can go on at all unless we come to some agreement. Therefore, while all the details of the matter are not exactly to my liking, I hope the house will concur in what the Prime Minister has suggested.

ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY

REQUEST FOR STATEMENT AS TO PRESENT POSITION

On the orders of the day:

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Before the next order of business is called may I ask the Prime Minister to give to the house and the country, to-day if possible, a brief statement on the present position of the St. Lawrence waterway proposal. If he cannot give that statement to-day, will he be good enough to do so to-morrow?

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I should prefer to make the statement to-morrow. My understanding at the moment is that the agreement has not yet been reported out of committee in Washington, and that therefore it is impossible to say just when or if the agreement itself will be passed. However, I shall make inquiries between now and to-morrow and give the house a further statement then.

PRIVILEGE—MR. ROY

STATEMENT OF MEMBER FOR GASPE AS TO HIS CHANGE OF SEAT

On the orders of the day:

Mr. J. S. ROY (Gaspe): Mr. Speaker, I rise on a question of privilege in order to make a statement with regard to my change of seat in this house. I am sure the house will be interested to know why I intend to follow hereafter an independent course in this parliament.

A political party is usually composed of men with the same principles, and among whom there is some friendship or brotherly spirit. The Liberal-Conservative party founded by the MacNab-Morin coalition in 1854 was a real partnership composed of some Quebec moderate Liberals and Conservatives, who wished to wipe out old dissensions and form,

with Ontario high Tories and moderate Liberals, a party with Conservative tendencies. Mutual respect was at the base of this union of different groups, and as long as MacNab and Macdonald were at the helm the aims and desiderata of French Canadians were not ignored when the party's policies were considered. Friction sometimes occurred, as I am sure it now occurs in the Liberal party, but we managed to preserve mutual respect and to keep a reasonable share in the appointments of high officers in the civil service and in the building of such public works as were required for the trade and commerce of the dominion.

The bonne entente between the two main elements of the Liberal-Conservative party gradually deteriorated. As time went on. French Canadian influence dwindled in the party. This was largely due to the demise of Sir John A. Macdonald. The Liberal party was strongly organized, and it manœuvred the Conservative party into becoming an English Canadian party in which French Canadian sympathy was forcibly thrown into the background. The present Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe) cleverly followed Sir Wilfrid's tactics, and the present Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) is using the Minister of Justice for all he is worth. Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Meighen were never able to control the element which is bent on wrecking our efforts to make Canada a country in which three million French Canadians will be considered. Mr. Bennett, now Lord Bennett, was the man who said we ought to be pleased with the concessions granted to us by English speaking Canadians. He went back on the principles of the party which had put him in power, and did more than all the Liberals put together to shake public confidence in political conservatism.

Any French Canadian member of this house who has mixed with the Conservative party as it now exists must realize that he is not a member of their political family. He is at best a tolerated stranger, accepted from necessity and looked at with a certain degree of curiosity. In the opinion of Conservative members he is and always will be a poor relation. His views of Canada are not their views; his ambition for more French Canadian influence in our public life is not their ambition. They are firm in the opinion that we French Canadians are a source of trouble in their endeavours to make Canada an American England. There is no friendship or sympathy between them and us. I may add, however, that a good proportion of English speaking

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C244447

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

TUESDAY, November 4, 1941.

The house met at three o'clock.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

PROCEDURE IN PRESENTATION OF STATEMENTS ON CANADA'S WAR EFFORT AND DISCUSSION THEREON

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I might perhaps report to the house the outcome of the conference which was held yesterday afternoon between the leader of the opposition, the acting leaders of the two other parties in the house and myself with regard to a suggested procedure to facilitate the business of this part of the session.

As the house is aware, it is the privilege of the prime minister on the orders of the day being called when no question is before the chair to make a statement to the house on a matter of policy or on any important matter. A similar opportunity is extended by courtesy to the hon. member who is the official leader of the opposition. Yesterday I made a statement to the house reviewing the international situation. It did not purport and was not intended to go further than that. To-day the leader of the opposition desires to make a statement in regard to matters of policy or other matters of general concern and interest. A similar privilege is not, under our rules, accorded to leaders of groups. But if the house is agreeable to having its sitting continued in committee of the whole so as to allow greater freedom of discussion, an arrangement might easily be made whereby, by grant of special permission by unanimous consent, following the leader of the opposition, the leaders of the two groups, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the Social Credit or New Democracy groups, would have the opportunity of also making statements of a like character. I might say we were all of the opinion that this arrangement would be the best. The house would continue to sit in committee of the whole, and the ministers in turn would make their statements on the progress of Canada's war effort with the house also in committee. This procedure would enable hon. members to ask questions and would permit as full discussion as the house might wish in a way that would not be possible with the Speaker in the chair.

In order to make the discussion itself as relevant as possible it is thought that it would be best to have the ministers make their statements one after the other until matters of interest with respect to the war effort of the administration during the period of adjournment have been stated to the house more or less in their entirety. Hon. members would then have before them information which otherwise they might wish to solicit by means of question and answer. When the statements have been presented it is proposed that we then begin such discussion as may be desired upon the first statement, and, after discussion upon the matters to which it relates, proceed to the other statements in such order as may seem most advisable. For example, this afternoon, if the house agrees to the procedure proposed, the leader of the opposition, who would speak upon the orders of the day with the Speaker in the chair, would be followed in committee of the whole by the acting leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party, and he would be followed by the acting leader of the New Democracy party. On the government side it is proposed to have the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) make a statement, to be followed possibly by the Minister of National War Services (Mr. Thorson). The government would wish to have the ministers of defence speak at a time which will enable the three ministers to speak in consecutive order. As hon. members are aware, the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) returned to Ottawa only last night; we would wish to have defence matters discussed together. This arrangement would afford the minister at least some opportunity to prepare himself.

If these suggestions are acceptable to the house, after the leader of the opposition has made his statement, I will move that the

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Canadians, particularly the young generation, show us more sympathy, because they have a real sense of true Canadianism.

I have decided to leave them, and I did not do so hastily. For the past few months I have been in consultation with people in Quebec who all expressed the opinion that it is useless for the province of Quebec to make any further attempts to work hand in hand with the Conservative party. Warm sympathy, the main element, is lacking. You all remember the story of the man who called upon an acquaintance. He was first told that the man was not at home; he then forced the door but he was received with a heap of abuse. He went a third time, when he was taken by the scruff of the neck and kicked down the verandah. He then said, "Well, I don't think that man wants to see me." Take out the violence and I think you will see there is something like that in the attitude of the Conservative organizers toward Quebec Conservatives.

It is my intention to stand at the next general election as a Canadian desirous of contributing, in my humble capacity, to the progress of the whole dominion without racial or religious prejudice, recognizing the rights of all citizens and fighting against bigotry whenever it is found.

SOLDIERS' DEPENDENTS

QUESTION OF INCREASED ASSISTANCE AND COST OF LIVING BONUS

On the orders of the day:

Mr. D. G. ROSS (St. Paul's): Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the government if they will consider granting increased assistance to families of enlisted men, consisting of more than two children, and also whether they have given consideration to the granting of a cost of living bonus to the families of enlisted men.

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of Finance): Consideration is being given to those matters, but I am not in a position to make any statement on them at the moment.

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

INQUIRY AS TO ESTABLISHMENT OF BUREAU OF INFORMATION IN NEW YORK

On the orders of the day:

Hon. H. A. BRUCE (Parkdale): Mr. Speaker, in view of the importance of having Canada's war effort more widely known in the United States than it is at present, will the Prime Minister tell the house whether it is the government's intention at an early day to establish a Canadian bureau of information in New York?

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the matter of how best to have Canada's war effort appreciated in the United States is one to which we have been giving full consideration. No final decision has been reached as yet as to the particular method or place in which that aim may best be accomplished. Personally I cannot think of a better means of making Canada's war effort known in the United States and elsewhere than to have our own press give a full appreciation of it. I believe the press of the United States obtain most of their information with respect to Canada's war effort from what appears in our own press. However I do see the necessity of having information from that source supplemented, and the government is giving attention to the best possible methods.

THE WAR

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION SINCE JUNE 14, 1941—CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

On the orders of the day:

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, may I at the outset express to our friend, the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) our pleasure at his safe return from the strenuous and perilous trip upon which he embarked some weeks ago. I am sure all hon. members are glad to see him back looking so well. I hope he has not suffered any ill effects from a journey which I found to be somewhat difficult. I shall not say more than that.

Yesterday when the house was discussing the reasons for our being here I took occasion to place on record what was my understanding when we left here in June last. I had assumed as a matter of fact that when we resumed our sittings yesterday we would do so for the purpose of prorogation, and the opening of another session. For reasons which now appear as a matter of record, and which I have not challenged—because either course is satisfactory to me—the decision has been otherwise. I shall not traverse that matter again, further than to say that while it may be difficult to regularize discussion at this stage of the session, without there being any specific proposals before the chair, there should not be the slightest appearance of attempt on anyone's part to choke off discussion or to close this part of the session in an unduly short period of time.

I am not unmindful, however, of the fact that this has already been a long session, not only in point of elapsed time but in point of time actually spent on the floor of the house. Unduly to prolong discussion merely for the sake of exchanging views and not for that of

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doing business, while it might add to the sum total of our information respecting the state of the country, the government's war effort, international affairs and the like, in my opinion would not be desirable unless we could accomplish something by so doing. I shall not say more on that point.

Yesterday afternoon we listened with much interest to a statement from the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) in which he outlined to the country the progress of the war since we adjourned in June last, and reviewed the international situation. He dealt with the position of Russia, and aid to that country. He dealt with the position in the middle east and, quite properly in my opinion, with the increasingly difficult position which has developed in the far east, one which I know must be giving those in authority on this side of the Atlantic, as well as those on the other side, increasing concern. I think it was well for the Prime Minister to do that, because it drew to our attention a situation which is likely at any time to become increasingly menacing. I do not say that in an alarming sense, because I have no information on the subject matter. But I believe each of us realizes the importance of watching as closely as possible the situation which has developed on the Pacific front, if I may so describe it, a development due largely I believe to the change in government in the Japanese empire.

Then the Prime Minister gave us his conclusions. As a delineation of current history and of what has taken place since we last met, it was excellent in tone and style and was a fine portrayal of current events. But I must also say that it left me very cold. I was disappointed. I had hoped, and I believe the country had hoped, that after the Prime Minister's visit to England and after his conference over the week-end with the President of the United States, and after being so fully apprised, as he must be, of the international situation, he would have lifted the veil a little and told the house and the country what this government and our great neighbour propose to do about a situation which by his own account is getting more serious every day.

He warned us that every conceivable means by which freedom can be crushed is to-day being used by Hitler and nazi Germany. I agree. I am glad he gave that warning. And it is timely enough, because even after twenty-seven months of war I fear that Canadians are still too complacent, still not impressed with the dangers of the whole situation, and still sitting remote from the realities of what is occurring in this war-stricken world.

I do not know what more can be done than has been done by members of the government, by public propaganda or by whatever other legitimate means are available, to bring home to the Canadian people a realization of the seriousness of the situation. And yet I feel certain that it has not yet been brought home to them. I wish I could add something to the sum total of knowledge of the people of Canada respecting the seriousness of the situation overseas, and especially in Europe. I shall not say anything about the seriousness of the situation which may confront us from other theatres of possible war.

What the country had expected from the Prime Minister—what I had hoped for, at all events—was some stirring statement of what Canada proposes further to do to meet the menace delineated by him. I had hoped that he would announce proposals for measures designed not only to indicate a recognition of the steadily increasing danger of the situation, but to ensure that every conceivable step would be taken to aid in overcoming it.

It may be that during the course of this short part of the session the Prime Minister and his service ministers will indicate with clarity and with precision what more we should do; and I invite them to do so. But if the Prime Minister will tell the house that because of the necessity for secrecy, especially with respect to one aspect of this menacing situation, it is the view of the government that matters of high policy should not be divulged at this time, then I suggest that a statement to that effect should be made. The Prime Minister should make it clear that matters of high policy to deal with new and threatening menaces are under consideration by the government and will be revealed in due course. But unless some assurance is given I fear that the Prime Minister's message of yesterday will prove to be a great disappointment. I fear that it will be taken as additional evidence of lack of leadership. It must have brought cold comfort, not only to the members of the house but to the country generally.

I do not wish to take up unduly the time of the house; in fact I do not feel that I am capable of making any lengthy or extensive remarks, but I should like to give the house and the country a brief review of the trip which my colleagues and myself made to England in September. May I express to the Prime Minister and those of his cabinet who assisted us in making this journey to England our thanks for their intervention and for making the trip possible. I should like to thank the Minister of National Defence for Air (Mr. Power) for the valuable suggestions which he made to me during a call which I made upon him just prior to going overseas.

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No 7

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C244450

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date May 28, 1941

Subject Conscription

CHURCHILL YIELDS ON DRAFT IN ULSTER

Enforcement, He Tells Commons, Would Be 'More Trouble Than It Is Worth'

London, May 27—(CP)—Prime Minister Churchill yielded today to Irish pressure and told the House of Commons that enforcement of conscription in Northern Ireland would be "more trouble than it is worth."

"We have made a number of inquiries," he said, "in various directions, with the result that we have come to the conclusion that at the present time, although there would be no dispute about our rights or our merits, it (conscription) would be more trouble than it is worth to enforce such a policy."

The House cheered Mr. Churchill and cried "No" when Sir Hugh O'Neill asked if it would not make "a rather bad impression throughout the Empire that once again the Government has burked this issue because of pressure from Southern Ireland."

Mr. Churchill explained simply that "we thought it better."

Sir Hugh asked if the Government of Northern Ireland thought conscription "could be, and ought to be, applied" and Mr. Churchill said, "Yes."

Eamonn de Valera, Prime Minister of Eire, told the Parliament in Dublin yesterday that he had made strong representations to the British Government against extending conscription to Northern Ireland, saying it would revive "old unhappy relations."

Lord Glentoran, Northern Ireland Minister of Agriculture, made the following statement:

"Mr. Churchill asked the Prime Minister of Ulster to come over and give his views on the matter to the British Cabinet.

"The Ulster Prime Minister made it quite clear that Ulster is out to assist the war effort in every possible way, and that, in total warfare, equality of service among all classes could be attained only by conscription.

"In his wisdom, Mr. Churchill has decided against conscription. Nevertheless, he will continue to receive just the same help and support from the Ulster people as if he had decided otherwise."

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C244451

CANADA AND THE WAR

THE LORD MAYOR'S LUNCHEON

IN HONOUR OF

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Addresses by

Right Hon. SIR GEORGE HENRY WILKINSON,
Lord Mayor of London

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

AND

Right Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Great Britain

THE MANSION HOUSE

LONDON, ENGLAND, SEPTEMBER 4, 1941

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

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1941

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THE LORD MAYOR'S LUNCHEON

ADDRESS BY

Right Honourable SIR GEORGE HENRY WILKINSON
Lord Mayor of London

Your Grace, Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen:

In extending a welcome to you all to the Mansion House to-day, I want to say how privileged I feel in entertaining so representative and distinguished a gathering to meet our honoured guest, Mr. Mackenzie King. And to our visitors from the Dominions, I wish to give you all an especially cordial welcome. You have come to this capital city of the Empire from all parts of the Dominions to join us in the great struggle on which we are at present embarked; a struggle in which we have but one aim—the preservation of the liberty and the privileges of the individual. That we meet in the Mansion House is perhaps symbolic, for the Corporation of London throughout its long history of nearly a thousand years, has strenuously fought for freedom, and has so often been the champion of the people against autocratic acts and rulers.

Thanks of Citizens of London to the Dominions

Many of you come into the city of London for the first time to-day. You find it battered and scarred, but let me assure you that the citizens are not cast down. They stand four square to face the future, with heads erect with resolution, and fierce determination. Nothing will turn them from their path, which is the road to complete and final victory. And it is perhaps especially in the city of London that we realize so well the great parts the Dominions are playing in the struggle. Their men, munitions, materials, and

food are coming to this country and to all fronts, to the utmost limit of their capacity, increasing with an evergrowing momentum. In addition to this, as you will see from the banners about me, the Dominions have sent enormous sums of money for the relief of air raid distress. And it was only after the last raid on London that a cheque for twenty thousand pounds was sent across by bomber with these words: "As long as German bombers fly over London, so long will Canadian cheques fly the Atlantic." May I, on behalf of all those who have benefited, once again tender to all from the Dominions, and to your generous countrymen, my sincere and very grateful thanks. Your unparalleled generosity and kindest sympathy, spontaneously offered, afford striking proof of those bonds which unite all our people, bonds indefinable and intangible, and therefore to the Germans, incomprehensible.

Welcome to the Prime Minister of Canada

We are gathered together to-day to welcome as our honoured guest the Prime Minister of Canada. During his stay here, Mr. Mackenzie King has applied himself assiduously in conjunction with our Cabinet Ministers to the urgent problems of the day. We are indeed glad to have with us a man so wise in counsel, shrewd in judgment, and inspiring in his enthusiasm. He takes a natural pride in the close friendship which he has established with Mr. Roosevelt, and we share his gratification in the admirable results which attended their joint efforts. One result of their co-operation was a setting up of the United States-Canada Permanent Joint Defence Board. Another, the agreement popularly known as "The Hyde Park Agreement" which dealt with the co-ordination of productive effort.

Mr. Mackenzie King comes representing one of the great Dominions, but he is not a stranger to the city of London, for he is one of our honorary freemen, a distinction which is bestowed on few, and the greatest honour the Corporation can present to any man. The freedom was given to him no less than eighteen years ago. Then, as now, he was Prime Minister. It is striking proof of his ability and virility that he has held that office with but a short break for so many years, serving with such distinction, and enjoying the complete confidence of all his fellows. In his final words, when acknowledging the bestowal of the freedom, Mr. Mackenzie King said, "Into our conference we seek to carry the spirit of the freedom of London, knowing that so long as that spirit survives, the British Empire will endure."

Never was the freedom of the whole world so menaced as to-day. In this gathering, so representative of the British Commonwealth of Nations, let us reaffirm that this struggle will not end until we are assured that men may once again live their own lives in freedom, in liberty, and in peace.

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Greetings from H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught

It was my privilege to send to H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught a telegram of greeting from this gathering. I am honoured by the following reply:—

I am most grateful for your kind message which has deeply touched me. Please convey to Mr. Mackenzie King, Mr. Winston Churchill and the representatives of Canada my warm appreciation of their good wishes. Although many years have elapsed, I still remember with every pleasure the kindness and ready help received from all Canadians during my term as Governor General.

It gives me the greatest pleasure now to be able to join in the welcome you are giving to Mr. Mackenzie King in the full knowledge that the bonds of understanding and friendship between Canada and Great Britain are being drawn ever tighter in our united efforts for victory and peace. I hope Mr. Mackenzie King will carry back to Canada our warmest appreciation of the wonderful help the Dominion has been, and is giving us.

(Signed) ARTHUR.

I give you the toast of our honoured guest, the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King.

THE LORD MAYOR'S LUNCHEON

ADDRESS BY

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

My Lord Mayor, Your Grace, Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords, and Gentlemen:

I thank you, my Lord Mayor, for the honour you have done me in proposing my health and particularly for the sentiments you have so graciously expressed. May I express, as well, my warm appreciation of the very distinguished company here assembled, and of the gracious message from H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught. The people of Canada will be quick to recognize that the honour which is being done me to-day is meant as an honour to all Canada. This the Canadian people will deeply appreciate. This they will never forget.

I thank you also, my Lord Mayor, for affording me the occasion to speak on behalf of the people of Canada to the people of Britain.

It is truly a high privilege to speak in this ancient city which has suffered so grievous a martyrdom for the cause of freedom. What London has already endured, with undaunted courage, has added to her story a chapter so illustrious that her historic glories pale by comparison. In these days, reviving the memories of the assertion and the preservation of the freedom, your citizens still defend, with all their ancestral strength, the rights of the plain, ordinary men and women, not of London only, but of the world; resisting, as of old, with indomitable and unbroken will, the onset of tyranny.

Canada at Britain's Side

Throughout the past two years the people of Britain, in the midst of horror and suffering, have given an example of human endurance unparalleled, I believe, in the annals of fortitude. Of London it will be written and spoken in proud memory, that when

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the skies rained destruction upon her she stood amidst the ruins of her ancient monuments unbowed, unweeping, undespairing, but erect, resolute, unafraid.

This city to-day is held in high honour above all the cities of the earth. The very name of London reverberates around the world like the sound waves of a great bell, calling together all who love and cherish freedom. I am here, to-day, to tell the brave men and women of Britain that the call is being answered, and will continue to be answered, in ever larger measure, from across the sea.

In this world struggle to thwart aggression and to end oppression, Canada is at Britain's side. The United States of America is lending powerful support. Side by side, we of the new world stand in your defence, which we believe to be our own defence. Each at the other's side, each in its own way, but both in unfailing and ever-increasing measure, continue to supply the material and vital means of ultimate and certain victory.

Tribute to Mr. Churchill

I thank you, Prime Minister, for honouring this occasion by your presence. To me it is indeed a source of pride that behind our relationship in the affairs of State at this time of war, there lies an unbroken friendship extending over more than one-third of a century —a friendship kept warm by personal visits of one or the other to Britain or Canada. We have not, at all times, seen eye to eye. But in viewing the course which it has seemed wisest to take, we have seldom had difficulty in reconciling our views, and have never had reason to question their sincerity. To-day I stand at your side, one with you in thought and purpose and determination, never more honoured than that long years of public service should have afforded me an opportunity so to represent, before the world, the proud position of Canada at the side of Britain.

Perhaps you will permit me to express, in the presence of your fellow countrymen, something of the feelings which Canadians, one and all, cherish towards yourself. In the hour of Britain's greatest need, we have seen you personify the unbending determination, the dogged courage, and the unyielding perseverance of the British people. We have seen you do more than this. By the power of your eloquence, by the energy of your conduct, and by the genius of your leadership, you have galvanized a great people into heroic action, rarely equalled and never excelled in the history of warfare.

You have consistently upheld the right of men and nations freely to order their own affairs, in their own way, within the framework of international friendship and goodwill.

To-day, Nazi Germany, led by a man possessed by the power of evil, and corrupted by the evil of perverted power, seeks to crush all free peoples. Mankind may well be grateful that, here in Britain, a free man, who believes in the ultimate power of free men, has become the champion of the hosts of freedom.

It is a high destiny which, in the realm of either civil or international strife, links the name of any public man with the saving of his country. Of you, Mr. Churchill, history will record that, by your example and your leadership, you helped to save the freedom of the world.

Canada's Entry into War

Canada is proud of her position in the sisterhood of the British Commonwealth. But that position and association, had other reasons been lacking, would not have sufficed to bring Canada into a European war. Ours was not an automatic response to some mechanical organization of Empire. Canada's entry into the war was the deliberate decision of free people, by their own representatives in a free parliament.

Canada is a nation of the new world. As a nation of the new world, we placed ourselves freely at Britain's side because Britain's cause was the cause of freedom, not in this island alone, not in the British Empire alone, not in the old world alone, but everywhere in the world. Lincoln, in his day, saw that the United States could, not survive half-slave and half-free. Likewise the Canadian people have clearly seen that the world to-day cannot long continue half-slave and half-free. Ere Poland was invaded we had come to see, as you had come to see, that Nazi Germany had been maddened by the poison of the evil doctrines of race and force; that the lust and passion of her rulers could be satisfied only by the blood and soil and treasure of her neighbours. We were well aware that ambition, feeding on itself, would steadily grow. We saw that if Hitler were successful in his immediate aims, the whole world would soon be threatened by the unlimited ambition of evil men, and by the might of the greatest military machine the world has ever known.

Canada with Britain to the End

When you in Britain determined to oppose this growing danger, we in Canada were with you from the start. Like you, we saw the folly of waiting passively for our turn to come. We will be with you to the end.

We are fighting to defend democratic and Christian ideals. We believe that everything which free men value and cherish, on this side of the grave, is in peril in this war. The right of men, rich and poor, to be treated as men; the right of men to make the laws by which they shall be governed; the right of men to work where they will, at what they will; the right of womankind to the serenity and sanctity of the home; the right of children to play in safety under peaceful heavens; the right of old men and women to the tranquillity of their sunset; the right to speak the truth in our hearts; the right to worship in our own way, the God in whom we believe.

When war came, Canada did not hesitate. But I am bound to say our resolve and our determination has been strengthened by your

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magnificent endurance. We have been deeply moved by the example of the King and Queen, sharing the dangers and sorrows of their people. We have been stirred by your Prime Minister sounding the battle cry of humanity. But, above all, we have been inspired by the undaunted courage and the unshaken faith with which millions of ordinary men and women have faced destruction and death. We, in Canada, cannot all share your dangers, but we are proud to share your burdens. We are determined to share them to the utmost of our strength.

Canada's War Effort

You already know something of Canada's war effort. We have transformed one of the least military peoples on earth into a nation organized for modern war. Our war production gains daily in momentum. As the conflict has spread, as its intensity has grown, so has our resolve to put forth our utmost effort.

For your forces as well as ours, Canada to-day is making ships, aircraft, motor transport, universal carriers, tanks, field guns, machine-guns, anti-aircraft guns, munitions of many kinds, explosives, chemicals, radio devices, electrical equipment and a great many other essentials of modern war.

To-day Canada is a granary and a storehouse from which we are sending you all the food that ships can be found to carry. Our country has also become an arsenal of democracy, and a shipyard of the freedom of the seas.

By British standards, our navy is small. But its strength has increased tenfold since war began. When invasion first threatened this island, Canada was proud to be able to send her destroyers to join the Royal Navy in guarding your shores. The ships and men of Canada's navy are taking their full part in the escort of convoys on the North Atlantic passage.

Canada's air force also has its part in convoy duty. But the greatest task of the Royal Canadian Air Force—and Canada's greatest single contribution to the common cause—is our part in the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Together with the associated Royal Air Force schools for which we have provided a home in Canada, it represents the greatest concentration of air training in the world.

In the Commonwealth Plan, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand are associated with Canada. Its purpose is the achievement of decisive supremacy in the air. The results already attained far exceed the original plans.

Thousands of graduates of the Air Training Plan already are serving in the Royal Air Force, or in our own Canadian squadrons in Britain. As the output of air crews increases, more Canadian airmen will serve with the R.A.F. More Canadian squadrons will also be formed. Before long the skies over Britain—and over Germany, too—will be filled with young airmen from our land.

A Remarkable Prophecy

And here may I pause to repeat what I believe will yet prove to be one of the most remarkable prophecies in all history. The original lines were written in Latin, 200 years ago, by the author of the "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard." Happily, they have been translated into excellent English verse. I give their message to you, brave people of Britain, as something to which I believe you may look with confidence:

"The time will come, when thou shalt lift thine eyes
"To watch a long-drawn battle in the skies,
"While aged peasants, too amazed for words,
"Stare at the flying fleets of wond'rous birds.
"England, so long the mistress of the sea,
"Where winds and waves confess her sovereignty,
"Her ancient triumphs yet on high shall bear
"And reign, the sovereign of the conquered air."

In the last great war the national pride of Canada was fired by the exploits of the Canadian Corps. When the present war came, we set about creating a new army which we were determined would rival the old. Canada's new army, I think I may say, is as well known in many parts of Britain as it is in Canada. Since my arrival, I have been proud to hear on all sides that the Canadian Corps, under General McNaughton's command, is as fine as any military unit in Britain.

In addition to the two operational divisions in the Corps, there are, in this country, many thousands of Canadian troops, including a tank brigade and an infantry division which have recently arrived. Before the year is out we shall send over still another division—this one, an armoured division.

You all know how eager our Canadian soldiers are for action against the enemy. I cannot make too clear that the policy of the Canadian government is to have our troops serve in those theatres where, viewing the war as a whole, it is believed their services will count most. The Canadian people are proud that to-day our men are among the defenders of the very heart of the free world.

And here let me express my thanks for the hospitable way in which our Canadians have been received into your hearts and homes. The Canadian forces in your midst are at once the symbol of the unity of our cause, and the most precious evidence we can give of our wholehearted support.

Magnitude of Britain's Task

One purpose I had in my present visit to Britain was to gain, from the point of vantage which Britain affords, a truer picture of the world conflict than is possible anywhere else. I am more than ever convinced that the dangers we face together are world-wide dangers. The very existence of this island is threatened. At Suez

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and Gibraltar, and throughout the whole Mediterranean basin, there is a constant danger of enemy attacks. From the West and from the East, the security of India is threatened. In the Far East, menacing clouds hang over Singapore. The most vital sources of British supplies and the routes of communication and transportation are everywhere in danger. To all this must be added the enemy's gains in the long list of conquered nations. No greater mistake could be made than to fail adequately to measure the magnitude of the task; or to think that British interests alone are menaced by this world-encircling danger. The strength, the resources and the rapacity of the enemy are so great that no country which still possesses its freedom and independence is secure.

We face, to-day, battles not of nations but of continents. If, tomorrow, the world is not to face a battle between hemispheres, it is going to take all the strength that all the free peoples can muster to keep the conflict in this hemisphere, and finally extinguish it before the whole world is in flames.

In every country Hitlerism has found its most useful allies among those who believed they could save themselves by isolation and neutrality while others fought the battles of freedom. Although none will ever do more for freedom than the people of this island are doing in this greatest of all wars, Britain, without aid, far greater than any yet in sight, cannot win the war for freedom the world over. You, Mr. Churchill, said: "Give us the tools and we will finish the job." It was the appeal of a people who will never falter. But in our hearts we know, to-day, the war will be far longer, far harder, and far more desperate if all free men do not rally to your side while you are at the fulness of your strength. For the task that faces Britain and those who fight with her is, I verily believe, nothing less than the task of saving humanity.

The "Northern Bridge" and the New World

In recent days, you and I, Prime Minister, have crossed the great northern bridge which stretches through Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland from the Old World to the New. The narrow seas between Scotland and Iceland, between Iceland and Greenland, between Greenland and Newfoundland, through which you voyaged to your historic conference with President Roosevelt, are the most vital strategic areas in the world to-day. As I spanned those waters and islands, in the space of a single night, I had a new and more vivid sense of our nearness, in North America, to the heart of the world conflict.

I felt a new pride, too, that, from the beginning of the war, Canada has been a keeper of that northern bridge. In Newfoundland and Iceland, Canadian forces were the pioneers from the New World. Across that bridge come vast supplies of war materials and foodstuffs; yes, and of fighting men, too. Back across that same bridge, if this island bridgehead should ever be lost, would move the enslaving hordes of the new barbarians.

We know it is not enough to garrison the bridge itself, unless we are prepared to defend this island which is its eastern bridgehead. That is why the fighting men of Canada are here in growing numbers to share in the task which is our defence as well as yours. By your action, you, in Britain, have already made it clear that you will never open to any aggressor the road across the Northern Bridge, so long as brave men survive to keep it closed.

That the United States was to share in keeping this Northern Bridge was the best of news. I find further encouragement in the words of President Roosevelt last Monday when he said: "I know I speak for the conscience and determination of the American people when I say we shall do everything in our power to crush Hitler and his Nazi forces." The most important step in crushing Hitler is to render wholly secure this island base from which the final attack must be launched.

We, in Canada, were greatly heartened when, three years ago, the President, after referring to the Dominion of Canada as part of the sisterhood of the British Empire, declared that the people of the United States would not stand idly by if the domination of Canadian soil were threatened by any other empire. In the name of our government, I reciprocated at once by recognizing Canada's responsibility to do what lay within her power to prevent attacks through our territory upon the United States. These declarations were the starting point of our agreement for joint defence.

Deepening Interdependence of the Free World

To-day, fortunately, we are witnessing the birth of still wider arrangements for joint defence between the British Empire and the United States. Your declaration, Prime Minister, that, in the Far East, Britain would stand at the side of the United States, is a sure sign of the deepening interdependence of the free world. A similar declaration on the part of the United States, as respects Nazi Germany, would, I believe, serve to shorten this perilous conflict. Such a declaration would be full of meaning for the German people. At the same time, it would constitute a realistic recognition that Britain is the one obstacle in the way of a Nazi attack upon the New World.

Without doubt, Britain could, if she would, purchase a temporary respite by agreeing to the continuance of the Nazi domination of continental Europe. Such a course you rightly refuse to consider because you know full well that all it would mean is an armed truce. You would face, and we in North America would face, an agony of prolonged uncertainty while Germany repaired her military machine and gathered fresh strength for a final assault on what remained of democracy in the world.

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No prospect would please the Nazis more than the opportunity of consolidating their position in the conquered lands while preparing for the conquest of the rest of the world. That opportunity will never be given them. But it becomes daily clearer that resistance alone will not bring victory. Unless the whole resources and the total energy of the free world are thrown into the struggle, the war may drag on for years, carrying, in its train, famine, pestilence and horrors still undreamed of. Regardless of all else, we may be sure that, so long as the forces of destruction continue to rage, there can be no security, no progress and no peace in any corner of the world. Instead the world will drift more and more toward universal chaos in which hopes of reconstruction or of a new world order may altogether disappear.

A New World Order

Much is being said about a new world order to take the place of the old world order when the war is at an end. If that new order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. A new world order cannot be worked out at some given moment and reduced to writing at a conference table. It is not a matter of parchments and of seals. That was one of the mistaken beliefs at the end of the last war.

A new world order, to be worthy of the name, is something that is born, not made. It is something that lives and breathes; something that needs to be developed in the minds and hearts of men; something that touches the human soul. It expresses itself in goodwill and in mutual aid. It is the application, in all human relations, of the principle of helpfulness and service. It is based, not on fear, greed and hate, but on mutual trust and the noblest qualities of the human heart and mind. It seeks neither to divide not to destroy. Its aim is brotherhood, its method co-operation.

While the old order is destroying itself, this new relationship of men and nations already has begun its slow but sure evolution. It found expression when Britain determined to put an end to aggression in Europe; when other nations of the British Commonwealth took their place at the side of Britain; and when the United States resolved to lend its powerful aid to the nations which are fighting for freedom. It has found its latest expression in the Atlantic Charter. All these factors are combining to create one great brotherhood of freedom-loving peoples.

It must now be wholly clear that if the new world order, based upon freedom, is to assume definite shape, this can only be effected through the leadership of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America working in whole-hearted co-operation toward this great end. On such a foundation of unity of purpose and effort all free peoples may well hope to build an enduring new world order.

A New Heaven and a New Earth

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea . . . and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

A new heaven and a new earth—are not these, in very truth, what we seek to-day?

A heaven to which men, women, and little children no longer will look in fear, but where they may gaze again in silent worship and in thankfulness for the benediction of the sun and the rain; an earth no longer scarred by warfare and torn by greed, but where the lowly and humble of all races may work in ways of pleasantness and walk in paths of peace. And the sea no longer will be the scene of conflict nor harbour any menace; it, too, will gladden the hearts of men as it unites in friendly intercourse the nations of the world.

Then . . . *"shall all men's good*
Be each man's rule, and universal Peace
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
Thro' all the circle of the golden year."

This new heaven, this new earth, is the vision which, at this time of war unites, inspires and guides Britain, Canada, other nations of the British Commonwealth, the United States and our allies in all parts of the world. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory. No lesser service to humanity will hold the faith and win the gratitude of mankind.

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(No 8)

THE LORD MAYOR'S LUNCHEON

ADDRESS BY

Right Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P.
Prime Minister of Great Britain

My Lord Mayor, I rise to propose your health.

I suppose that, during your year of office, you have a vast number of important and interesting gatherings over which you must preside, and I am sure that, like your predecessors, you have dispensed, even in these hard, precarious times, the famous hospitality of the city of London to them. I feel convinced that nothing in your year of office will stand out more vividly in your mind than this entertainment here to-day of so many military representatives of the Dominions to give a hearty welcome and do all honour to the Prime Minister of Canada, our guest, Mr. Mackenzie King.

I have, as he has reminded us, known him for a great many years. I remember, as an Under Secretary for the Colonies, negotiating with him the details of some Canadian legislation about which there was some hitch in the days when he was here at the side of that great Canadian, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. That is now 35 or 36 years ago. Ever since then I have enjoyed the honour and the pleasure of his friendship and have followed with close attention the long and consistent political message which he has delivered to his country, to the Empire, and to the times in which we live.

A Memorable and Momentous Declaration

To-day you have listened to a memorable and momentous declaration, made here amid our ruins of London. But it resounds throughout the Empire and is carried to all parts of the world by the marvellous mechanism of modern life and modern war.

You have listened to a speech which, I think, all those who have heard it will feel explains the long continued authority which Mr. Mackenzie King has wielded during the fifteen years he has been Prime Minister of Canada.

He has spoken of the great issues of war, and of the duty of all free men in all parts of the world to band together lest their heritage be wasted. He has spoken of the immense burden we have to bear, of our unflinching resolve to persevere, to carry forward our standard in common, and he has also struck that note, never absent from our minds, that no lasting or perfect solution of the difficulties with which we are now confronted—with which the whole world is now confronted—no diversion of that sad fate by which the whole world is menaced, can be achieved without a full co-operation, in every field, of all the nations which as yet lie outside the range of the conqueror's power.

In Mr. Mackenzie King we have a Canadian statesman who has always preserved the most intimate relations with the great republic of the United States, and whose name and voice are honoured there as they are on this side of the Atlantic. I had the opportunity of meeting the President of the United States a few weeks ago, and I know from him the great esteem in which Mr. Mackenzie King is held, and how much he has contributed to joining together in close, sympathetic action, the republic of the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

I am grateful to Mr. Mackenzie King to-day for having put in terms perhaps more pointed than I, as a British Minister, would use, that overpowering sense we have that the struggle is dire, and that all the free men of the world must stand together in one line if humanity is to be spared a deepening and darkening and widening tragedy which can lead only, as Mr. Mackenzie King has said, to something in the nature of immediate world chaos.

I hope, Mr. Mackenzie King, during your all too brief visit here—the visit in a few weeks must draw to a close—you have found yourself able to see with your own eyes what we have gone through; and, also, to feel that unconquerable uplift of energy and of resolve which will carry this old island through the storm and carry with it also much that is precious to mankind.

The War Effort of Canada

You have a great knowledge of the flexible organization, a system ever changing and expanding, yet ever growing into a greater harmony, by which the British Commonwealth of Nations is conducted. You have also a knowledge of your own people, and your association with them is so long and so intimate, that it has enabled you to realize and express, in these hours of trouble, a more complete unity of Canada than has ever before been achieved.

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You have taken your place at our councils, you have discussed and examined, with our professional experts, questions of strategy and war which are pending. You have seen your gallant Canadian Corps and other troops who are here. We have felt very much for them that they have not yet had a chance of coming to close quarters with the enemy. It is not their fault; it is not our fault; but 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. It seems to me that although they may have felt envious that Australian, New Zealand and South African troops have been in action, the part they have played in bringing about the final result is second to none.

The war effort of Canada during this war, happily, has not so far required effusion of blood upon a large scale. But that effort, in men, in ships, aircraft, air training, in finance, in food, constitutes an element in the resistance of the British Empire without which that resistance could not be successfuly maintained.

For all these reasons, my Lord Mayor, we are most grateful to you for assembling us here to do honour to the Prime Minister of Canada. We feel that we have participated in an occasion memorable in itself and fruitful also for the future.

Canada, the Linchpin of the English-speaking World

Canada is the linchpin of the English-speaking world. Canada, with close relations of friendly, affectionate intimacy with the United States on the one hand, and with her unswerving fidelity to the British Commonwealth and the Motherland on the other, is the link which joins together these great branches of the human family, a link which, spanning the oceans, brings the continents into their true relation, and will prevent, in future generations, a division between the proud and once happy nations of Europe and the great countries which have come into existence in the New World.

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(No 10)

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Prime Minister

C244467

Name of Publication Saturday Night

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Subject

The editor of SATURDAY NIGHT *and Grattan O'Leary, editor of the Ottawa Journal, will do a discussion broadcast in the "We Have Been There" series of the CBC at 9.30 EDST tomorrow evening. Both were members of the party of Canadian editors who returned last week from England.*

ASTONISHINGLY little publicity has attended the preliminary budding of the event which will already, unless all signs fail, have burst in full flower upon a waiting world by the time these lines come to the eyes of most of our readers. We refer to the "drafting" of the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen as leader of the Conservative party with a seat in the House of Commons, an event which as we went to press was confidently expected to take place at the meeting of the national committee of the party on Friday of this week. The movement for this purpose has been one of the most rapidly developed in the whole history of Canadian politics, and one of the most efficient.

The move, we think, shows a considerably greater degree of political astuteness than most of the recent performances of the Conservative party. What it does in effect is to allow a breathing spell to elapse before the party faces the real problem of its orientation for the future. Mr. Meighen, who is sixty-seven years of age, obviously will not do any re-orienting. But the whole project which was down for consideration on Friday went a good deal further than the selection of a leader. It was understood that the new leader was to be provided with several relatively young, energetic and able followers chosen from outside of the present House membership, for whom sitting members were to make way. (If the scheme were to fail to materialize it would probably be for lack of the requisite self-abnegation on the part of sitting members.)

Such a group, with a man of Mr. Meighen's great parliamentary experience and unexcelled debating skill at its head, would be able to hold public attention as an Opposition, and some at least of its members would be able to impress themselves upon the Canadian people in a way which should solve, far better than any party convention could now do, the difficult question of who should be the next leader. The party would thus avoid the enormous disadvantage under which it would otherwise labor, of having to choose its leader from among a group of persons, not one of whom has ever made an appearance in the national parliamentary arena. It has been generally assumed that, failing some such device as this, a party convention with all its risks and conflicts would have to be brought on in the very near future, before the candidates could really be sized up; this because of the poor health of Mr. Hanson and the quite equally poor health of the party in the House of Commons.

Whether Mr. Meighen will lead the party in an election contest, and if so, what the party's chances would be, are another problem altogether. In the House we look for him to be highly effective. As a vote-getter in a national contest he appears considerably less promising. Whether the project includes any arrangement for his retirement before the next election is not known as we write, and probably will not be known for some time.

In the not impossible event of a fairly early election brought on by Mr. King on the issue of voluntary service versus conscription, Mr. Meighen would of course be the most appropriate leader the party could have, and in such a contest his social-economic views would have little importance. But we doubt whether conscription could win unless several important personages could be detached from the Liberal party on that issue.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

C244468

Subject.....

Undiscussed but ever present in the background of the whole situation lies the railway problem. Mr. Meighen, who has been out of the electoral conflict since 1926, is probably less hampered by past commitments on this subject than any other experienced parliamentarian. There are some prominent Liberals who would like to see a much more radical solution of the railway problem than their party is ever likely to sponsor; and it is conceivable that on a combination of the conscription issue for public consumption and the railway issue as a more private motive some of these might overcome their personal dislike for Mr. Meighen and give him their support.

Then there is the further possibility that Mr. King may upset all these calculations by going in for conscription himself, with assurances to Quebec that his kind of conscription will be much easier for that province to bear than Mr. Meighen's kind. Mr. King could obtain French-speaking lieutenants for such a program, even if Mr. Lapointe felt compelled to retire; Mr. Meighen could not. The whole situation is full of the most intriguing uncertainties; but whatever happens it is a matter for rejoicing that a great and historic party is showing signs of awakening from the torpor of its post-Bennett years.

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C244469

SIZE OF THE ARMY

CRITICISMS:

The size of the army should not be limited to six divisions.
(See statement by Hon. R. B. Hanson in House of Commons, Nov. 4, 1941 - Exhibit A)

REPLY:

Canadian Army not limited to six divisions. Total effort is the objective of the government.
(See statement by Hon. J. L. Ralston, November 5th, - Exhibit B)

It is often not realized what comprises the Canadian Army of six divisions. Quantitatively, the Canadian Army includes a very large number of corps troops, as well as the divisions: qualitatively, the Canadian Army embraces an unusually high proportion of armoured divisions.
(See statement by Hon. J. L. Ralston, In House of Commons, Nov. 5, 1941 - Exhibit C)

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C244470

(A)

Unrevised Hansard
November 4th, 1941, page 4396.

Hon. R. B. Hanson:

What of Canada and her contributions. We have in being or in process of development six divisions, some overseas, some in Canada, some well trained for defensive purposes, some not so well trained. The task of maintaining them at full numerical strength is for the government of Canada. So far we have a policy of voluntary enlistment for overseas service, with partial national service for home defence. I think that is a fair statement. Six divisions at this time is certainly not too many. Six divisions at the end of the second year, fully trained and equipped, would have been a fair contribution. Comparisons of course are odious, but we have to remember that we are stronger in numbers now than we were twenty-five years ago and stronger in potentiality. I am not complaining that so far we have set up only six divisions; I doubt whether we could have done much more, having regard to the equipment available. But will that suffice? If Canada's maximum effort and man-power is to be confined to six divisions, not all overseas, and a home defence army composed of drafted men, then possibly the voluntary system of recruiting will do.

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C244470A

(B)

Unrevised Hansard
November 5th, 1941, page 4451.

Hon. J. L. Ralston:

My hon. friend the member for Davenport asked about the objective. That was also the question which my hon. friend the leader of the opposition asked yesterday; he inquired as to the ultimate objective of man-power which it is hoped Canada will contribute. I can answer him in one sentence and in one phrase. It was used by the Prime Minister; in fact it has been employed repeatedly by him. He used it in his speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet. Canada is determined to contribute "to the utmost of her strength". You cannot count that in divisions alone. I might refer the hon. gentleman to a somewhat similar phrase which I used in March, when, speaking to the house, I said I told my friends overseas that Canada's contribution was an all-out contribution; and by "an all-out contribution" I am not talking about divisions alone; I am not talking merely of squadrons, of ships, of production, of finance; I am talking about a balanced programme which represents the very best and most that Canada can do. That is the ultimate objective.

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C244471

Unrevised Hansard
November 5th, 1941, pages 4451-2

Mr. Ralston:

In this connection may I say to my hon. friend and to all members of the committee that I do not think we quite realize, when we are speaking of divisions, just what we have. Here I am not speaking complacently or saying that this is the last word by any means. I would only indicate to my hon. friends that sometimes there is not an appreciation of the degree to which we have gone. I am speaking now particularly of the army. We think of the Canadian corps as consisting of three divisions and an armoured tank brigade, to be joined before long by the fifth armoured division—that, along with the artillery regiments, the signals, the engineers, ordnance, and army service corps units. But as a matter of fact we have supplied many units which would be needed to work with the corps when that corps becomes part of an army. To-day we have overseas three divisions and an army tank brigade, and a fifth division soon to go overseas, with their ancillary units, and corps troops, and army troops, the fourth division here, and mobilization going on of the three brigade groups of the sixth division. Our forces in the United Kingdom alone consist not merely of three divisions but of over 300 units of various types; and these corps and army troops are formed to serve the corps as a whole or to be apportioned and attached to serve a Canadian division or divisions in case it or they should be detached for the time being to another corps. I am satisfied that there is not in the United Kingdom a corps as complete in that respect as the Canadian corps. At the present time the Canadian corps has developed almost from a corps to an army by reason of the line of communication troops and the corps and army troops which have been added to it. Yet we still think of a corps as consisting of three divisions, the army tank brigade, and, soon, the armoured division. May I tell the committee that to-day there are fifty per cent more corps and army troops in the Canadian corps of to-day, although no battles have been fought, than there were in the Canadian corps of 1915 to 1918.

Mr. CASSELMAN: How many Canadian soldiers are overseas at the present time?

Mr. RALSTON: Over 110,000. That is exclusive of the air force. I am giving my hon. friend a round figure; the number is more than that; and when I say "overseas" I am referring to those who are outside Canada. The leader of the opposition asked for a separate statement with regard to those outside Canada but not in England. I feel that it is not desirable to make that figure public, but I now intimate that I shall be glad to give it to him in confidence.

As I say, we have the Canadian corps, consisting of those 300 units. In the air force alone are 90,000 men, the equivalent of more than four divisions.

Mr. MacNICOL: They are all overseas, are they?

Mr. RALSTON: No. Then there is the fourth division in Canada, the brigade groups of the sixth division, and the coast defence units.

In the navy we shall have before long the equivalent of two divisions.

I want to point out to the committee, so that we may not get a distorted idea regarding this matter of enlistments, that since the middle of May, 1941—that is, during the last six months—the army has recruited 59,502 men; the air force has recruited 35,108 men, and the navy has recruited 11,163 men, or, in the last six months, a total of voluntary enlistments of 105,773.

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COLLATERAL
on WWII - CONSCRIPTION

JWP/MS
9.11.41

C244472

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Conscription.

The argument has been worked out in headings (with supporting documents) under the following general heads:

Manpower Problem in Perspective

Voluntary Recruiting not a Failure

Comparison of Compulsory and Voluntary System

The Real Objection to Conscription

Motives behind Conscription Campaign

A Constructive Manpower Policy

I have done a brief note on the pledge as a suggested supplement to what you said at Vancouver. I realize that it may be unwise to use it, but submit it for what it may be worth.

J. W. P.

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Unrevised Hansard
November 12, 1941
p. ~~4678~~.
4321

"So far as conscription stands for or compulsory selective national service, that is a principle which this Government has embodied in its National Resources Mobilization Act passed at a previous session of this Parliament. As to how rapidly that principle should be applied and how far it should be extended is a matter which the Government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting them."

Note This was repeated in H. of C. Jan. 26, 1942
Unrevised Hansard, page 82; also Jan.27, 1942
p. 68
59 44

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59 44

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Conscription

November 13, 1941

C244474

Issue

Conscription (1917 over again
) same leader
National govt. (same cry -
support allied forces
non-party govt.

Conscription - both agreed

as to compulsory selective national service in Canada for any purpose that serves to defeat Hitler

armed forces -

munitions, supplies, equipment, tanks, guns, rifles, etc.

men and women

agreed - air forces overseas

naval forces - no need.

not agreed - conscription for army overseas.

Reasons:

1. all representatives of people in this Parlt. returned on undertaking of their leaders - "no conscription for service overseas"

2. so long as representatives continue to support people no need of appeal.

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If difference arises

either i) referendum

ii) election

3. no need for conscription for overseas service -
air - navy
up to present - army -
no invasion contemplated till 1943

4. Danger to national unity -
"a house divided against itself" -
true of a country
effect of conscription '17.

5. not in interests of most effective war effort, everything considered

e.g. war on Pacific
Atlantic

6. no conscription in U.S.
position of U.S. not sending overseas

Re National Government

representative - responsible govt.

issue clearly stated in election of 1940

country decided against national government for this parliament.

national govt. candidates wiped out all over country -
except Tories who came out from under.

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like chameleon - changing
colours to suit all occasions

take on breath of prejudice

Real Tory part can no more change
its spots - than the leopard.

Like the chameleon it may assume
different colours and hues

<u>Parties in H. of C. have declared against national govt</u>

(1) Hanson - elected to oppose it

(2) Coldwell - different policies

(3) Blackmore - unless financial position changed will not.

Present government -
non-party in administration, etc.
offer made to representatives
Conservatives and declined.

offer made for representation
1) in conference
2) in war committee
and declined.

<u>Meighen</u> could not form national govt.

National government = all parties

Will Liberals unite under Meighen?
" C.C.F. " " "
" Soc.Credit " " "
or New Democracy

In reality Tory party to control
ulterior policies to be enforced
e.g. monied interests vs.
control for amalgamation of rlys.
centralized Imperialism.

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Parliamentary institutions based on right of people -

representation ,
majority rule ,
Government and Opposition -

War or No War.

Lincoln and Civil War.

Multiplicity of parties -
see France.

National Government in Britain -

No criterion.
Existed before war -
continuation of.
If truth told, resulted in neutralizing effort and leading to unpreparedness.

No National Government in United States.

Republican vs. Democrat

General Election - Roosevelt returned.

Note attitude of Leader of Republicans- Willkie.

No Knox and Stimson -
supporters of Administration.

No corresponding men in Canada.

Meighen not supporting government policy

but opposing it.

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National Government movement based on Conscription.

Playing Hitler's game,

create division at home

which may be reflected abroad.

(see agreements - little red book)

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FILE : W.L.M. KING.

re army proposal & conscription

C244478 3.12.41

Dictated by the Prime Minister

PERSONAL VIEW WITH RESPECT TO 1942-43 PROPOSED PROGRAMME OF THE ARMY

WWII - Conscription

1. Government policy prior to the war - equally policy of all parts - was that if Canada entered the war, there would be no conscription for overseas service.

2. Government policy after declaration of war was the the same.

British government stated that Canada's best contribution, one which would probably prove decisive was to inaugurate the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. The Plan itself has been expanded; millions have been spent upon it in accordance with view as expressed by the British authorities.

Through recognition of highest service that could be rendered, Canada's Navy has also been rapidly expanded, and the time has now been reached where what has been done by Canada in the air and at sea will be equivalent in manpower to army divisions - all for overseas service.

3. In general elections of 1940, all parts took the position that there would be no conscription for overseas service. As Prime Minister, and with consent of all my colleagues, and in announcing policy of Liberal party while war was on, the undertaking was given that the Liberal administration, as headed by myself, would not enact any measure of conscription for overseas. That position has been asserted time and again in Parliament and

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in Liberal caucus, and unanimously approved by the party.

In determining the divisions which should go overseas, Mr. Rogers, as Minister, and subsequent Ministers of Defence, have kept constantly in mind the government's policy with respect to no conscription for overseas and have so framed their programme as to keep within the government's policy in that regard.

The matter was fully discussed at the time, and it was decided to form an Army Corps out of the divisions overseas. It was considered each time an effort has been made to send further contingents and ancillary units overseas and to meet such requests as those for foresters, firemen, railway construction workers, etc.

The latest assurance given was that the sending of Canadian battalions to Hong Kong would not prejudice the position as respects troops necessary for overseas service being provided without resort to conscription. The government's policy with respect to an all out effort was based on the understanding that compulsory selective national service should be adopted with respect to Canada to be made applicable in every direction where it might prove most effective. The only direction in which it was not to be applied was with respect to conscription for overseas.

It was recognized that conscription for overseas was not necessary as respects either the Air Force or the Navy; that

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in those branches of the service Canada's contribution would be limited only by the training and equipment necessary for effective service overseas.

Up to the present, therefore, no programme has been based on a policy which necessitates conscription for overseas service.

Before the present programme was presented, Council had already begun to consider how army forces overseas might be enlarged and reinforcements secured by extending the application of the National Resources Mobilization Act, so as to include service in boundary waters and in Newfoundland and Labrador, thereby releasing for overseas service men at present on duty there who would be prepared to serve overseas.

The programme proposed for 1942 - 43 would appear, in reality, to establish a Canadian Army overseas, as against one or more Army Corps, carried out to the extent to which the same can be extended short of the necessity of resorting to conscription for overseas service.

(It must be remembered that conscription for service within Canada, ~~which~~ means providing men properly trained for service overseas who may wish to enlist voluntarily.)

Concretely, the programme appears to provide for a Canadian Army to be commanded by General McNaughton; two army corps of two divisions each, to be commanded respectively by General Crerar and General Pearkes, and all the ancillary troops

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necessary for the army. This in addition to (?) men already provided for, or commitments made for, service in forestry battalions, railroad construction, fire-fighting, etc. It provides, of course, for the reinforcements necessary to meet all normal and battle casualties.

If the military authorities can give reasonable assurance that, by any plans that can be devised, or arrangements made short of conscription for overseas service, and the Minister of Finance is prepared, along with other commitments, to assure the War Committee that in his opinion it would be possible to have the armed forces overseas so increased without creating in itself a situation which will make impossible the raising, by taxation, war loans or other means, the revenues necessary for the purpose, I shall be prepared - subject to approval of the steps to be worked out for the purpose - to support the programme, otherwise until Parliament itself has decided to adopt conscription for overseas service, or the people, by a referendum, or a general election, have approved the policy of conscription, to limit my support of the proposed programme to the extent that may be necessary to bring it within the limits of what it may reasonably be assured, can be secured without resort to conscription.

In other words, it would be impossible for me, and I believe it should be equally impossible for other members of the government, without first obtaining the views of Parliament or

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of the people, to sanction in advance any programme which would be in the nature of committing the country by the government itself to a policy of conscription for overseas service.

My objections to conscription for overseas service in the army are based on two grounds:

(1) a strict observance of the letter of the constitution and those constitutional practices and conventions intended to ensure the carrying out of the will of the people, and keeping the executive responsible to parliament, and through parliament to the people, and

(2) the very strong conviction that the adoption of conscription for overseas service, regardless of how secured would, in the circumstances of the present war, weaken rather than strengthen Canada's war effort. I do not regard conscription for overseas service as necessary to effect a maximum war effort. It would, in my opinion, most certainly militate against that end,

(a) in the division of opinion which it would create,

(b) in the action needed for its enforcement, etc.

Canada's experience in the last war should be a sufficient guide in the present against repeating a policy which at the time created a wound at the side of of the country which the past 20 years have been insufficient to heal.

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I believe such resistance in different parts of the country would be offered to a policy of conscription for overseas service as to make its enforcement impossible, save in a manner which played directly into Hitler's hands, by having it appear that already there was the existence of civil strife in one of the Dominions.

I am opposed to conscription in Canada for the same reasons as have led South Africa to avoid conscription, Northern Ireland and Australia, both in the last war and in the present war. Additional reasons are the prejudicial effect which I believe its adoption in Canada would have on the United States' war effort. In that country it would serve as a deterrent for overseas action on the part of the United States. Last- now that U.S. has been forced out even sharp. 4-11-42

The President himself has advised me that he feels the proper way to proceed in the United States is along the lines in which Canada has been proceeding, of compulsory national selective service, but voluntary service with respect to service in the army overseas. Has changed since U.S. forced into war.

If Canada can maintain her present methods of securing, for overseas service, men by voluntary enlistment, that will help materially to bring the United States into a world war effort which will result in active service of the Americans abroad.

Moreover, with the situation as it has now developed in the Orient and the war as developing, new questions arise as to the additional needs there may be in Canada itself to protect Canadian shores, and to meet situationsthat may

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develop in Canada. It has always been a part of British policy to keep in mind the possible transference, to this side of the Atlantic, of the British fleet.

Finally, any policy of conscripting men for overseas which does not take full account of the demands for manpower in the construction of ships, planes, guns, munitions, etc., also agricultural production, would be a mistaken policy.

How all these ends are to be most effectively attained should be worked out for full presentation to Parliament, when it meets, of the pros. and cons. of conscription for overseas service.

W. L. M. K.

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Extract from The Irish Free Press, Dec. 4, 1941, reporting statement made by Mr. de Valera in The Dail, on Dec. 3, 1941:

"Mr. de Valera said that the Government was not at all anxious for conscription, and he felt that such a course would not be necessary. However, he did not want to indicate that circumstances might not arise in which they would be prepared to take that step if necessary. He did not want anyone to think that there was any suggestion of immediate conscription."

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J-254-12

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C244486

JWP/MS
11.12.41

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The Prime Minister may recall that Mr. Roberts has sent in several editorials supporting the government's policies and a very good one opposing conscription which the Prime Minister acknowledged personally.

It is doubtful, however, if the suggestion he makes would be acceptable to either party in the dispute.

The Prime Minister might wish to indicate the nature of reply to be drafted.

J. W. P.

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R

NAR/ET
19th Dec.,1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C244487

When Mr.Moffat called this morning, I asked him about the press reports that the United States Conscription Bill now in Congress, would call up for military service all male residents of the United States within specified age groups other than enemy aliens and nationals of neutral countries. This will mean that Canadians resident in the United States would be conscripted into the United States army. I said we had been studying the problem in the Department and had thought that the most appropriate arrangement would be an agreement between Canada and the United States under which each country would exempt nationals of the other,provided they fulfilled their military obligations towards their native country. The new American law would appear to exclude any such arrangement.

Mr.Moffat has now learned from the Department of State that the Bill,which will shortly become law, does not provide for any exemption of nationals of Allied countries. The United States authorities have,however, been giving belated consideration to the special problem presented by Canadians in the United States, and are now working on a scheme analogous to that under which persons called up for the Selective Draft are granted deferment on evidence that they are serving in the Canadian Forces. Under the proposed arrangement, Canadians liable and fit for military service in the United States could be given the option,before actual enlistment in the United States army, of returning to Canada to enlist for overseas service. I understand the United States Service representatives on the Permanent Joint Defence Board are going to discuss this angle of the problem informally with their Canadian colleagues at a meeting of the Board tomorrow. The United States would like to confine such an arrangement to Canadians,and not have it applicable to nationals of other Allied countries. How this distinction could be worked out is still a matter for consideration.

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NAR/ET
19 Dec.1941

C244488

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The United States Minister said this morning that his Government was still examining the general question of American enlistments in Allied Forces. He thought it possible that they might decide to forbid all future foreign enlistments,and at the same time ask Americans already serving with Allied Forces to stay where they were - perhaps with a reassuring message from the President that they were doing their full duty as Americans by fighting in the Allied army in which they had enlisted.

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C244489

(4)

re responsible to Parliament

...ament.

My views as to the nature of the government's responsibility to Parliament are well enough known.

If the government, while I am Prime Minister, should ever decide that conscription for overseas service was required, that decision and the reasons for it would be announced to Parliament at the earliest possible moment, and means given to Parliament to express its confidence in the government.

To that declaration of policy I attach conditions. In the first place, urgency would probably compel the government to ask Parliament to reach the decision without prolonged debate. In the second

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place, some sudden and unexpected holocaust might make it essential for the government to act in advance of a decision of Parliament if Parliament was not in session. This contingency is extremely unlikely, but should it arise Parliament would be called immediately and the government would stand or fall on its decision.

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At the same time, no government would, I believe, wish to proceed with the application of a policy which has aroused deep-rooted divisions in the past and which might be a source of dissention in the future, in defiance of the will of Parliament. Speaking only for myself, I may say without hesitation that, so long as I remain at the head of the administration, I would not wish to undertake the application of such a policy without the assurance of the backing of Parliament. It will be realized, of course, that in speaking of the future conduct of the administration in circumstances which may be vastly changed, I can speak for myself alone. I cannot, nor would I wish to attempt to, bind any future administration.

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It is because I am determined to preserve the substance and not the mere shadow of the responsibility of the administration to Parliament/no less than because of any personal desire to be assured of the backing of Parliament, that I have reached the decision that, before assuming burdens and responsibilities greater than those I have borne up to the present, Parliament will be given an opportunity to express its confidence or lack of confidence in the administration.

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I stress in light of responsibility to Parliament. I cannot say how that will be exercised except in so far as I, myself, am concerned. So long as I am here, if it is humanly possible at all, I will wish to have parliament informed in the first instance, and secure from parliament a vote of confidence in the administration to give effect to the policy. If that is not given, I will transfer government to other hands.

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...n from ...

C244494 I hope, too, it will not be held that I have erred in the example I intend to follow, and before assuming burdens and responsibilities greater even than those which up to the present, I have sought to carry, I should, like Mr. Churchill, seek from this House of Commons, and in particular from my own immediate following, an expression of their confidence in the present administration and of the readiness of the House to aid the administration to the utmost in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

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There was more than one reason for this vote of

C244495 confidence being sought. One quite clearly was that Mr. Churchill~~x~~ himself might know where ~~khe~~ he stood, the support on which he could rely in the discharge of his very onerous responsibilities. And another equally, if not more important, was that the people of the United Kingdom might know where their representatives stood in the support they were prepared to give the administration in its grave tasks of carrying on the war.

Parliamentary responsibility is two fold. Members as well as Ministers have their responsibilities. And the country at large has a right to know, particularly at a time of war, where support is given, and where and why it is withheld from the administration that may be charged with the administration of the nation's affairs.

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Draft Conclusion

C244496

There is one final reason why, if recourse to conscription for overseas service becomes necessary, I believe the government should announce its decision to Parliament and assure itself of the backing of Parliament.

That reason I gave in my broadcast opening the plebiscite campaign on April 7th in these words:

"The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.

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6. There need be no delay. Parliament can always meet at short notice. There will be no need of further legislation, but merely of an expression of confidence in some form. It is virtually impossible to conceive of a situation in which the lapse of a week will effect sending re-inforcements overseas, since arrangements could proceed concurrently with the assembling of Parliament.

7. In the face of some sudden crisis and an emergency session of Parliament, it might easily become possible to get virtual unanimity from Parliament.

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5. A further reference to Parliament cannot logically be opposed by the Opposition which is always complaining about government by Order-in-Council and the ignoring of Parliament, as, for example, in the cases of Price Control and Wheat Marketing Policy a year ago. (This year brought in bills,

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House of Commons
Canada

Just as this publication made it necessary to alter the original procedure as a step so present debate has made necessary the further additional procedure as to superseding

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At the same time, my own attitude to Parliament is well enough known that I think it will be realized that, apart from some catastrophic situation demanding instant action, I would naturally wish, so long as I remain at the head of the administration to make so important an announcement in Parliament.

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The Executive was in a wholly similar position at the time of the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act. The War Measures Act was a part of the law of the land. The government had already passed many orders-in-council under the authority of that measure. Had it been ~~wise~~ to do so, they could have taken by order in council under the provisions of the War Measures Act, all the powers which were specifically given to it by parliament and which it now possesses under the National Mobilization Act. ~~Moreover, by order in council, those powers might have been taken without any restriction such as was self imposed - if I may so express it - by parliament at the instance of the Executive.~~ That the ~~Executive~~ did not claim its right so to proceed, and exercise that right, was not due to lack of power given to it under the law of the land. It was due to its regard to two things, each of which are all important in government - at least to government in a free and democratic country - national considerations other than those merely of the possession of power, and which relate to the wisdom of its exercise at a given time or place, and to ~~the~~ a sense of responsibility to parliament in taking any step which would be

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That I am not to be trusted to
administer conscription for
overseas service.

Hon W[illegible] asked Borden to make decision - Adjournment
reasonably put said a few days - Borden refused - resigned.

(I) Diefenbaker - June 15, 1942 - page 3621 unrevised Hansard.

(See Saturday Night - July 20th)

(2) Differences in view in Parliament itself -

(small majority following).

Government must have confidence.

Parliament must share.

Churchill's position

all parties at his back.

Many still unconvinced about wisdom.

[illegible] Borden full
[illegible] Borden blind
not know full or true & [illegible]

(3) Impossible to say what situation may be when
decision reached

or what may happen meanwhile. between adjournment & decision

(A long war)

(4) Surely should not ever [illegible] following example
P.M. of Gt Br. — when taking on additional
responsibilities

(a) Churchill observed & knew Borden [illegible] to stand
Conscription could be withdrawn (1) especially from own following

(2) Knew Borden & knew Borden represented Block
in support & gave his advice

(3) Knew & knows where support from
Borden & [illegible] in withdrawal

(1) [illegible] of Borden & his
Ministers & said his administration
& Borden himself in case disproved
prosecution of war.

~~Do not know what conclusion may arise in relation between~~
~~adjournment & decision~~

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C244503

Re Sapping Circles - a Council point

(1) Not training hills much on report.

(2) Open c. with particulars of our sending troops anywhere

(3) Particularly no allusion to point established by Borden

"It may very well be that the orders in Council although constitutional, for many the days of fifty eight may be in the words used on both sides."

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C244504

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

OPENING

THIRD SESSION, NINETEENTH PARLIAMENT

JANUARY 22, 1942

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Honourable Members of the Senate:
Members of the House of Commons:

There no longer can be any question as to the character and scope of the present war. It is a world-wide conflict between irreconcilable forces. On every continent, including the confines of our own, and on all oceans, forces that aim at world domination oppose forces that seek the preservation of freedom. In every quarter of the globe, civilization is confronted by savagery.

The conflict can have but one of two outcomes. Either tyranny, based on terror and brutality, must be overthrown; or the free peoples of the world, one and all, slowly but eventually, will be reduced to a state of bondage. Upon the outcome depends, for generations, the future well-being of mankind.

There are strong reasons for belief in the overthrow of tyranny, and the ultimate triumph of freedom. The Axis Powers: Germany, Italy and Japan, now fight as one. So do the peoples of the British Commonwealth, of the United States, Russia, China and the many other nations that, on the first day of this new year, united in a pact to fight together until victory is achieved. The marshalling of the free forces of the greatest industrial nations in the world makes clear the scale upon which the conflict will now be waged on many fronts.

During the present session, opportunity will be afforded for the fullest consideration and discussion of Canada's war effort, actual and prospective. My advisers will submit to you the measures deemed essential to our national security, and for the prosecution of the war to the utmost of our strength.

In accordance with the government's policy of a total national effort for total war, you will be asked to approve a balanced programme for further increases in the armed forces and in the production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. The increase in the armed forces will involve an expansion of the establishment of the Canadian army overseas. You will also be asked, as an integral part of Canada's direct war effort, to approve a contribution to Britain of vast quantities of munitions, foodstuffs and supplies.

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The government's policy of national selective service will be extended, as generally and rapidly as may be necessary, to effect the orderly and efficient employment of the men and women of Canada for the varied purposes of war. You will be advised of the means the government proposes to adopt, to effect as complete as possible a mobilization of the material resources and manpower of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort.

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

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

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

Members of the House of Commons:

You will be asked to make financial provision on an unprecedented scale for the expansion and maintenance of Canada's armed forces and for war production.

You will be asked to make financial provision for implementing agreements with the provinces to facilitate the orderly and equitable mobilization of the financial resources of the country to the utmost limit of its capacity.

Honourable Members of the Senate:
Members of the House of Commons:

I am confident that in no particular will the Canadian people fail in the full discharge of any of their great responsibilities. At this time, when vision and wisdom are so greatly needed in the affairs of the world, I pray that Almighty God may guide and bless your deliberations.

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I have the honour to move seconded by the honourable Member for Laval-Two Mountains that the word "now" be left out and the words "this" day six months" added at the end of the question.

(SIGNE) J.S. ROY, M.P.
Gaspé-Iles-de-la-Madeleine

(SIGNE)Liguori Lacombe, M.P.
Laval-Deux-Montagnes

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Overseas conscription might be applied secretly.

Mr. Cardin says:
(p.3560)

"It may very well be that the order in council applying conscription, forcing the boys to fight anywhere in the world will be kept secret."

Suggested reply:

It might be considered whether some further amendment should be made in committee to provide

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Mobilization Act.

re Delay in applying conscription for service overseas.

1. No delay in conscripting men or in training them.
2. Exactly the same number would be conscripted by exactly the same method, regardless of the geographical scope of service.
3. If the supply of volunteers fails, there will be no question of starting a new system. All that will be required is to extend the scope of service of men who will already have been called up and trained.
4. No useful object will be served by changing the "label" on the men unless it is necessary; to do so before it is necessary would be a breach of faith with the electors who voted "yes" in good faith believing the government meant what it said in the plebiscite campaign.

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(3)

The betrayal of the "minority"

Mr. Cardin says: (pp.3563-4)

"The French Canadians, in order to maintain unity in this country, have been making many and many concessions to the majority. But there comes a time when concession means betrayal of the people one is representing in Parliament."

Suggested reply:

Best given in Mr. Cardin's own words in his broadcast of April 9th:

"To my fellow citizens of Quebec, I wish to say simply, without weakness and without shame, that it is better not to run the risk of isolating ourselves. We wish others to show confidence in us; let us then show confidence in them. Let us not speak only of rights; let us think sometimes also of the obligations which guarantee those rights.....and NO will lead you nowhere and assure you of nothing. With the rest of the country let us provide for our defence everywhere in order to keep away from us both the black peril of infidel Germany and the yellow peril of deceptive Japan."

Note →

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C244511

Re Campbell

One of the most effective passages in his speech was when he reminded the House that they had two alternatives - they could dismiss the present Government or support it, but they had no right to impair its efficiency and reduce its prestige abroad by a process of "sniping".

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A "British" War

C244512

2

Mr. Cardin says: (p.3563)

"I have to reason in my mind why I have to support the British flag and spend my energies for the defence of British rule in this conflict..."

Suggested reply:

A misconception of the value of this world-wide war which, as a member of the administration, Mr. Cardin had a duty to dispel.

Canada's security, Canada's existence, and Canada's future depend upon the defeat of the enemy.

As Mr. Cardin said himself in his broadcast on April 24th:

"It is your war; the war of everyone of you. They are deceiving you in saying this is England's war. It is the war of our civilization against dictatorship. It is the war of those who are dear to you and of your way of life against a system of terror and slavery.

A member of the Quebec Legislature said a few days ago that he hoped that the present war would make Canada an independent Nation. But if Canada were today an independent Nation, we would surely be engaged in the war."

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House of Commons
Canada

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B 7 re: speech

C244514

Re: Total War

Our task is to identify the issue as having to do solely with the successful waging of total war.

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source unknown

C244515

1. The Prime Minister

Hansard 1942, Page 3234.

> "If the Bill is amended as proposed, it is not the intention of the Government to resort to conscription for service overseas unless circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative, such, for example, as the maintenance of the necessary reinforcement for Canada's Army overseas.

2. Colonel Ralston's recommendation to use the members called up under N.M.R.A. for reinforcement if as and when necessary.

3. There is no essential difference between the two statements except in the interpretation of the meaning of "imperative" and "when necessary".

4. Suggestions

(A) That we make an appeal at once for voluntary enlistment among N.M.R.A. members already trained for infantry duty, coupled with a declaration of policy based upon the above two statements;

(B) That members of Governments all co-operate in such voluntary appeal;

(C) That members of the N.M.R.A. be informed that those who do not voluntarily enlist for overseas service shall be liable to serve in an international police force in occupied territories;

(D) That volunteers with the longest service shall have priority to employment positions over those who do not volunteer.

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4. Suggestions

(A) That we make an appeal at once for voluntary enlistment among N.M.R.A. members already trained for infantry duty, coupled with a declaration of pdicy based upon the above two statements, namely, N.M.R.A. be liable to serve overseas to reinforce Canadian Army as then constituted;

(B) That members of Governments all co-operate in such voluntary appeal;

(C) That members of the N.M.R.A. be informed that those who do not voluntarily enlist for overseas service shall be liable to serve in an international police force in occupied territories;

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Conscription

(News Comment - Vol.II.No.1 - January 1st, 1942)

C244517

SELECTIVE SERVICE

NOTE: In view of official statements that compulsory selective service will probably be introduced, the Editorial Committee thought it useful to have a general analysis of the problem prepared for "News Comment", so that readers might be able to judge critically any future legislation on the subject.

Compulsory selective service will shortly be introduced to Canada. The Hon. C.G. Power has announced that the Government is preparing a scheme, and indications are that it will be ready by the time Parliament assembles in January. Wartime planning is to be carried this one stage further. With full control over wages and salaries, with prices fixed and all business licensed, the addition of compulsory labour for the entire adult population will produce in this country a degree of regimentation far in excess of anything the CCF originally contemplated in its Regina Manifesto. The one thing least controlled is the ownership of Canadian wealth.

In terms of efficiency in war, there is much to be said for the principle of selective service. The recent Gallup Poll showed that the Canadian people recognised this, for a considerable majority favoured the idea. A wise distribution of labour is as necessary as an intelligent distribution of raw materials. The old unplanned capitalist methods of competing for labour in a "market" were as inefficient as most of the other ways of doing business under that system ---- as even a Liberal Government is forced to admit now that an emergency is here of a type they have to take seriously.

The important question before the Canadian people, therefore, is not whether selective service is desirable, but how it is going to be introduced and who is going to control it. More and more we are learning that the issue today is not whether planning should come, but who is going to do the planning and for what ends. The way that wages and prices have been fixed shows only too clearly that the interests which control a political party, are the interests which look after themselves when controls are set up. We are getting planning done by a capitalist party, with the obvious result that farmer and labour needs come a long way down the scale.

These are some of the things to watch out for when the scheme is ready:-

1st. How will the plan be adopted ? Will we suddenly read in the newspaper or hear over the radio of another Order-in-Council placing us all under government control ? Will it be another case of "legislation by radio" ? Or will Mr. King suspend

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action till Parliament meets, and then put before that body a proposal that can be fully discussed and debated ? The latter is the democratic way. Remember all the sharp attacks that were made upon Russia in 1931, when we broke off commercial relations with her, because of the "forced labour" in that country?

2nd. Selective service means first and foremost an interference with a man's right to work where he wants to. Therefore it is an interference that concerns farmers, labour and trades unions more than any other classes in Canada; much more than employers, for example, since they are numerically a very small class. Hence selective service will provide a supreme opportunity for the government to call trades unions and farm organizations into full consultation, and to give them that share in the operation of the scheme which is their democratic right. Unless they have, not just representation, but an effective control in all the Boards that may be set up, selective service may turn out to be the greatest inroad on the democratic way of life this country has witnessed since the days of the early governors.

For consider the dangers. Wages are now fixed by law. This takes away one main purpose of trades unionism. Now workers are to be told where to work. They can be shifted around the country; moved from Cape Breton to Alberta, from British Columbia to Northern Quebec. What happens if they move from an organized shop to an unorganised shop? What happens if they are moved from a district whith high wages to one with low wages ? Is the government going to have the right, not only to move a man, but to lower his standard of living and to destroy his trades union affiliation? Who is to decide whether a key trades unionist, doing from the union point of view an essential job on behalf of a group of workers, is not better employed on a machine in some remote place? Similar questions arise for farmers. If we do not take care it will be the employer class who will have the effective control in such matters, and selective service will end up as a simple means of providing cheap labour to manufacturers and of still further barring the road to trades unions. Some things cannot be sacrificed for "efficiency".

It is one thing to select a man for the army. That is a public function entirely run by the state. It is another thing to select men for the C.P.R.or for Ford of Canada. They are private corporations mostly owned by non-Canadians and making profit out of the war effort. Until war industries are conscripted too, selective service may produce an economic feudalism.

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3rd. Selective service must be sharply distinguished from conscription for overseas service. It does not necessarily follow that adopting the one means we must adopt the other. England has not imposed conscription on Northern Ireland, Australia has no conscription for overseas service; the Labour Party has always opposed it. Theoretically conscription is fair, but in some countries, and particularly in Canada, conscription has a historical background which makes it impossible to view it abstractly. In Quebec, conscription is much more than just a question of whether French Canadians are going overseas or not; on the contrary, no one objects to voluntary enlistment for overseas service. But due to the manner in which Canada participated in previous wars and, particularly, the way in which conscription was introduced last time, French Canadians question whether, on a matter of life and death, the English majority has a right to impose its will on the French minority. Most of them deny that the rest of Canada has this right, just as they deny the right of the majority to take away the guarantees for the French language. It may be that French opinion will change, but that cannot be decided in Toronto. In a democracy the compulsion that is necessary in wartime must have the prior consent of the people who are to be compelled; only in that way do the war controls operate as a real defence for democracy and not as its destroyer.

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NAR/SR
7.1.42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

C244520

The Belgian Minister called this morning to say that he had been instructed by his Government to serve notice on some 330 Belgian nationals resident in Canada, who had refused to respond to Belgian mobilization orders, that they would be cited, in absentia, before a Belgian military tribunal in London and condemned for their failure to report for military service.

I told Baron Silvercruys that I thought it would be unwise to proceed at once on this line. I told him, confidentially, that the Government was reviewing the present exempt position of resident aliens in respect of liability for military service, and it was quite probable that Allied nationals would be brought within the scope of the National War Service Regulations. In this event it would be awkward if persons assigned to defence or other duties by the Canadian authorities were stigmatized as failing to do their duty by an Allied Government. I thought it was quite likely that, if nationals of Allied countries resident in Canada were called up for home military service under the same conditions as British subjects, they would be given the option of enlisting for overseas service with their own military formations. It seemed likely that if Belgian residents in this country were confronted with these alternatives a good many of the men who had refused to respond to the original mobilization call would, in fact, elect to join the Belgian forces. I could not tell him what the Government would do in this matter or

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when it would do it, but I thought the prospects of action were good enough to justify him advising his Government to defer the action they had in mind until the situation had developed further.

Baron Silvercruys told me that the Belgian Ambassador in Washington had been instructed to approach the United States Government to ask if Belgian nationals called up under the United States Compulsory Service Act could be transferred to Belgian military formations.

I agree
I think communication should be adopted I ending of Belgium in Canada
Letter from com. Montgomery
8-1-42

Love R 9.1.42

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 354, pages C244354-C245096

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FILE: W.L.M. KING. C244522 January 8, 1942

or provincial & Colonial at time of Enquiry Year from Now

MY POSITION RE CONSCRIPTION - W. L. M. K.

WW II - Conscription ✓

(1) Statements prior ~~of~~ Canada's entry.

(2) Statement in Parliament at time of Canada's entry.

(3) General election, 1940 (during war).

Statements to public,

by all parties,

by all members of Government.

Govt. returned - (no conscription for overseas service).

(4) Statements in Parliament and press since.

---

(5) Introduction of conscription agitation,

(to force National Government).

(6) Trip to Western Canada

and statements on.

(7) Trip to England,

no reason to change.

(8) Since return -

Statements by Hanson, etc. -

"must not be a political issue". ← WW II

(9) Statement by self re selective service.

(10) Made a political issue by Meighen,

(statement re).

(11) Let Parliament decide -

(straight issue),

Meighen vs. King,

Government policy (no conscription),

re Opposition " (conscription)

(Conscription cannot be adopted unless country generally for

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 354, pages C244354-C245096

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FILE : W.L.M. KING. C244522 January 8, 1942

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(12) Alternatives:

(1) General election (out of question),

Govt. believes people satisfied with administration.

(2) Referendum -

Owing to changed conditions, there may be a changed opinion re conscription; there may not.

Referendum may take one of two forms:

(a) to remove restriction on National Mobilization Act,

(likely to be defeated, etc.)

(b) to give Govt. authority (it has power now) at its discretion if need arises to apply conscription at some time in future, to meet an emergent situation,

in other words, release govt. from any restrictions (express or implied in carrying on the war).

Note: (a) If carried, would probably lead to immediate conscription,

(b) if not carried, pressure would continue, might come up again as in Australia.

There (1st) - without Govt. direction,
later (2nd) - Govt. policy,
(Govt. resigns - takes office anew).

re(b) If not carried - would end matter. Ministers who not satisfied, to take responsibility and resign.

[redacted] If carried:
(i) would not lead to immediate conscription as govt. has declared, no need for.

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(ii) Might not lead to conscription at any time, as views of majority of Govt. would continue to govern, and probably govt. would find ways and means of holding together to prevent division in country which would destroy war effort,

(possibility: e.g., call up large numbers of men - mere possibility of its enforcement, would bring in necessary recruits).

(iii) Unless convinced of necessity and desirability, I would not agree to conscription;

(iv) I would, if majority thought otherwise, step aside, and ask Governor General to send for member of Ministry, whom I thought should lead the Govt., appointed to enforce conscription.

(v) I would do all in my power to assist Ministry,

either (a) outside Ministry as member of Parliament,

(b) as member of Ministry, (e.g. Secretary of State for External Affairs) depending upon

(i) if asked,

(ii) in other circumstances, dependent on what I have said to electorate in public or in Parliament;

(iii) on what the situation would preclude or demand.

(Government policy should announce intention to extend provisions of National Resources Mobilization Act to include service in Western Hemisphere - and referendum re giving power to extend its provisions without restriction re overseas).

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~~11.1.41~~
(JAN. 11, 1941)

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C244525

Mr. W. F. Nickle, K.C., telephoned from Kingston at 2.50 p.m.

He said he thought he ought to report to you the proceedings of a luncheon meeting held at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, yesterday.

On January 8th Mr. Nickle received a telegram inviting him to be present at a private luncheon of "a limited number of influential Canadians" to consider "an urgent matter of national importance". This telegram was sent over the names of J. Y. Murdock, F. W. Morrow, and C. L. Burton.

Some three hundred people, men and women, were present; Mr. Nickle describes them as "a fair cross-section of better-to-do Canadians, mostly from Ontario".

Mr. Burton was not present, because of illness; Mr. Morrow presided and read a prepared statement, stressing the necessity for "selective conscription" in Canada. The statement touched on the following questions:

Criticisms of administration;
Lack of leadership;
Too much done by Order-in-Council;
Parliament "negated".

Also in the statement was the text of a full-page advertisement intended to be published in every weekly newspaper in Ontario and every daily newspaper across the country. The purpose was said to be to "stir Parliament into activity". The statement concluded by insisting upon the policy outlined in this advertisement.

One of the clauses of the advertisement purports to say that regardless of any pledges which Members of Parliament had made to their constituents at the time of the general election, conditions had now changed radically and they (the M.P's) had an immediate mandate to urge a policy of conscription.

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It was intended that the names of persons attending the luncheon should be sent under the declaration as approving of it, and that the names should be published under the actual advertisement when it appeared.

Mr. Nickle said he would not do this. He was opposed to any idea that Members of Parliament could deviate from the mandate given them by their constituents.

This was followed (said Mr. Nickle) by an "oppressive silence".

Certain other persons (not named) spoke in favour of the declaration. Miss Agnes MacPhail objected, asking who was "paying for these advertisements". There was no other vocal opposition. Mr. Nickle said that he and Miss MacPhail had a talk afterwards. (No details given.)

In reporting these proceedings, Mr. Nickle said he could not bring himself to believe that there should be any deviation from the terms on which any M.P. was elected. He thought there ought to have been a broader critical spirit than was evident at this meeting; and he likewise felt he ought to report his reactions to the Prime Minister.

I thanked Mr. Nickle for telephoning, but made no comment other than that this report would be brought to the Prime Minister's attention at a convenient opportunity.

J. A. Gibson

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 354, pages C244354-C245096

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Revised Hansard
January 26, 1942
pp. ~~55~~, ~~55~~, ~~57~~.
46, 48, 50.

"While the government, in its policies, has sought a total effort, it has never ceased to believe that only by a united effort could total effort be achieved. In every step the government has taken from the moment the threat of war appeared on the European horizon, we have sought so to direct our policies and the course of public affairs that the country would remain united in its support of the national effort.

"Every hon. member of this house knows that, except for the assurance that, in the event of a European war, there would be no conscription for service overseas, this parliament would never have decided, in the immediate and unanimous manner in which it did, to stand at the side of Britain in the resistance of aggression, and the defence of freedom.

"If the issue of conscription for service overseas is to be fought out, the place for it to be fought out is on the floor of this parliament. If, however, members of the government and, indeed, members of this House of Commons generally, are to be free to express their views irrespective of any previous commitments, it is necessary that all members be released from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

"Quite apart from the controversy which has arisen, there are the strongest of reasons why the government should, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, subject only to its responsibility to parliament.

"The strongest of reasons why the government should be given a free hand to take, subject to its responsibility to parliament, any ccourse of action which it may believe to be necessary at a time of war is that the government itself alone can know all the circumstances and reasons which necessitate a particular course of action. These reasons cannot all be made public, linked as they are with the combined plans of other countries, with questions of military strategy, and the necessity of such matters being carefully concealed from the enemy."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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C244528

Statement respecting Government Policy on Conscription

Vancouver, B.C. - June 30, 1941:
This was repeated in House of Commons January 26, 1942 48
Revised Hansard p. ~~55~~.

The policy of the Government regarding conscription has been made abundantly clear. We have taken the position that every young man who is physically fit should be liable for military training and service in Canada for the defence of Canada. This policy is designed to provide our country with a second line of defence should the country be subject to direct attack. In the same way, Parliament has put at the disposal of the nation all the material resources of the country.

My colleagues and I have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the armed forces of Canada at sea, on land, and in the air - service which is undertaken in the cause of freedom - shall be freely undertaken.

Before war came, the Government gave a solemn pledge, in the event of war, we would follow that policy. When war came, the pledge was solemnly reaffirmed. At the general elections, during the war itself, it received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada. Indeed, no political party ventured to advocate conscription for overseas service.

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C244529

Churchill

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SPEAKER

In the United Kingdom House of Commons, on January 27th, 1942, Mr. Churchill asked for a vote of confidence.

He said, inter alia:

occasions which enable Congress from time to time in the life of any Government which comes

"Since my return to this country I have come to the conclusion that I must ask to be sustained by a Vote of Confidence from the House of Commons. This is a thoroughly normal, constitutional, democratic procedure. A debate on the War has been asked for. I have arranged it in the fullest and freest manner for three whole days. Any member will be free to say anything he thinks fit about or against the Administration or against the composition or personalities of the Government, to his heart's content, subject only to the reservation which the House is always so careful to observe about military secrets. Could you have anything freer than that? Could you have any higher expression of democracy than that? Very few other countries have institutions strong enough to sustain such a thing while they are fighting for their lives."

On January 28th, Mr. Atlee moved:

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re. Not necessarily conscription but Conscription of manpower

Re: Duration of the War and Manpower Policy

C244530

In discussions on the Speech

Unrevised Hansard
February 25, 1942
Page 908

Revised Hansard
Page 826

Govt. holding voluntary enlistment last

"For our program this year (1942), and up to March 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take."

June 10, 1942
Page 3516

Revised Hansard
Page 3234

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

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

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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C244531

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Re: Duration of the War and Manpower Policy

Revised Hansard
P. 826

Unrevised Hansard
February 25, 1942
Page 908

"For our program this year (1942), and up to March 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take."

June 10, 1942
Page 3515

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Revised Hansard
June 10, 1942
Page 3234

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Re: Government Decision based on
necessity and advisability
in certain eventualities

Unrevised Hansard
February 25, 1942
Page 918

Revised Hansard
Page 830

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

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

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Unrevised Hansard
February 25, 1942
p. 914

Revised Hansard
p. 832

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

Unrevised Hansard
March 2, 1942
p. 1036

"If release from those commitments is given by the electorate of Canada, the government will feel itself entirely free to consider the question of conscription on its merits in the light of all the circumstances existing at the time, to recommend its course to parliament, and to have parliament deal with the matter as it does with any other matter brought before it. There is no different attitude assumed with respect to this one question from that with regard to any other."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 354, pages C244354-C245096

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Unrevised Hansard
February 25, 1942
Pages 913-914

Excerpts not used in debate

Unrevised Hansard
Page 831-2

(Illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war.)

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

. . . . .

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

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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Unrevised Hansard
March 2, 1942
p. 1063

Revised Hansard
p. 970

..."if tomorrow it became necessary to exercise compulsion in the matter of protecting our shores to the extent of our armed forces going out in the Pacific beyond Queen Charlotte island, or to Alaska, or to Labrador or Newfoundland, I would not hesitate one moment in using the War Measures Act to see that conscription was enforced for that purpose were such a step necessary. That would not be violating the commitment made. The commitment was not made with respect to the protection of our own shores; it was made with respect to sending men overseas; everyone so understood it, and it was to that extent that the law and the fact was limited and that the government at the present time is limited."

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C244535A

POLICY OF THE GOVT

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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Statement respecting Government Policy on Conscription

Vancouver, B.C. - June 30, 1941:
This was repeated in House of Commons January 26, 1942,
Revised Hansard p.48; Unrevised Hansard p. 55.

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My colleagues and I have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the armed forces of Canada at sea, on land, and in the air - service which is undertaken in the cause of freedom - shall be freely undertaken.

Before war came, the Government gave a solemn pledge, in the event of war, we would follow that policy. When war came, the pledge was solemnly reaffirmed. At the general elections, during the war itself, it received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada. Indeed, no political party ventured to advocate conscription for overseas service.

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Unrevised Hansard
January 26, 1942
pp. 53, 55, 57.

Revised Hansard
p. 46, 48, 50

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"While the government, in its policies, has sought a total effort, it has never ceased to believe that only by a united effort could total effort be achieved. In every step the government has taken from the moment the

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threat of war appeared on the European horizon, we have sought so to direct our policies and the course of public affairs that the country would remain united in its support of the national effort.

"Every hon. member of this house knows that, except for the assurance that, in the event of a European war, there would be no conscription for service overseas, this parliament would never have decided, in the immediate and unanimous manner in which it did, to stand at the side of Britain in the resistance of aggression, and the defence of freedom. ' ' '

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"If the issue of conscription for service overseas is to be fought out, the place for it to be fought out is on the floor of this parliament. If, however, members of the government and, indeed, members of this House of

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Commons generally, are to be free to express their views irrespective of any previous commitments, it is necessary that all members be released from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

"Quite apart from the controversy which has arisen, there are the strongest of reasons why the government should, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, subject only to its responsibility to parliament.

' ' '

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"The strongest of reasons why the government should be given a free hand to take, subject to its responsibility to parliament, any ccourse of action which it may believe to be necessary at a time of war is that the government

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itself alone can know all the circumstances and reasons which necessitate a particular course of action. These reasons cannot all be made public, linked as they are with the combined plans of other countries, with questions of military strategy, and the necessity of such matters being carefully concealed from the enemy."

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Extract from broadcast
April 7, 1942

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

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

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

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

(See also: Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4328)

Revised Hansard p. 4013

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 354, pages C244354-C245096

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Unrevised Hansard
June 10, 1942
Page 3509

Revised Hansard
June 10, 1942
Page 3227

Government policy has always to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances.

The administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war.

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Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4319-4320

Revised Hansard
pp. 4006-4007

C244540

"In the present debate (July 7, 1942) there are two things which have been proven beyond all shadow of doubt. The first is that the use of the method of compulsion for raising men at any time up to the present, has not been necessary to obtain the men required for overseas service in any of the armed forces of Canada; in the air force, in the navy or in the army. The second is that the totality of Canada's war effort would not have been, in any particular, increased, through an extension of the principle of compulsion to service overseas. Indeed, by resulting dissension, it might have been considerably reduced.

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

"I mention these facts, also, to make perfectly clear that in asking, as is being done by the present bill, that, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, the government should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, the government is doing so not in response to political pressure or popular clamour in any part of the country..."

"I have no doubt whatever that the events of the war will more than justify the course which the government has thus far pursued, and is pursuing today. I know that the government's present course is already justified in the eyes of the very large majority of the citizens of Canada who have expressed the view that the government should have complete freedom in meeting the different situations of the war as they may arise. I believe that the wisdom of the government's course will become equally apparent to most, if not to all, of those who have been unwilling, or still hesitate to trust the administration with so wide a measure of discretion."

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 354, pages C244354-C245096

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4319-4320

Revised Hansard
pp. 4006-4007

C244540

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"I mention these facts, also, to make perfectly clear that in asking, as is being done by the present bill, that, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, the government should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, the government is doing so not in response to political pressure or popular clamour in any part of the country..."

"I have no doubt whatever that the events of the war will more than justify the course which the government has thus far pursued, and is pursuing today. I know that the government's present course is already justified in the eyes of the very large majority of the citizens of Canada who have expressed the view that the government should have complete freedom in meeting the different situations of the war as they may arise. I believe that the wisdom of the government's course will become equally apparent to most, if not to all, of those who have been unwilling, or still hesitate to trust the administration with so wide a measure of discretion."

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Unrevised Hansard
November 12, 1941
p. 4672

Revised Hansard 1941
p. 4321

"So far as conscription stands for compulsory selective national service, that is a principle which this Government has embodied in its National Resources Mobilization Act passed at a previous session of this Parliament. As to how rapidly that principle should be applied and how far it should be extended is a matter which the Government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting them."

Note This was repeated in H. of C. Jan. 26, 1942
Unrevised Hansard, page 51; also Jan.27, 1942
p. 68

Revised Hansard pages, 59, 44

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Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4329

Revised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4015

C244542

"I am unable to indicate, at present, which procedure will be followed in the event of the government reaching the decision that it should have recourse to conscription for service overseas. That must depend upon the circumstances at the time. In a matter which relates to a future decision of the cabinet, and so immediately to the confidence which others may have in my judgment and my fidelity, I obviously can speak only for myself. No one can say what the course of the war will be, or what, at any time, conditions may be in our own or other countries. In seeking to free the government from one commitment, I do not wish to be drawn into making another. I wish, however, to leave no doubt in the mind of any hon. member that, if I am at the head of the administration when such a decision is reached, I shall ask to be assured of the confidence of the House of Commons before the government proceeds to enforce the decision.

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Unrevised Hansard
July 23, 1942
p. 4987

Revised Hansard
July 23, 1942
p. 4628

"I want to make perfectly sure at the present time that, so far as I am concerned, coming to this house for an expression of confidence at any time, undue time will not be consumed in debate. Hon. members will be given within a certain period of time, a chance to show where they stand and that will be a period of time which the people of this country will deem reasonable and sufficient for the purpose. I hope that is clear so that the country and hon. members will see there are not any delays whatsoever. Once the decision of the government is reached the government is going to proceed immediately and rapidly with the question of confidence and in carrying out to the full the intent and purpose of its decision."

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Unrevised Hansard
July 23, 1942
p. 4983

Revised Hansard
July 23, 1942
p. 4625

"In the matter of putting conscription for service overseas into force, should that become necessary, there will be no delay in conscripting or training men. Exactly the same number will be called up by exactly the same method, regardless of geographical sphere of service. If the supply of volunteers fails there will be no question of starting a new system; all that will be required will be to extend the scope of service of men already called up and trained. That is the answer to the question as to the effect of delay in putting this system into force."

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C244545

Unrevised Hansard
February 25, 1942
Pages 205-214
931 - 32

(Illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war.)

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

. . . . .

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

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Broadcasts from France

SFR/LF
April 4, 1942.

236

C244546

NOTE FOR MR. ROBERTSON

We have already accumulated a good deal of information about the content of the broadcasts being transmitted to Canada from Radio-Paris and from the radio station at Vichy. Miss Ouimet of Mr. Melancon's office is forwarding to me today the text of a further broadcast which is a continuation of the broadcast of March 21 advising Canadians that the vote on April 27 next is a vote on conscription and urging them therefore to vote "no" on the plebiscite.

It seems to me that two steps may be taken at this point:

(1) Consideration should be given to taking the matter of these broadcasts up with the French Minister here and asking that they be discontinued as an unwarranted interference in Canada's domestic affairs. In view of the circumstances it is probably doubtful that representations of this kind would produce any effective change in the radio policy of unoccupied France. At the same time it would indicate clearly to the French authorities our own attitude to these broadcasts.

(2) An early opportunity should be taken to use the material which has been emanating from enemy occupied territory in order to indicate to the Canadian public that many of the arguments now being used in opposition to the plebiscite have their origin in broadcasts sponsored or controlled by the enemy. This could be done either through the medium of the press (particularly the press in Quebec province)

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and also in the public speeches which are to be made by the Prime Minister and the other Cabinet Ministers beginning next week. In this connection Mr. Melancon told me that Mr. St. Laurent had expressed a great interest in this material and was I think planning to use it in one of his speeches. If this is the case there is no reason why, for example, the Prime Minister could not use the same material since he and Mr. St. Laurent will probably be speaking to different publics, and since the argument may well be strengthened by the force of repetition.

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SFR/PC
March 21, 194

Mr Pelletier

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

C244548

The following is a text of a transmission from the French Radio Station, Radio-Paris, which was broadcast on the evening of Saturday, March 21, over Station Radio-Paris by the Count de Gueydon. This broadcast was transcribed by the Department of Transport.

Ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience:

On the 27th of April next Canadians will again be called upon to vote on the principle of conscription. This question has had a truly remarkable persistence. It is not so long ago that you expressed your views on this issue. It was scarcely two years ago and the war was already in full progress, (March 26th 1940) - a cold and snowy day it was - demanding real courage on the part of voters to take themselves to the polling booths. Canada, when consulted, expressed its normal verdict: confidence in the Federal Government in its policy of collaboration with England, but a refusal to take the most grave step and to accept the idea of conscription. Two months before in January 1940, the Supreme Court had already, in a sense, proclaimed the complete independence of the country, granting to the Canadian Parliament the right to abolish appeals to the Privy Council in judicial controversies. The Canadian legislature is no longer bound by any tie, even in theory, in respect of London. At a time when certain people would wish to subordinate France to the leadership of the City. This emancipation of our brothers across the seas was followed with the closest attention and with whole-hearted sympathy. By its manly and prudent attitude, in its calm and serenity, the Canadian nation gave us what our better newspapers have justly called ---- the Canadian example.

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At this time the American Catholic review "Commonweal" of the 5th April, 1940, wrote: "The victory of Mackenzie King coming after that of the liberals in Quebec indicates that the Canadian voters wish to keep all their bargaining powers with the Empire and to remain wholly independent."

Two years have passed since the people were consulted and serious developments have taken place. In these trying times, Canada remains the centre point towards which many appetites converge. Thus Mr. Winston Churchill came to Ottawa to confer with Mr. Mackenzie King/ Indeed the difficulties facing Australia, the serious trouble in India, the revolution against Bolshevik tendencies which had just burst forth in Iran, putting to flight all those who had transacted with the Soviets provide a serious ground for reflection for all those who regard with fear the growing Jewish-Marxist danger for the Anglo-Saxon countries. The growth of opposition led by people like Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Duplessis who proved to be men of order and authority whatever the views of the critics who creep into every political struggle, the general respect which surrounds the personality of Mr. Godbout, the effects remain that Mr. Manion and his aides are to us a sure guarantee of the result of the vote which will reinforce Canadian independence which has been obtained and safeguarded by numerous and constant sacrifices.

We know the loyalty which enflames the province of Ontario to fly to the aid of England. The experience of Mr. Hepburn, his background, the energy which he has used both to resist the demands of the great capitalist trusts and to evict the marxistleaders who were seeking to organize subversive propaganda, certainly do not place him among the admirers of Mr. Stafford Cripps.

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In particular the French population of the province of Quebec fully realizes that its greatest asset lies in its young men. The French population cannot forget that from century to century they have maintained their language, preserved their religion, re-conquered their liberty, thanks only to many generations of lively and growing young French Canadians. Without that, French Canadians would have been submerged like the French state of Louisiana.

From Paris we follow with the attention and affection that France bears to its brothers across the sea, a vote whose result in both the political and economic field will serve to increase and strengthen the power and independence of Canada.

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C244551

Hon. R.B. Hanson - Leader of the Opposition

National Broadcast - April 20, 1942.

"This Plebiscite is simply to give to the Government and Mr. King release from a commitment not to enlist men for overseas service by compulsory methods. That, primarily is the only issue involved. Emphatically, it is not, in this specific vote, an issue for or against compulsory service for overseas. It is merely a vote to release, or refuse to release, Mr. King from a pre-election pledge."

.....

"You are not called upon, by this Plebiscite, to declare for or against conscription for overseas service. That may come; it does not follow from this plebiscite."

.....

"The only question involved is whether the Government shall be free to follow any policy it may deem necessary in the future."

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(1)

TORONTO DAILY STAR

C244552

SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1942.

ARCHBISHOP TELLS VOTERS OF THEIR DUTIES ON MONDAY

Declares Government Cannot Function if Not Given Freedom of Action

GRAVE OBLIGATION

His Grace the Archbishop of Toromto, Most Rev. J. C. McGuigan, has issued the following statement on the plebiscite for the guidance of the Catholic people of the archdiocese:

The problems besetting our national government in this momentous hour of Canada's destiny demand that every citizen discharge the obligation of casting his or her ballot. I earnestly ask every Catholic man and woman of the Arch-diocese of Toronto to fulfill what I believe and officially declare to be a most solemn duty. I ask the clergy to remind the faithfull at every mass tomorrow of their grave civic obligation in this matter. All must be willing to make a sacrifice in order to discharge this duty which is fraught with the gravest consequences affecting the very life and liberty of Canada.

All Catholics know well that it is against the traditional policy of the church for her spiritual leaders to direct them in their personal individual responsibility of voting. This is fundamentally a matter of conscience. While personally respecting this wise tradition, I wish, however, to point out certain principles which flow from our Catholic teaching on legitimately constituted authority and our sacred duties thereto.

First: While in our form of responsible government, our national leaders assume office by the free will of the people whom they govern, the authority which they exercise has its origin in God. "There is no power but from God and those that are ordained of God" (Rom XIII, 1). Consequently from religious not less than patriotic motives our duty is clear; to serve our country in every possible way and, if necessary at the cost even of the supreme sacrifice under the guidance of lawfully constituted authority.

Second: In a momentous crisis such as the present, our government has a sacred claim upon our respect, our loyalty and our confidence. This is no time for vacillating faith or weak loyalties. It is evident that the government cannot adequately fulfill its high functions and shoulder the tremendous responsibilities and burdens of war which we as a free people have imposed upon it if it is refused a freedom of decision which it declares necessary to the safety of the country.

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No sensible and patriotic Canadian can contemplate without horror the civic paralysis that would afflict this country in war-time, if the government was refused the power to govern effectively.

It is now abundantly clear that the efficacy of our war effort and the security of our homes and sacred altars require that our government and parliament should have the fullest liberty to study and adopt whatever measures they deem necessary for our national safety and for the victory of the United Nations. Christ Himself declared, "Render under Caesar the things that are Caesar's." While thus giving to lawfully constituted authority the loyalty and confidence necessary at the present time, we need not and must not forget to render unto God the things that are God's.

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Secret

SUGGESTED PROGRAMME

May 1, 1942.

1. Introduce a Bill to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

2. Said Bill to repeal Section 3 of said Act.

3. Declaration of policy by Prime Minister that in the opinion of the Government compulsory service for overseas is not considered necessary at the present time, and that except for essential reinforcements very definite consideration must be given to the number of men to be required for national necessities in Canada.

4. Question of policy to be decided.

Should the declaration of the Prime Minister state that before definite action is taken in regard to sending troops to other continents --

(a) they might in the first place be sent to places such as Iceland, Newfoundland, Bermuda, or anywhere on this continent;

(b) that Parliament would be asked specifically for authority to send our forces to other continents.

5. That a declaration be made by the Prime Minister that before troops should be sent to other continents by compulsion, the Government should proceed further with measures for the conscription of wealth -- such measures to involve - (subject to study by Finance Department) --

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C244553

Secret

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4. Question of policy to be decided.

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(i) Further increase of Excess Profits Tax;

(ii) A capital levy;

(iii) Compulsory investment of savings. with Certificates.

(See declaration of Laurier, Graham, Pardee, Guthrie, in 1917.)

/Acc.

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CONSCRIPTION OF WEALTH.

Laurier - Page 2397:

"There is in all the provinces of the Dominion at the present moment, amongst the working classes, an opposition to this measure which is not wavering, but which is becoming stronger every day. We all know that resolution after resolution is being passed by organized labour and associations, not only in one province, but in all the provinces of the Dominion, from British Columbia, on the Pacific to the provinces washed by the Atlantic. It is asked why the labouring classes should be opposed to conscription. It has been asked if they were less patriotic than the other classes of the community. No, they are not less patriotic. They have as much at heart the success of our cause as have any other, but it must be remembered that there are no classes of the community upon which the sacrifices, which are involved in war, fall so heavily as upon the labouring classes. This is the reason why I shall ask the Parliament of Canada to take some further step, to which I will allude in a moment, before such a measure is enacted. ....

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Laurier - Pages 2397-8: cont'd.

"I repeat what I said a moment ago, that the sacrifices and hardships of the war fall most heavily upon the working classes. The wealthy young man who goes to war is a hero. He goes to war and sacrifices his life at a time, perhaps, when life has the greatest attractions. In this he is not on a different footing from his poor neighbour, who sacrifices his life, and to whom life is just as dear as to the man who happens to be wealthy. If he loses his limbs, or is crippled in any way, the wealthy man comes to a home in which he will find every comfort, but the poor man has to go to a home where he cannot have comforts, since because of his physical infirmity, he can no longer earn his living. It is no wonder that among these classes there should be opposition to the scheme, not because they are less patriotic, but because they feel that if they are to be conscripted, and called upon to pay that tribute with the rest of the community, at least certain things should be done which would somewhat equalize matters. And what do they ask ? They ask that if they are to be called upon to give their blood, the wealthy class should, at least, give their wealth in support of the cause."

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Mr. Hugh Guthrie - Page 2453

"Conscription, to my mind, involves the taking of more than manhood, more than flesh and blood.

I would vote to withhold the operation of this Bill unless the Government is prepared to go further, and, during the present session, bring in concurrent legislation which would operate as a conscriptive measure upon the wealth and resources of Canada in general for the purposes of this war. This is a matter which, I think, touches my heart almost as much as any phase of the war. I do not like to feel that we, in this Parliament, think lightly of the flesh and blood of the people of Canada, and think highly of the accumulated wealth of the country, and that we will touch the one and dare not touch the other. May it never be said in Canada, or of Canada, in the words of the late Thomas Hood, the English poet:

'Oh God, that wealth should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap.'

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Mr. Hugh Guthrie - Page 2453 cont'd.

"I believe the people of Canada, when they speak of conscription in the meetings which have been held, where they have applauded the doctrine of conscription, meant something different from the conscription provided in this Bill. I believe, in the minds of the people, conscription of wealth, conscription of industry, and of resources, are included, and I trust that, during the present session, the Government will take steps to bring in concurrent legislation, more appropriately, no doubt, embodied in another Bill, which will let the people see that flesh and blood are not lightly held, and that wealth is not lightly exempt. I can place before myself the picture that any hon. member in this House can conjure up, if he so desires, of the man over military age, snugly settled in his own household, checking up his profit ledger, his stocks, bonds, debentures, mortgages and other investments, knowing that he has nothing very much at stake in the war at the present time, agreeing readily that the youth of Canada shall go to the front, and shall fight our battles, and that, so far, he has been practically exempt from any burdens of the war."

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Mr. Hugh Guthrie - Page 2454:

"I cannot understand why so able a man as the Minister of Finance of Canada has, from year to year, postponed this question of taxing wealth. He has taxed the industries. He has clipped the manufacturers' profits, rightly or wrongly. He has taxed munition profits, and I believe they can bear more taxation. Why he cannot adopt that system of righteousness and equality in regard to the income of the rich man, I cannot understand."

....."He has procrastinated, and given reasons, which satisfy him, apparently, why the wealth of the country should not be taxed, but the time is coming when the people will imagine certain influences are behind the Minister, unless he takes action. I trust that he will do so this session. If the Government will combine the conscription of wealth and resources of the country with the conscription of men for the firing line, I believe they will be backed, almost from one end of the Dominion of Canada to the other."

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Mr. Lemieux - Page 2469.

"Before conscription of manpower, the least the Government should do is to enact a Bill for conscription of the accumulated wealth in this country. There are shocking inequalities in the various taxation measures which have been voted by this House since the beginning of the war, and can we ignore the circumstance that the cost of living in this country is abnormally high today?

Page 2470. ...."By this Conscription Bill you confiscate the liberty of the subject, and yet by ignoring the accumulated wealth of the country, you release that wealth from the obligation it owes to the country in which it has been made. Not only does the Government, in this drastic measure, ignore in a friendly way the accumulated wealth of the country, but the Government, in the course of this session and of the preceding session, have practically created in Canada, on account of the war, what I will call a bonded aristocracy.

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Mr. Lemieux - Page 2470.

"I am told that the great financial institutions, the large investors, the millionaires, have exchanged their securities for Canadian bonds, and for what reason? Because, under the legislation passed by this Government, through this eminently able Minister of Finance, those bonds are exempt from all taxation, and thus of the remaining wealth little will be left to develop the resources of this country after the war. The Minister of Finance will have to come yet to an income tax, but the clippings will be very few on the coupons of the wealthy, as they will have been exchanged for war bonds of the Canadian Government. Again, I say that before enacting a law for the conscription of manpower, it is the duty of the Government to first enact a law for the conscription of accumulated wealth in Canada. If Brown, or Jones, or Smith must be conscripted as regards his blood, the least we can expect is that the plutocrats and the war profiteers should be conscripted as regards their accumulated wealth."

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F.F. Pardee - Page 2528: Cont'd

"I would say to the Government, earnestly and sincerely, that when today we are here voting for the conscription of men, we should also conscript other resources of the people of Canada. This Government and this Parliament will be accused, and rightly accused, if we bring not forth further conscription of wealth and of resources. It must not be said that we, sitting here calmly in our places in this chamber, are willing and content, by a mere yea or nay, to spill the blood of the youth of Canada, but that we are afraid to spill the rich man's money. I may be told that there has been part conscription of wealth today, by reason of the business tax, but I do not think the pocket of the rich man in this country has yet been touched."

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W W II - Conscription ✓
W W II - Conscription of Wealth ✓

C244563

House of Commons
Canada

Ottawa, Ontario.

May 1st, 1942.

Memo for the Prime Minister from Gray Turgeon.

I recommend that:

1. As soon as the soldier vote is announced (and before a Liberal caucus is held) you make a statement that the Government is now released from any pledges restricting the method of raising soldiers.

2. You make a further statement that, in view of the developments of the war in the Pacific and the Atlantic ocean, you intend to ask Parliament to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act in such manner as to permit the calling up of men to serve in any part of the American continent for the defence of Canada, and to serve in Iceland and Siberia if necessary.

I feel certain that compulsory service for the American continent would be accepted by a large majority of our Quebec Members, and that it would satisfy most of our English-speaking Members.

Personally, I should prefer the Government to:

1. Secure Parliamentary sanction for enlistment of men for our armed forces in any manner and at whatever times the Government may see fit.

2. Announce immediately afterwards the calling of men for service in the American continent and in Iceland.

3. State that conscription for overseas service and of wealth will be dealt with when the need arises.

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Memo for the Prime Minister from Gray Turgeon

This would leave overseas conscription entirely in the hands of yourself and your colleagues. If coupled more or less officially with conscription of wealth, the zeal of some of the most ardent supporters of conscription of men for overseas service might be considerably weakened.

I fear, however, that 75% of the Quebec Members would probably vote against sanctioning conscription of men for overseas service, even if its application were deferred and left in the Government's hands.

Gray Turgeon GRAY TURGEON

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C244565

The Composition of the Canadian Army

There is only one Canadian army. The Canadian Army is divided into the Canadian Army (Active) and the Canadian Army (Reserve).

The active army includes two categories of men. The first category is composed of the men who have volunteered and been accepted for active service anywhere in the world. The fact that a man has enlisted for service anywhere does not necessarily mean that he is serving or will ever serve outside Canada. It means that he can be sent to serve anywhere at the discretion of the government.

The second category of men in the active army includes the young men who have been called up for compulsory military training under the National Resources Mobilization Act and retained for military service for the duration of the war. These men are full-time soldiers on active service, but their service is limited to Canadian territory and territorial waters by Section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The reserve army also includes two categories of men.

What we usually think of as the reserve army is what was formerly called the non-permanent active militia. It is composed of men who have volunteered for part time military training with the various reserve units

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throughout the country. These men are continuing in their civilian occupations, but are liable to call for full-time active duty in case of emergency.

The second category of men in the reserve army includes the young men who were called up in 1940 for thirty days of compulsory military training under the National Resources Mobilization Act. At the end of their training period these men were attached to reserve units as a part of the reserve army. Their number is steadily diminishing as they are being called back, in considerable numbers, month by month, for additional compulsory training and subsequently for compulsory military service for the duration of the war.

The home defence forces on active service are composed in part of volunteers enlisted for service anywhere in the world and in part of young men called up for compulsory military service which is, by law, at present restricted to Canada.

It has been the policy of the government, as far as possible, to replace the volunteers on active defence duties in Canada by men engaged in compulsory service, in order to free the volunteers for service elsewhere. The application of this policy can be extended as soon as it becomes legally possible to send men engaged

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in compulsory service to Newfoundland, Labrador, the United States and Alaska.

(N.B.: This statement has been checked with the Adjutant General; see copy of his memorandum attached.)

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C244568

MEMORANDUM

To: THE MINISTER

Department of National Defence
H.Q.
OTTAWA, 7th April, 1942.

Summary

1. There is only one Canadian Army.

2. The Canadian Army is divided into two main categories:

(a) The Canadian Army (Active).

(b) The Canadian Army (Reserve).

Active Army

3. All formations and personnel who serve full time are classified as Active. Although some soldiers of the Active Army have volunteered to serve anywhere, whereas others are liable to serve in Canada only, the fact remains that they are all Active soldiers.

4. Therefore, the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth Canadian Division units, etc., are part of the Canadian Army (Active).

5. For purposes of distinction, that major portion of the Canadian Army serving in the United Kingdom is designated the Canadian Army (Overseas). Other smaller overseas formations are known as "W", "Y", "Z", etc., Forces.

Reserve Army

6. All personnel, units and formations who do not serve full time are known as the Canadian Army (Reserve).

Nomenclature

7. Owing to different methods having been employed from time to time to obtain men for service in the Army; a multiplicity of qualifying nomenclature has developed, i.e.- "R Recruit", "Members H.D.", "A Recruit", "Volunteer", etc., etc. The fact remains, however, that there is legally only one class of man in the Army and he should rightly be called by only one term, namely "soldier", and it is my intention to see to it that such term is brought into general use at the earliest possible moment.

..... 2/

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It will not be possible to do this overnight, nor will it be possible in regulations, documents, etc., to entirely eliminate certain qualifying terms, e.g.- "Soldier (Active)", "Soldier (Reserve)", "Soldier (N.R.M.A.)", as long as we have different conditions of service in the Canadian Army. Nor do I think it desirable to attempt any revision of the Reserve Army (Special) Regulations until after the result of the plebiscite is known and the possible changes which this result may bring about have been considered.

8. However, instructions have already been issued to the effect that all men serving in the Canadian Army are to be treated alike and without distinction. To implement this policy, I have issued orders to-day that Officers Commanding may, if they deem advisable, promote personnel called to service under N.R.M.A. regulations to acting rank as N.C.O's.

(Sgd) H.F.G. Letson,
Major-General,
Adjutant-General.

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Re power to amend sec 3 Confederation Act
May 7

We are asking Parliament to give to the Government, by removal of a statutory restriction, the same freedom of decision and action with respect to the method of raising men for military service overseas as the people of Canada have said they desired the government to possess.

The government will ask that this freedom be obtained by the deletion of Section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act.

As to how rapidly ~~the principle of~~ compulsory service from overseas should ~~continue to be~~ be applied, and how far it should be extended is a matter which the government itself will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of Canada's war effort and the position of the country in meeting them, and in full recognition of its responsibility to Parliament.

Council. May 7th 1942
(Changes: Mr. Mundy & Mr. Lapointe
to read as Council

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Confidential bill re amendment
Copy sent to Clerk of Privy Council 7 Nov 42

C244572

GOVERNMENT NOTICE OF MOTION

THE PRIME MINISTER - On next -

In Committee of the Whole - the following

Resolution:—

RESOLVED, That it is expedient to amend The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, by removing from the said Act, the limitation with respect to service in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof.

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C244573

MAY 8 1942

Third Session, Nineteenth Parliament, 6 George VI, 1942.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA.

BILL .

An Act to amend The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

First reading, May 1942.

THE PRIME MINISTER.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
52382 1942

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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C244574

3rd Session, 19th Parliament, 6 George VI, 1942.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA.

BILL .

An Act to amend The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

1940, c. 13.

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as *The National Resources Mobilization Act Amendment Act, 1942.*

2. Section two of *The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940*, chapter thirteen of the Statutes of 1940, is repealed and the following substituted therefor:—

Special powers of the Governor in Council.

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

Limitation in respect of service overseas.

3. Section three of the said Act is repealed and sections four, five and six are renumbered three, four and five respectively.

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C244575

Explanatory Notes.

1. The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, is chapter 13 of the statutes of 1940 and was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940.

2. The only change in section two consists in leaving out the words "Subject to the provisions of section three hereof" in the first line of the section as it stands at present. This is a consequential amendment as the purpose of the next section of the Bill is to repeal section three of the Act of 1940.

3. The section to be repealed at present reads as follows:—

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

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C244576

MAY 8. 1942

Third Session, Nineteenth Parliament, 6 George VI, 1942.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA.

BILL

An Act to amend The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

First reading, May 1942.

THE PRIME MINISTER.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
52382 1942

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C244577

3rd Session, 19th Parliament, 6 George VI, 1942.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA.

BILL .

An Act to amend The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

1940, c. 13.

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

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EXPLANATORY NOTES.

1. The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, is chapter 13 of the statutes of 1940 and was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940.

2. The only change in section two consists in leaving out the words "Subject to the provisions of section three hereof" in the first line of the section as it stands at present. This is a consequential amendment as the purpose of the next section of the Bill is to repeal section three of the Act of 1940.

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C244579

MAY 8 1942

C244579

Third Session, Nineteenth Parliament, 6 George VI, 1942.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA.

BILL

An Act to amend The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

First reading, May 1942.

THE PRIME MINISTER.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
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C244580

3rd Session, 19th Parliament, 6 George VI, 1942.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA.

BILL .

An Act to amend The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

1940, c. 13.

HIS Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as *The National Resources Mobilization Act Amendment Act, 1942.*

Special powers of the Governor in Council.

2. Section two of *The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940,* chapter thirteen of the statutes of 1940, is amended by striking out in the first line thereof the words "Subject to the provisions of section three hereof".

Limitation in respect of service overseas.

3. Section three of the said Act is repealed and sections four, five and six are renumbered three, four and five respectively.

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C244581

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

1. The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, is chapter 13 of the statutes of 1940 and was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940.

2. The only change in section two consists in striking out the words "Subject to the provisions of section three hereof" in the first line of the section as it stands at present. This is a consequential amendment as the purpose of the next section of the Bill is to repeal section three of the Act of 1940.

3. The section to be repealed at present reads as follows:—

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

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Notes of Speech May 18th 42

Difficult times - our share of difficulties

Time to settle things

Thanks to supporters

C244582

a debt was owing to them.

appreciate their difficulties
and seek to help them
not to accentuate differences

The Plebiscite -- Total war for Total effort

situation at time

The 200 in Toronto

by-elections, Meighen

Parliament divided - conscription vs.
no conscription

Government unable to speak

Plebiscite justified

reveals conditions have to deal with

Overseas has disappeared -- universal war

inventions of science -- bombing planes,
submarines, etc.

Life ransom for many
(soldiers, sailors, airmen)

Am I worth dying for?

Re stages - Why now?

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Bill same purpose as plebiscite

To remove restriction eyes of world

To get good will of U.S. etc.

Note sinking in St. Lawrence

Need of education

Get voluntary enlistments --
1) speak to those who want to force conscription --
if it can be avoided

two races warring

2) speak to those who won't have conscription, when and if necessary

"ransom for many"

Writing the history of Canada of each of its provinces

each member the history of his own life

Record of names on Hansard will be read not in light of political situation at moment but of the position of the world at the end of the war,

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SECRET

C244584 236

Memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Re: Reference to Parliament before conscription for Overseas Service is applied.

The Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the C.C.F. would appear to have provided the strongest possible argument for securing the backing of Parliament before there is any resort to conscription for overseas service.

Attached are the extracts from Hansard of May 28th in which Mr. Hanson demanded that the war service regulations be submitted to Parliament and Mr. Coldwell supported him.

If there is a case for securing Parliamentary endorsement for the detailed regulations, there is surely by the same token a much stronger case for Parliamentary endorsement of a sweeping extension of the application of the regulations.

J. W. P.

May 30, 1940?

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C244585

Unrevised Hansard
May 28th, 1942,
Pages 2414-2415

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): —I should like to say a word on the revision of the regulations, if the minister will pardon me. When the Military Service Act of 1917 was brought down, the plan, the *modus operandi*, the method by which the draft was to take place, was submitted to parliament, where it underwent thorough revision by the representatives of the people. Does the minister not think that is the democratic way in which this should be done? I suggest to him that the methods by which men shall be drafted into the army under a compulsory system, such as is now in force in this country to a limited degree, could and should be brought into the House of Commons, where the representatives of the people could have something to say about these regulations; how they shall be prepared; how they shall be put into effect, and be given a chance to criticize their operation.

What happens now? A departmental committee, as the minister has indicated, drafts a regulation, which is adopted by order in council and becomes an accomplished fact before we know anything about it. Take this vexed question of farmers' sons. Under the regulations as adopted by order in council, until a comparatively recent date it was impossible to get anything in the way of exemption for a farmer's son.

Mr. THORSON: Oh, no.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I used the word "exemption" advisedly. It was possible to get a postponement for a limited period of time, and perhaps several postponements, but anything in the nature of a complete exemption was impossible. I illustrate that by the case of a young man who was an only son, whose father had died, who was milking thirty cows, and who was called up in the draft. That was in the days of the thirty-day training period. He and his mother came to see me. I explained that he could get a postponement and probably a certain number of postponements, but that he could not get indefinite postponement. I advised him, if he could possibly hire anyone to do the work, to take his thirty-day training in the winter season rather than depend on getting further postponements later on. He took his training. I do not know whether he has been called up again, but that is the case of a boy who was producing food of high quality and value. If he had been called up under the present draft system, his mother would have had to simply fold up; she could not possibly carry on. That was one of the iniquities of a system adopted secretly by order in council, without the representatives of the people having a single word to say about it.

That system is wrong. Any regulations having to do with the drafting of men ought to be brought by the administration to parliament. Let parliament take the responsibility; let parliament pass upon such regulations. The whole theory of doing these things by order in council is wrong. I put myself in the judgment of members of this house if I am not right in that statement, and whether in their secret hearts they will not support me in that position. I am sure I am right about this. I am as anxious to see a complete, all-out war effort as any man in this house, and I have been consistent in that regard right along. But I realize that we cannot take every man for the army. Every man should go to his place, and his place is conditioned by circumstances. But to say that a group of officers or officials here in Ottawa can sit round a table and frame a system of regulations, and that we cannot do that here in this house—well, it is just common nonsense; that is all. More than that, there is a great principle at stake here. The drafting of men for military service is a very important operation, which ought not to be left in the hands of a group of officials who are not responsible to the people. That is a sound principle I am laying down. It must and should be done in a democratic country like Canada under a system whereby these regulations before they become law shall be drafted as the basis of discussion, and brought before parliament.

What happened in 1917? They were brought before parliament in that year; and if hon. members will look at *Hansard* for those days they will see that those regulations were debated and revised and improved, and that many valuable suggestions came from the membership of the House of Commons before the regulations were finally put into operation. That is the course I ask this government to pursue, not only in the revision of regulations, as they stand to-day, but in any future regulations which may be enacted as the result of legislation at present pending before this house.

I put it up to the House of Commons tonight, that this drafting of regulations for the conscription of man-power by the government of this country—and we have conscription by this government; not quite full yet, but that will come—should be done by a democratic body, like the House of Commons, and should not be done in the secrecy either

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of a caucus or of cabinet council. I defy anybody successfully to combat that theory. So far as I am concerned I want these regulations, before they have the force of law, to be submitted to the House of Commons for discussion; and we will look into them, even if it takes the whole summer to do it. We will very soon see that something like justice is done to all classes in the community, and that there will be equality in service, so far as manpower is concerned. I do not think we can get the same measure of equality if this sort of thing is done secretly by order in council; and I object to such a method.

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C244587

Unrevised Hansard
May 28th, 1942,
Pages 3115-3116

Mr. COLDWELL: I should like to support the leader of the opposition in what he has just said. The last time the minister was before the committee we had a very long discussion regarding the regulations, and an interpretation of the Prime Minister's remarks, I believe of March 24, and of the order in council of March 21. Since then I have gone over *Hansard* very carefully, and I must confess I am at a loss to understand exactly what the position is, and what these regulations mean.

I am more confused because the hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) speaking in French in this chamber, and therefore not followed by some of us who have only a slight knowledge of the French language, stated that he had with him what he called a communique given by the minister on April 17; and at that time the hon. member quoted from the French text. The translation appears at page 2762 of *Hansard,* and I should like to place it on record. It is as follows:

When the applicant has shown that he is a person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture within the meaning of the amended regulations, it is mandatory upon the board, subject to the exceptions hereinafter mentioned, to grant the postponement order. Furthermore, the postponement order is until further notice and it constitutes an allocation of the applicant to agriculture rather than to military service.

Mr. STIRLING: Who signed that?

Mr. COLDWELL: The hon. member for Témiscouata said that he was quoting from a communique issued by the minister on April 17.

Mr. MacNICOL: The Minister of National War Services?

Mr. COLDWELL: Yes. I shall ask the minister in a moment or two to put that communique in English on *Hansard.*

Mr. THORSON: It is on *Hansard,* in full.

Mr. COLDWELL: At what page, may I ask?

Mr. THORSON: The first day I appeared before the committee.

Mr. COLDWELL: I was not able to find it, and I read *Hansard* carefully.

Mr. THORSON: May 11.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That was not the first day.

Mr. COLDWELL: In any event, it escaped my notice. I read *Hansard* fairly carefully, and I certainly read the debates of the day to which I have reference, May 18.

Mr. THORSON: I would refer the hon. member to page 2511.

Mr. COLDWELL: I shall look it up later. I say, however, that it is at variance with the practice which has been followed in other parts of Canada, particularly in Saskatchewan. I gave the minister the other day the facts concerning a case about which I knew nothing more than had been told to me—and which, if wrong, makes no difference to the argument. This was the case of a young man farming his own piece of land. His father was ill, and the young man was assisting his father to farm that land, with the stock thereon. He, like the young man the leader of the opposition advised, took his thirty days of training a year ago last January. He has been recalled, has applied for postponement, and has been refused. That, I suggest, is the practice that is being largely followed in Saskatchewan.

The view the minister gave the house the other afternoon certainly was that if a young man were wholly engaged in agriculture—like the young man to whom the leader of the opposition referred, and the one to whom I have just referred—it was mandatory that he be excused from military service. I think all hon. members in the chamber, with very few exceptions, agree that if we are going to have selective service—and I want selective service of more than man-power; I want selective service of industry and wealth as well—it should be on a basis which is just, fair and reasonable. As at present carried out it is none of these things.

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I remember very well taking up cases of a different type during the winter with the minister, and hearing the deputy minister say during a discussion as to what seemed to be reasonable, "The military authorities won't allow this; they won't agree to it." I said to the minister at the time, "Who is governing this country, the elected government or the military authorities?" In war time we have to give the military authorities a great deal of power; they ought to have it—but not power of this sort. The decision as to whether we are going to compel men to surrender their lives or their property in the interests of this dominion and of our war effort with the united nations is not the responsibility of the military authorities; it is the responsibility of this parliament. And I agree that under no circumstances should the government take unto itself powers that ought to lie in this chamber.

When we are dealing with the futures of the young men of this nation, this is the place where the decision should be taken, to the very last degree. I want to try, if I can, to understand exactly what these regulations are. If I may say so, in kindness to the minister, I wish he would give us a short and pithy statement. Let him tell us what he means, in a few words; because a long speech with all the "ands" and "ifs" and considerations—

Mr. MacNICOL: And the repetitions.

Mr. COLDWELL: Yes, the repetitions—is confusing.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): And the limitations.

Mr. COLDWELL: There is a difficulty I find sometimes in following the arguments of a man with a long legal training—

Mr. THORSON: And with a regard for precision.

Mr. COLDWELL: —and the minister is a lawyer with a high reputation. It has struck me sometimes that in the teaching of law it is perhaps necessary to give both aspects of a question to such an extent that in an endeavour to balance up the two sides the teacher cannot arrive at a decision as to what he really means himself. I ask the Minister of National War Services to depart from the position of teacher of law and to give us a clear and pithy statement as to exactly what these regulations mean in relation to the matters to which the leader of the opposition and I have referred.

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WWII - Conscription ✓

C244589

LETTER TO POLL CHAIRMEN - EDGAR LIBERAL ASSOCIATION
JUNE 1ST, 1942

June 1/42 Views of MPs on conscription K.

House of Commons
Canada

Just how serious the resignation of Hon. J.P.A.Cardin from the Cabinet will turn out to be is pure conjecture. Mr. Cardin and most of the Quebec Liberal Members toured their ridings and campaigned for a "Yes" vote from Quebec. They said Canada was on trial, Quebec was on trial. They went to considerable effort to make a strong case. Most of them said it would be equivalent to a vote of confidence in the Government. The Prime Minister's broadcast, however, nullified that argument. Mr. Cardin then put the case in the strongest way he knew how. Once before he and the late Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe used the same tactics and it worked. When Premier Duplessis of Quebec sprang an election in that Province two months after Canada had declared war and appealed to the electorate to return him to power and he would keep Quebec neutral in the war, Cardin and Lapointe staked their political existence on defeating Duplessis and succeeded. Their final shot was conclusive. Return Duplessis, they told Quebec, and they would resign from the Federal Government! The consequences of an un-represented Quebec in the Federal Cabinet struck home to the most illiterate habitant. Duplessis was thrown out. Lapointe is gone, but Cardin felt a crisis for Quebec was at hand. Again he told Quebec, vote "yes" on the Plebiscite or he would resign. Quebec's "no" was so decisive he was left no alternative to tendering his resignation.

The reasons why Quebec voted "no" are still obscure. Many were voting on conscription as they thought, and conscription in Quebec still raises recollections of the horrors of 1917 and the humiliation. "The Saturday Night" and other editorial columns carried articles by the pen of prominent French Canadians on the underlying issues. Probably only in the light of history will it be apparent why Quebec voted strongly "NO". It is well known that some French constituencies voted strongly "Yes". Also among the strongest advocates of conscription in Canada are French-Canadians.

Rumors have been rife in Ottawa that the Cabinet has been split right through on the issue of conscription, that there would soon be a union Government, and so on. Let me say at once that under our method of conducting modern warfare, it matters little who the Government is so long as it is a strong government. Governmental peace time policy has to be thrown to the winds. The advice of the Government's war-time specialists is going to govern. There is no escaping it. The Government only has all the facts, they and only they. Their's is the responsibility and their's the decision. But the Opposition is lying awake nights thinking of formulae which by way of amendment they can embarrass supporters in the eyes of their constituents. The Tories will try to embarrass Government supporters before their "yes" voters. The C.C.F. will endeavor to describe the military as the press gang or the inquisition, and embarrass Government supporters by picturing their lack of human consideration and their abasement to capital. So faced by embarrassment, private members may bolt here and there. It is not my purpose to prophecy how many or how deeply it will cut.

But until or if there is a cabinet cleft when several of the strongest men would leave the Government, I see no reason for an immediate break-up of the Government at this time. In it are well-known advocates, for instance, of conscription. There are none stronger. If in their estimation the time is ripe for conscription, then conscription it will be, or else they will find it impossible to work with their associates. Many old heads in Ottawa say when the Government falls, as all things eventually must, it will not be over conscription.

Meanwhile in these days, with their awful consequences, who can tell what will happen before this letter has been printed?

HWW/WL

H. W. WINKLER.

FILE H.W. WINKLER

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C244590

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, June 3, 41

Rt King

It wishes it is disturbed by press stories about letter see & his entitlements. The fuel last part the is a different light.

W.J.

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P. 12

THE OTTAWA JOURNAL

Says Ministers Will Quit Cabinet If Action Not Taken

Howard W. Winkler, Liberal M.P. for Lisgar, Man., was on record today with the belief that some members of the Mackenzie King government would quit the Cabinet if conscription for overseas service were not implemented when they thought the time was ripe for it.

Winkler, known here as a staunch Liberal who did not fear breaking with his party if he thought an issue demanded independent action, made the prediction in a letter to an official of the Lisgar Liberal Association.

There are advocates of conscription in the Cabinet who, "if in their estimation the time is ripe for conscription, then conscription it will be or else they find it impossible to work with their associates", he wrote.

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C244592

Fort Knox

Relation of Parliament to
(a) Its amendment
(b) Abrogation

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C244593

Relation of Plebiscite to Amendment and Conscription

The plebiscite

Why decided upon

Effort to identify total effort with conscription,

which is a method of raising men,

not with what is actually being done - results.

Meighen leadership - manifesto

The 200 Toronto "total war for total effort".

Two things stood in way of reply to this

false position

(1) the obligation arising out of pledges

(2) the section 3, National Mobilization Act

arising out of obligation.

Plebiscite to remove the restriction arising out of obligation.

Restriction was a moral one,

that has been removed.

There remains (to appearances) the legal one - in Section 3.

It does not exist in reality - as decision of Supreme Court gives full power to government under War Measures Act to take any step necessary to winning of war.

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Result of plebiscite

Not a vote for conscription

(see declarations of leaders)

A vote to free government from being bound by any past obligations.

Could not consider conscription on its merits before, Government is now free to discuss conscription on its merits.

Return to original purpose of plebiscite

To place Canada's war effort in its true light, not to identify total effort with conscription whether needed or not.

It is now in true light as to there no longer being any moral obstacle to adoption of any course if desired -

but not in true light as to there not being any legal obstacle - albeit a legal obstacle which is more apparent than real.

Government desires to remove this apparent but unreal obstacle.

Once removed those who seek to point to a moral or a legal obstacle to an all out effort, because of there being an apparent bar to conscription will no longer be able to do so.

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If conscription is not adopted it will be because it is unnecessary, or because its adoption, except where absolutely necessary, will do more harm than good.

Government's policy as to aim unchanged

It is a policy of total effort for total war to be achieved by the methods that will most effectively secure that end.

The method is National Selective Service applied in a manner calculated to produce the best results in the light of all existing circumstances.

Government's policy as to method

In all phases of war effort voluntary method preferable to compulsion,

Where desired results can be obtained thereby.

In re troops for overseas

Voluntary enlistment preferable to enlistment by compulsion. . Only where voluntary enlistment fails to meet needs of situation will compulsion be resorted to.

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Effect or result of removal of Section 3 upon govt. policy

I. To remove the false impressions that Canada's war effort is, or cannot be, an all out effort (because of this section) - a logical sequence to plebiscite.

It is not any mandate upon the government resulting from the plebiscite -

It is a step desired by the government itself in the interests of Canadian defence and effectiveness of Canada's war effort.

That step is to be in a position to move, as occasion may require, forces raised under the Mobilization Act, to certain parts of the North American hemisphere. This at present possible by Order in Council under War Measures Act, but not in accordance with government's policy to proceed in the light of its responsibility to Parliament, to amend an act of parliament by some authority (viz. parliament)

Effect (or result) of Amendment upon intended procedure in applying or extending application of compulsion

I. It will not alter existing procedure as to authority which is that of having all extensions made not by Ministerial order, but by order of the Governor in Council.

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II. It will not change existing procedure as to method of extending principle and which is that of proceeding as occasion and necessity require, e.g.

(1) to territorial limits as at present

(2) beyond territorial limits to specified areas in Northern hemisphere

(3) if necessary overseas.

Re overseas

Not contemplated as necessary for present program which is up to March 1943. (See Ralston's statement).

So far as it is possible to see at present - Government has not changed its views in this regard.

Amendment is not being asked because of any intention immediately to extend to overseas, any more than was the case with respect to the taking of the plebiscite.

As the result of the plebisicte gave government and parliament full power to discuss what was necessary and advisable, so government will now have powers (subject to its responsibility to parliament) to decide what is necessary and desirable - and to do this in light of all existing circumstances.

Re Existing circumstances

There can be no doubt that the result of the plebiscite has made plain an existing circumstance of which any government will have to take full account. The fact

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that one-third of the population of Canada was not prepared to free the government of an obligation, respecting the method of raising men for overseas service - obviously renders it necessary and desirable that the government shall strive harder than ever to make sure that the men necessary for overseas are found by some other method, i.e., voluntarily.

This means that the majority, minority and the government must all unite in seeking to preserve Canadian unity.

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June 2, 1942

C244599

It is the view of the government that, just ~~as~~ the people have decided that there should be no restriction upon freedom of discussion and decision by the government and parliament with respect to any aspect of Canada's war effort, so it is in the national interest, and in the interest of Canada's war effort that there should be no legal restriction and that ~~the restrictions with respect to the prosecution of the war~~ even the appearance of any legal restriction should be removed. This can be accomplished by the removal of the restrictive section of the National Resources Mobilization Act. The removal of this restriction will remove the last vestige of any limitation other than its responsibility to parliament upon the powers of the government with respect to the measures necessary to an all-out effort of Canada in the prosecution of the war. It will not, however, oblige the government to raise the men for service in the army overseas by the compulsory method, any more than it will oblige the government to raise the men for the navy or the air force by the compulsory, rather than the voluntary method. So long as satisfactory results are obtained from the voluntary system, the voluntary method will continue to be employed for raising men for the army overseas, because the government believes a successful voluntary effort will enable Canada to make a more effective war effort. If the time should come when the government believes it is best for Canada and Canada's war effort to employ overseas those who may be

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called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act, ~~Parliament will be so informed, and members will be afforded an opportunity to record their views.~~

It is, however, the intention of the government to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ as from time to time may ~~xxxxxx~~ seem necessary, ~~xxxxx~~ to extend to other parts of the northern half of this hemisphere, the scope and _____ of the service of the men called up for compulsory military service, and to do so at once. It is believed that this is essential, for military reasons, to a more effective war effort.

That remains the policy of the government. How rapidly compulsion will be applied, and how far its use will be extended, the government must decide and will decide in the light of all its knowledge with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting those needs.

The Minister of National Defence has repeatedly shown that conscription for overseas service is not needed at the present time, to fulfill the requirements of Canada's total balanced war effort. It has time and again been made plain that as long as voluntary enlistments continued to meet the requirement of the war effort, the voluntary method of enlisting men for overseas service would be maintained.

If the voluntary system fails to meet the

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To have asked parliament to grant this power to the government before the plebiscite was held and its results known, would have been to court and to encounter the objection that the government because of past pledges and promises, was not free, without violating a moral obligation, to introduce such a measure, and that most honourable members, for a like reason, did not regard themselves as free even to discuss it. That restriction upon freedom of discussion and action by parliament no longer exists. To obtain that freedom of discussion and action by the government and by members of parliament was a main purpose of the plebiscite, as the ensuring of ~~conferr~~ freedom of discussion and action by the government and parliament, was one of its main results. The plebiscite itself did not confer any new powers upon the Executive. Much less was it in the nature of a

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mandate upon parliament to confer such powers. It gave freedom not mandates. It gave to all concerned perfect freedom to discuss upon its merits the whole question of the method to be adopted in the enlistment of men in the military forces of Canada for overseas service. This is something that was not possessed before.

In the plebiscite, the people expressed the opinion that the government should be released from any restriction, should, in other words, be given a free hand. That power of freedom to decide and act was not given to the government by the plebiscite. By the answers given in the plebiscite, the people clearly expressed the view that only the government should have that power. That expression of opinion did not of itself give any power. The only power given by the plebiscite was the power freed of all moral obligations for the government to introduce and parliament to debate, untrammelled and unrestricted by any past commitments, such power as may be conferred by parliament. The power sought is expressed by the amendment. The amendment will effect in law what the plebiscite as an expression of opinion indicated the people felt should exist, namely, freedom to the Governor in Council to take, without restriction of any kind, subject of course to the responsibility to parliament, such action as, at a time of war, in its best judgment, as the defence of Canada ~~the~~ and the prosecution of the war rendered necessary and expedient.

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C244603

Bring in
in dealing with
the French views
(Memorandum dictated

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especially if all stats needed for over seas
can be [illegible] for anywhere in the
world - such a diff order

C244604

Unless we really need conscription
should need it increasingly as we
become short - for defence
for industries, etc. (with overseas
all we need are there

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C244605

Re Responsibility - Laurier's

also Sermon 2 Nov.

for typ

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June 3, 1942, W.L.M.K.

See Nov't Pol's
Read release

Outline of Speech

C244606

The Basis

The Plebiscite

3 aims

(1) make possible discussion of conscription on its merits;

(2) make possible extension of mobilized forces beyond the boundaries of Canada;

(3) remove possiblity of statement that Canada's war effort is not an all-out effort because we do not have conscription;

(4) make clear that if we do not have conscription, it is because we do not need it, because the voluntary system suffices;

(5) that this is not a source of regret but a source of pride - it is the glory of Canada that her effort overseas in the air, on the seas and on land is a voluntary effort.

- if conscription necessary, policy has been as stated in plebiscite, that the government will not hesitate to take the step

- no force could hold it back
(See passage - what might be necessary)

- and Parliament informed

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- Parliament now being informed it ~~might~~ may be necessary

(1) to seek necessary strength for programme as outlined (nothing to be added '42-'43)

(2) must trust the government as judge of what is necessary

and not to act unless it is necessary.

Must not get into a position where it can be said - can't have conscription without a second debate - that would defeat end of plebiscite in eyes of country and eyes of other nations.

Our grounds for not having are:

(1) conscription not nedessary

(2) conscription if applied now would do more harm than good

(3) reasons will be apparent if conscription necessary.

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C244608

Unrevised Hansard
June 26th, 1942,
Pages 4025-26:

Mr. Fleming:

I have not decided whether I shall vote for or against this bill. But I will tell my friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) that before I do decide—and I have reason for saying this—I want an absolute undertaking from the Prime Minister and leader of this government that when this bill goes through, the next thing is not going to be a disfranchisement of the people of my constituency, because when this plebiscite bill was before the committee there were certain rumblings in this house and the corridors that these people should be disfranchised and deprived of their citizenship.

We who represent constituencies where there are minority problems know full well that if it were not for the old province of Quebec, heaven knows what would happen; we should be at the mercy of the whims of every politician who ever got into power in this country. I hope that no Liberal Prime Minister on whom the mantle of Laurier falls will ever forsake the minority races of this country. Let no one ever forget that Laurier saved confederation, this confederation that Macdonald brought into being. I am sure that the speech of the hon. member for Kingston City the other day did no good. It plunged a dagger into the bleeding heart of the former Minister of Public Works who, I believe history will say, by his resignation from this government helped to save confederation in this country.

There is another thing of which so many people are apparently not aware, for they seem to think that everyone in this dominion is of Anglo-Saxon origin. More than half the population of Canada is not Anglo-Saxon in origin. Why create division, as the hon. member for Parkdale is doing, for political purposes under the cloak of patriotism.

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C244609

Unrevised Hansard
June 29th, 1942,
Page 4046.

Mr. H. B. McKinnon:

Voluntary enlistments from my constituency in this war, as in the last one, are exceptionally high and compare favourably with those of any other part of Canada. The people of Kenora-Rainy River have subscribed heavily to recent loans. When they voted thirteen to one in the affirmative there could be no doubt in my mind as to the meaning they meant to convey. I am definitely in favour of national selective service, and I propose to vote in support of the bill. I should prefer to vote on the details in connection with conscription, but I well realize it may be impossible to give the house an opportunity to do so. Therefore I concede that the government should have the right by order in council to bring in conscription at such time as they deem it necessary. No man, no body of men, no newspaper, in my opinion has the necessary information upon which to base an opinion as to when the conscription of man-power should take place. That would be a duty for the government to perform.

As has been pointed out by various ministers, there are many activities, including agricultural development and the production of munitions, which go to make up our total contribution to the war effort. Only the government know the extent of what has been done, and because of that they are the only body in a position to know when a policy of conscription should be made effective.

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C 244609 A

Unrevised Hansard
June 29th, 1942,
Page 4072.

Mr. Macmillan:

When this crisis comes and it is necessary to act, I hope that action will not be the calling of parliament to debate this question again. Democracy is always at a disadvantage in war time. The dictator and the tyrant act on the instant. Democracy acts by consultation, debate and discussion. Dictatorial powers in war time are necessary, if they are not usurped and if they are given to leaders by the people. That is what we have done. The people have given the government power. Why should the government call us back here to discuss this matter at great length again? Hitler will not wait.

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C244610

Unrevised Hansard
June 29th, 1942,
Pages 4048-49

Mr. Edwards:

Be it said that conscription was not an election issue in 1940 in my constituency. There was, however, later, a group in Calgary, to which the Prime Minister has adverted on other occasions in favour of compulsory military service, and it was in that city that he first encountered an organized demand for conscription for overseas service. At that time I felt, and I believe the people of Calgary still feel, that the meetings which were then organized were largely called together by a politcal pressure group which was endeavouring at that time to sow political discord and disharmony and bring the government of the day into disrepute. There were others, however, and of this I am certain, who were greatly concerned and agitated lest their loved ones overseas should be unsupported.

. . . . . .

The government has asked to be relieved of its promise. The people of Canada have answered most emphatically that it should be so relieved. I believe that the future conduct of this war can safely be entrusted to the members of the cabinet, headed by our worthy Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). We have, and I believe the world has, confidence in the Prime Minister; confidence, not only in his judgment, but in his singleness of purpose and his anxious desire that this country shall take its proper place among the nations of the world and do its utmost in the struggle. We have confidence in our Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley); in our Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe); in our Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner); and in our three national defence ministers. Is there any doubt or misgiving, on the part of anyone who has followed the careers of these hon. gentlemen in the house and before the public, as to their determination that this nation shall put forth the maximum of which it is capable? Theirs will be the decision. They have asked to be empowered; and I for one, not only reflecting the views of my constituents but giving expression to my personal convictions, am satisfied that they will never shrink from their clear duty, nor pause in their efforts until this country is making its maximum war effort.

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Unrevised Hansard
June 29th, 1942,
Pages 4048-49

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Secret

Mr Tucker for Chief Publications

C244611

The situation is as follows:-

2

1. 64.5 percent of the people of Canada, at home and overseas, have voted in the affirmative on the recent plebiscite.

2. What is the significance of this vote?

(a) The people voted to give the Government a "free hand".

(b) A "free hand" to do what?

(c) To go ahead within the reservations stated by the Prime Minister in his addresses to Parliament the nation.

3. The verdict of the people means --

(a) The least we can do is to remove immediately the restrictions in Section 3 of the Mobilization Act.

Does clause not mean the adoption of conscription

(b) In asking Parliament (although not necessary) for such release, we promised to do so. That

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Leave Creelman

The principle of conscription has already been decided.

The power to apply already exists under War Measures Act.

The method of its application - a matter of policy.

The policy is to continue on voluntary basis, etc.

Principle of conscription already settled.

Possible application - unlimited (overriding powers of War Measures Act (by Statute if amended.

Further procedure

as matter of public policy.

Present procedure - O. in C. (amending regulations) etc. by degrees;

- last step - come to Parliament not for second debate on conscription but for confidence in Govt. before taking step attempting enforcement.

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C244613

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

BY

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M. P.

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

OVERSEAS SERVICE IN THE CANADIAN ARMY

AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES MOBILIZATION ACT

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1942*

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMENDMENT RESPECTING OVERSEAS SERVICE

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

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

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

Section 3 of the Act reads:

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

The meaning of the existing law

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

By section 2, special powers are conferred upon the governor in council. By another section of the act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The governor in council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require

*The divisions and headings of the text have been inserted for the convenience of readers, and for purposes of ready reference. They do not appear in the official report.

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persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

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

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the act was passed, and even up to to-day, there are many who say, others who think, and yet others who believe, or who would have it appear, that conscription does not exist in Canada. These people say that conscription is the right principle; that conscription is in force in other countries, and that we ought to have conscription in Canada. They say that it is wrong and unfair that, in any part of the country, men should not be conscripted for military or other service while the men in other parts give their services voluntarily. That, above all, "slackers" and "shirkers" should not be allowed to "go free," while others are left to do the fighting.

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

"Conscription" already in force in Canada

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

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

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

Limitation not on power but on extent of application

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

This is the one and only limitation upon the exercise of the powers conferred on the governor in council, on June 21, 1940. The amendment proposes to remove this limitation.

The adoption of the amendment clearly does not mean the adoption of any new principle with respect to the method of raising men for military service. It extends the area in which the powers of the governor in council may be exercised but does not change the character of those powers. In other words, the amendment is not related to the principle of conscription, but to the extent that its application may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada or for the efficient prosecution of the war.

Enabling legislation

I come now to a most important fact with respect to the powers conferred upon the governor in council under the National Resources Mobilization Act. The act itself is enabling legislation. It does not necessarily contemplate the immediate, and certainly does not contemplate the total exercise of the powers conferred. Were those powers to be immediately and totally exercised we should have established at once a communist state. What the act does contemplate, as is expressed in the statute itself, is the exercise "from time to time" of such of the powers conferred as may be deemed "necessary or expedient". While full and complete powers for the exercise of compulsion are given to the governor in council by the act, under its provisions, it is left to the governor in council to decide when, and to what extent, it may be necessary or expedient to exercise the powers thus conferred. This will be equally true of the powers of the governor in council under the act as amended. The discretion of the government will remain precisely what it is at the present time.

Perhaps I cannot do better, by way of illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war, than by quoting what I said in this house on February 25 last. 1942

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

> In order to carry on war, men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time, we have two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking the methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.
>
> Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me: "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that? But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances, I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.
>
> . . . I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. . . . And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary.

NOTE *

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

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

NOTE

Relationship of plebiscite to amendment

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

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

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

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and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Relationship of plebiscite to conscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Plebiscite not a mandate

Since conscription was not the question on which the vote was taken, the result of the plebiscite cannot be considered or construed as a mandate for conscription. It was not even in the category of a mandate. It was wholly and solely an expression of opinion. The vast majority of the citizens of Canada indicated that in their opinion the government, in deciding upon the course to be pursued in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, should not be hampered by any restriction respecting the methods of raising men for military service.

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

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

Resignation of Minister of Public Works

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

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

The minister said:

> **I feel that there is no necessity for repeating here the arguments which, I sincerely believe, justify my action. Suffice it to say at present that, as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary, just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.**
>
> **In this paragraph is set forth very clearly a circumstance which has greatly perplexed many of those who saw in the plebiscite simply a clearing of the decks for freedom of discussion and possible future action. They had not envisaged the immediate introduction of legislation; much less, as the minister said, "the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas." The misunderstanding of the exact situation has been further aggravated by the fact that since the result of the plebiscite was known, a deliberate effort has been made to construe the result as a mandate for conscription. Not only has it been said that the result of the plebiscite constitutes a mandate —but what is still farther from the truth—a mandate that necessitates immediate resort to conscription for service overseas.**

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

Conscription not the issue in the plebiscite

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

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does to-day, because of the release as a result of the plebiscite from all such commitments.

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

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

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

When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now ben made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply yes or no. If you reply yes, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits.

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

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

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

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

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

Misinterpreting the plebiscite

It cannot serve any useful purpose, indeed it can only do a great injustice to the Canadian electorate, to attempt to place upon the results of the plebiscite any interpretation other than that which, before the vote was taken, the electors were told would be placed upon the results. To interpret the results otherwise would be doing a cruel injustice to many members of this House of Commons who most certainly would never have advocated an affirmative vote had it not been made clear beyond all doubt that

in so doing they were not endorsing conscription. I know of many members, some of them with sons serving in Canada's army overseas, who were themselves opposed to conscription, but who did all in their power, in their several constituencies, to secure an affirmative vote. This they did in order that they themselves and "the government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war".

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

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

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Amendment accords with purpose of plebiscite

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the eyes of some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of clause 3 would make the difference of an additional

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

Conscription not the issue in the plebiscite

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

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does to-day, because of the release as a result of the plebiscite from all such commitments.

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

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

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

When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now ben made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply yes or no. If you reply yes, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits.

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

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

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

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

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

Misinterpreting the plebiscite

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In the eyes of some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of clause 3 would make the difference of an additional

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man going overseas, so long as, in the statutes of Canada, any restriction remains it will continue to be cited as a bar to a total effort, and a bar, moreover, which finds its expression in the law of our land.

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

Why not proceed by stages?

It will be said that it may be perfectly true that there is need for some action as a consequence of the plebiscite, and need even for immediate action. But why, it is asked, go so far? Why seek to do everything at once? Why not proceed by stages? The people need educating. What they may not see to-day, they may come to understand to-morrow. It was difficult enough, in some quarters, to have them see the wisdom of trusting the government, and of giving to it, subject to its responsibility to parliament, a free hand at a time of war. Why arouse suspicions? Above all, why give to those who said that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge and that its real purpose was the immediate application of conscription for service overseas, the chance to say "we told you so; we are the real leaders; the rest have been deceiving you". Why should those who spoke otherwise be placed in a false light by the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas, and that, as my former colleague said: "just a few days after the vote"?

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

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

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

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

Procedure by stages not in accord with purpose of plebiscite

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

But that is not the only objection to proceeding by stages. To amend the act, in any particular, means a debate in both houses of parliament. It means a debate which, whatever the amendment proposed, would be a debate on the question of conscription. Should a second or third amendment become necessary later on, it would certainly mean as many subsequent debates, going over all the same ground again. Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either

before our own people or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Responsibility to Parliament

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

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

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

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

No change of government policy

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

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

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

Policy regarding overseas service announced before plebiscite

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

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

This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for service overseas. I desire particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this house on February 25, in the debate on the second reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained the position the government was then in with respect to the adoption of conscription for overseas service and, in plain and unequivocal language, why it was the government desired to have that position changed and to be given a free hand to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they might arise. Here are my words—and I am quoting from what I said on February 25:

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

And these are my words:

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

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

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

NOTE

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

Debate on conscription for overseas service welcomed

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

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

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

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

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

If the powers for this purpose are to be conferred upon the governor in council at all, it is well they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ever become necessary so to do. Also, it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should not be left to a time of crisis. As between debating the issue now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage is wholly in favour of the earlier moment.

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

Extension of application of compulsory service in western hemisphere

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

Method of exercising extending powers

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

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

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

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

I notice that it has been said, that once the amendment is adopted, the decision respecting conscription for overseas service will rest solely with the military authorities. I wish, therefore, to make it wholly clear

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that action taken under the act as amended, must be authorized by order of the governor in council. In other words the decision will be the decision of the cabinet.

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

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

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

And later:

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

As to the right thing being done at the right time and in the right way, it seems to me that necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war.

NATIONAL UNITY AND THE CONSCRIPTION ISSUE

The danger of extreme views

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

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

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

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

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

Task of Parliament to safeguard unity

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

Both might say to their constituents: "We are fighting this war as one free and united people against an enemy who seeks first to destroy our unity so that later he may take away our freedom and our country itself. In the face of that terrible danger, we cannot afford to have any differences that it is at all possible to avoid."

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

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

The right attitude

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

The Dominion of Canada stands at the most critical hour of its history. Its future as a nation depends on understanding between English and French-speaking Canadians. One cannot make Canada without the other. At the present moment there is a grave danger of a cleft being driven between the two that would not close over for generations.

It is not a political situation, a crisis of corridor and caucus. It is a crisis of feeling. And a nation's life depends on the feelings of its people.

Only if there is a strong will for understanding on both sides can we come through the difficult times that have arrived. Canada must come first in thought, in action and in words.

English-speaking Canadians must force their minds to understand the background of the thinking of their French-speaking compatriots. They must realize that their fellows in Quebec are intensely loyal to Canada, that they hate the enemy and his works as much as anybody, that they have contributed mightily to the country's war effort. English-speaking Canadians must realize that the hard fact that

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Canada is fighting for her own survival in this war has not been brought home to French-speaking Canadians and that the lack has been intensified by words and actions not truly Canadian from many individuals; that there is a long history behind the recently expressed opinion of French Canada. They must guard against giving too great weight to extreme elements in Quebec.

French-speaking Canadians in their turn, must grasp that the mass of their fellow countrymen are thinking of Canada, its safety and its future, are not putting other considerations above that of their own nation. They must understand the perils that beset their country, and realize that it is better to keep those dangers as far away from our own shores as possible. They must have forbearance for those who are prejudice-bound on the other side, and see that the feelings of the majority of other Canadians are fundamentally as their own.

If the will to understanding does not grow on both sides, Canada is heading into disaster. If the will swells on both sides, Canada will play her full part in beating back the enemy that seeks her life, and will be assured of a future as a nation worthy of the two great peoples, each retaining their own strengths, united to form a whole that will be an example to the world.

Duty of members of Parliament

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

Here may I ask the house to permit me to cite the opinion of one whom the parliament at Westminster for more than a century and a half has been proud to acknowledge as not less outstanding among its authorities on political obligation than as a leader in the art of parliamentary eloquence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONSCRIPTION FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE

Controversy will impair war effort

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

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

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

Meaning of a total war effort

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

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

The war programme for the period up to March 31, 1943, was outlined in all its aspects on January 26. That programme, in its objective, represents, in the opinion of the government, a total effort for Canada. By a total effort is meant the utmost effort of which the country is capable. On February 4, the Minister of Finance gave the reasons for believing that the government's war programme for 1942-43 would constitute the utmost effort of which the country is capable. The minister said:

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

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

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

NOTE

The mobilization of manpower

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTE

When asked in the House of Commons last November what was the ultimate objective of

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

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

The manpower needs of the army in perspective

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

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

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

In the same period of fifteen months it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate of the number required for the army for service anywhere overseas. There is, however, no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

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

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

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

National selective service

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

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

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

Compulsion not an end in itself

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

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

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

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

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

In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed, only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

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

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

Conscription for service overseas and a total effort

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

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

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total man-power for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, we need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territories for the defence of our home base, and for the joint defence of this continent in cooperation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing in recent weeks, by German submarines, of ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year of many vessels off the coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian islands by Japanese ships and planes, the growing submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian

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services cannot be left without man-power. The total man-power of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

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

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

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

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

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

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

One issue between the government and its more sincere opponents seems to me to be this: Will the continuation of the voluntary system for overseas service, at least for the time being—we have the compulsory system in many other lines of the war activity—make for a greater success in our programme than would its abandonment? I wish to say that neither as a member of the government nor as a member of the war committee of the cabinet, nor otherwise, have I been able to find any evidence that the abandonment of the voluntary system and the substitution of the compulsory system in respect to that part of our war effort represented by overseas army service would help at this moment in our war effort.

Surely no one can deny that the voluntary system to date has functioned magnificently. In what single respect has it fallen down? Any question as to the success of the voluntary system for overseas service is not as to its success at the moment but as to its success in the future.

Conscription on its merits

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

To bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, there might be, there certainly would be, justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada is already a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

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

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

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

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

Why, some also ask, should volunteers be sent into danger while men called up for

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

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

The glory of voluntary effort

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

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

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

A war of survival

It cannot be denied that the issue of conscription for service overseas is the most controversial issue that has arisen in Canada since confederation. That, I think, will be generally admitted. At any rate, if there is an issue that has occasioned more dissension in Canada; that has left a greater legacy of suspicion and distrust; that has inflicted a deeper wound in the side of the nation, I should like to be told what it is, for I confess I do not know. The knowledge of this fact caused the leaders of all political parties and others who had the unity of the country at heart, before the outbreak of war, and when Canada entered the war, to see to it that this issue was kept in the background. On all sides, an honest effort was made to see that it should not be permitted to arise. That attitude was maintained in public discussions throughout the general elections of 1940, and I am happy to say up to just about a year ago.

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

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

Canada in danger

The fact that the war has reached world embracing proportions; that there is combat on every ocean; and that there is certain to be conflict on every continent; that Canada is

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by no means exempt from the possibility of attack, at any moment, and even of invasion, are not reasons why the government should abandon a policy based upon considerations of the preservation of national unity. It is the strongest of reasons why the government should give the most careful consideration to all possible consequences of any change of policy which might result in division and a weakening of national unity.

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

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

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

Need for a free hand

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

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

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House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

BY

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M. P.

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

OVERSEAS SERVICE IN THE CANADIAN ARMY

AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES MOBILIZATION ACT

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1942*

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMENDMENT RESPECTING OVERSEAS SERVICE

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

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

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

Section 3 of the Act reads:

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

The meaning of the existing law

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

By section 2, special powers are conferred upon the governor in council. By another section of the act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The governor in council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require

*The divisions and headings of the text have been inserted for the convenience of readers, and for purposes of ready reference. They do not appear in the official report.

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persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necesary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

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

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the act was passed, and even up to to-day, there are many who say, others who think, and yet others who believe, or who would have it appear, that conscription does not exist in Canada. These people say that conscription is the right principle; that conscription is in force in other countries, and that we ought to have conscription in Canada. They say that it is wrong and unfair that, in any part of the country, men should not be conscripted for military or other service while the men in other parts give their services voluntarily. That, above all, "slackers" and "shirkers" should not be allowed to "go free," while others are left to do the fighting.

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

"Conscription" already in force in Canada

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

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

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

Limitation not on power but on extent of application

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

This is the one and only limitation upon the exercise of the powers conferred on the governor in council, on June 21, 1940. The amendment proposes to remove this limitation.

The adoption of the amendment clearly does not mean the adoption of any new principle with respect to the method of raising men for military service. It extends the area in which the powers of the governor in council may be exercised but does not change the character of those powers. In other words, the amendment is not related to the principle of conscription, but to the extent that its application may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada or for the efficient prosecution of the war.

Enabling legislation

I come now to a most important fact with respect to the powers conferred upon the governor in council under the National Resources Mobilization Act. The act itself is enabling legislation. It does not necessarily contemplate the immediate, and certainly does not contemplate the total exercise of the powers conferred. Were those powers to be immediately and totally exercised we should have established at once a communist state. What the act does contemplate, as is expressed in the statute itself, is the exercise "from time to time" of such of the powers conferred as may be deemed "necessary or expedient". While full and complete powers for the exercise of compulsion are given to the governor in council by the act, under its provisions, it is left to the governor in council to decide when, and to what extent, it may be necessary or expedient to exercise the powers thus conferred. This will be equally true of the powers of the governor in council under the act as amended. The discretion of the government will remain precisely what it is at the present time.

Perhaps I cannot do better, by way of illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war, than by quoting what I said in this house on February 25 last. 1942

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

> In order to carry on war, men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time, we have two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking the methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.
>
> Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me: "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that? But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances, I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.
>
> . . . I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. . . . And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary.

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

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

Relationship of plebiscite to amendment

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

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

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

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and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Relationship of plebiscite to conscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Plebiscite not a mandate

Since conscription was not the question on which the vote was taken, the result of the plebiscite cannot be considered or construed as a mandate for conscription. It was not even in the category of a mandate. It was wholly and solely an expression of opinion. The vast majority of the citizens of Canada indicated that in their opinion the government, in deciding upon the course to be pursued in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, should not be hampered by any restriction respecting the methods of raising men for military service.

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

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

Resignation of Minister of Public Works

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

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

The minister said:

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

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

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

Conscription not the issue in the plebiscite

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

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does to-day, because of the release as a result of the plebiscite from all such commitments.

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

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

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

When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now ben made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply yes or no. If you reply yes, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits.

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

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

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

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

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

Misinterpreting the plebiscite

It cannot serve any useful purpose, indeed it can only do a great injustice to the Canadian electorate, to attempt to place upon the results of the plebiscite any interpretation other than that which, before the vote was taken, the electors were told would be placed upon the results. To interpret the results otherwise would be doing a cruel injustice to many members of this House of Commons who most certainly would never have advocated an affirmative vote had it not been made clear beyond all doubt that

in so doing they were not endorsing conscription. I know of many members, some of them with sons serving in Canada's army overseas, who were themselves opposed to conscription, but who did all in their power, in their several constituencies, to secure an affirmative vote. This they did in order that they themselves and "the government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war".

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

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

THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

Amendment accords with purpose of plebiscite

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the eyes of some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of clause 3 would make the difference of an additional

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man going overseas, so long as, in the statutes of Canada, any restriction remains it will continue to be cited as a bar to a total effort, and a bar, moreover, which finds its expression in the law of our land.

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

Why not proceed by stages?

It will be said that it may be perfectly true that there is need for some action as a consequence of the plebiscite, and need even for immediate action. But why, it is asked, go so far? Why seek to do everything at once? Why not proceed by stages? The people need educating. What they may not see to-day, they may come to understand to-morrow. It was difficult enough, in some quarters, to have them see the wisdom of trusting the government, and of giving to it, subject to its responsibility to parliament, a free hand at a time of war. Why arouse suspicions? Above all, why give to those who said that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge and that its real purpose was the immediate application of conscription for service overseas, the chance to say "we told you so; we are the real leaders; the rest have been deceiving you". Why should those who spoke otherwise be placed in a false light by the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas, and that, as my former colleague said: "just a few days after the vote"?

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

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

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

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

Procedure by stages not in accord with purpose of plebiscite

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

But that is not the only objection to proceeding by stages. To amend the act, in any particular, means a debate in both houses of parliament. It means a debate which, whatever the amendment proposed, would be a debate on the question of conscription. Should a second or third amendment become necessary later on, it would certainly mean as many subsequent debates, going over all the same ground again. Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either

before our own people or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Responsibility to Parliament

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

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

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

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

No change of government policy

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

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

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

Policy regarding overseas service announced before plebiscite

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

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

This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for service overseas. I desire particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this house on February 25, in the debate on the second reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained the position the government was then in with respect to the adoption of conscription for overseas service and, in plain and unequivocal language, why it was the government desired to have that position changed and to be given a free hand to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they might arise. Here are my words—and I am quoting from what I said on February 25:

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

And these are my words:

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

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

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

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

Debate on conscription for overseas service welcomed

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

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

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

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

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

If the powers for this purpose are to be conferred upon the governor in council at all, it is well they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ever become necessary so to do. Also, it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should not be left to a time of crisis. As between debating the issue now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage is wholly in favour of the earlier moment.

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

Extension of application of compulsory service in western hemisphere

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

Method of exercising extending powers

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

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

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

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

I notice that it has been said, that once the amendment is adopted, the decision respecting conscription for overseas service will rest solely with the military authorities. I wish, therefore, to make it wholly clear

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that action taken under the act as amended, must be authorized by order of the governor in council. In other words the decision will be the decision of the cabinet.

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

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

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

And later:

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

As to the right thing being done at the right time and in the right way, it seems to me that necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war.

NATIONAL UNITY AND THE CONSCRIPTION ISSUE

The danger of extreme views

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

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

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

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

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

Task of Parliament to safeguard unity

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

Both might say to their constituents: "We are fighting this war as one free and united people against an enemy who seeks first to destroy our unity so that later he may take away our freedom and our country itself. In the face of that terrible danger, we cannot afford to have any differences that it is at all possible to avoid."

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

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

The right attitude

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

The Dominion of Canada stands at the most critical hour of its history. Its future as a nation depends on understanding between English and French-speaking Canadians. One cannot make Canada without the other. At the present moment there is a grave danger of a cleft being driven between the two that would not close over for generations.

It is not a political situation, a crisis of corridor and caucus. It is a crisis of feeling. And a nation's life depends on the feelings of its people.

Only if there is a strong will for understanding on both sides can we come through the difficult times that have arrived. Canada must come first in thought, in action and in words.

English-speaking Canadians must force their minds to understand the background of the thinking of their French-speaking compatriots. They must realize that their fellows in Quebec are intensely loyal to Canada, that they hate the enemy and his works as much as anybody, that they have contributed mightily to the country's war effort. English-speaking Canadians must realize that the hard fact that

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Canada is fighting for her own survival in this war has not been brought home to French-speaking Canadians and that the lack has been intensified by words and actions not truly Canadian from many individuals; that there is a long history behind the recently expressed opinion of French Canada. They must guard against giving too great weight to extreme elements in Quebec.

French-speaking Canadians in their turn, must grasp that the mass of their fellow countrymen are thinking of Canada, its safety and its future, are not putting other considerations above that of their own nation. They must understand the perils that beset their country, and realize that it is better to keep those dangers as far away from our own shores as possible. They must have forbearance for those who are prejudice-bound on the other side, and see that the feelings of the majority of other Canadians are fundamentally as their own.

If the will to understanding does not grow on both sides, Canada is heading into disaster. If the will swells on both sides, Canada will play her full part in beating back the enemy that seeks her life, and will be assured of a future as a nation worthy of the two great peoples, each retaining their own strengths, united to form a whole that will be an example to the world.

Duty of members of Parliament

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

Here may I ask the house to permit me to cite the opinion of one whom the parliament at Westminster for more than a century and a half has been proud to acknowledge as not less outstanding among its authorities on political obligation than as a leader in the art of parliamentary eloquence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONSCRIPTION FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE

Controversy will impair war effort

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

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

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

Meaning of a total war effort

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

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

The war programme for the period up to March 31, 1943, was outlined in all its aspects on January 26. That programme, in its objective, represents, in the opinion of the government, a total effort for Canada. By a total effort is meant the utmost effort of which the country is capable. On February 4, the Minister of Finance gave the reasons for believing that the government's war programme for 1942-43 would constitute the utmost effort of which the country is capable. The minister said:

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

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

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

The mobilization of manpower

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When asked in the House of Commons last November what was the ultimate objective of

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

The manpower needs of the army in perspective

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

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

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

In the same period of fifteen months it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate of the number required for the army for service anywhere overseas. There is, however, no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

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

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

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

National selective service

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

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

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

Compulsion not an end in itself

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

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

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

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

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

In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed, only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

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

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

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

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

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total man-power for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, we need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territories for the defence of our home base, and for the joint defence of this continent in cooperation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing in recent weeks, by German submarines, of ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year of many vessels off the coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian islands by Japanese ships and planes, the growing submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian

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

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services cannot be left without man-power. The total man-power of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conscription on its merits

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

To bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, there might be, there certainly would be, justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada is already a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

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

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

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

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

Why, some also ask, should volunteers be sent into danger while men called up for

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

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

The glory of voluntary effort

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

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

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

A war of survival

It cannot be denied that the issue of conscription for service overseas is the most controversial issue that has arisen in Canada since confederation. That, I think, will be generally admitted. At any rate, if there is an issue that has occasioned more dissension in Canada; that has left a greater legacy of suspicion and distrust; that has inflicted a deeper wound in the side of the nation, I should like to be told what it is, for I confess I do not know. The knowledge of this fact caused the leaders of all political parties and others who had the unity of the country at heart, before the outbreak of war, and when Canada entered the war, to see to it that this issue was kept in the background. On all sides, an honest effort was made to see that it should not be permitted to arise. That attitude was maintained in public discussions throughout the general elections of 1940, and I am happy to say up to just about a year ago.

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

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

Canada in danger

The fact that the war has reached world embracing proportions; that there is combat on every ocean; and that there is certain to be conflict on every continent; that Canada is

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by no means exempt from the possibility of attack, at any moment, and even of invasion, are not reasons why the government should abandon a policy based upon considerations of the preservation of national unity. It is the strongest of reasons why the government should give the most careful consideration to all possible consequences of any change of policy which might result in division and a weakening of national unity.

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

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

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

Need for a free hand

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

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

OTTAWA: Printed by EDMOND CLOUTIER, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1942.

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C244653

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Note re: "Necessary or Expedient"

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

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

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3227

C244654

3227 **Note re: "Necessary or Expedient"**

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3233

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Re: **Necessity of Conscription in times of National Unity**

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

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

Task of Parliament to safeguard unity

I cannot believe this parliament is going to permit that unity to be destroyed by a political quarrel over a question of the method by which men are to be raised for overseas service. Canada, and Canada's future, is far more vital than any question of conscription.

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Will Compulsion Strengthen the War Effort?

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

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

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WW II - Manpower
" - Conscription
" - French-Canadians

file

Confidential C244657

N-305-61-1-1
1942
(Confl.)
P-652-2
1942

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re N.R.M.A. Amendment

Mr. Cardin's reference to the legal power which will exist, once the amendment is enacted, under Section 5 to send men raised under the Act overseas secretly will, in all probability be siezed upon at once by the extremists in Quebec to create unrest and suspicion, which might easily turn into wholesale evasion of calls for service, even for home defence, and lead to a repetition of all the ugly problems of enforcement of the Military Service Act of 1917.

It might therefore be desirable to remove at once all possible excuse for the spreading of rumours that conscription for overseas service will be enforced secretly, by a categorical statement that: "in no circumstances, will the power given to the government by this amendment be used to send men overseas without the fullest possible publicity being given, in advance, of the government's intention to do so."

J.W.D.

Ottawa.
12th June, 1942.

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C244658

"L'Action Catholique", editorial by Eugène L'Heureux,
Editor-in-chief, Quebec, June 16th, 1942.

Two essential objectives
Win the war and save Canadian Unity

The present debate in the House of Commons is of exceptional importance, not so much because of the subject under discussion as for the debate's repercussions on our war effort and the state of mind of the two principal groups of Canadians.

We are happy to note that, up to the present, the members of the House have spoken frankly, courageously and tactfully, thus making it possible for this debate to be of real value. It is, of course, easy to foresee that the parliamentary vote will resemble the plebiscite. This will not yet bring conscription but a greater likehood of its application, if, in the judgment of those governing Canada, imperial solidarity or the real defence of Canada should necessitate the despatch of conscripts overseas.

If we knew with absolute certainty the directive ideas of those who will govern us until the end of the war, it would be easier to decide definitely whether or not to give "carte blanche" to the men responsible for our national defence.

As a matter of fact, if some day conscription for overseas service is considered necessary by all for the defence of Canada, apart from the question of solidarity with Britain, no one among us might oppose it. What our people do not wish to risk is to furnish conscripts to a power (no matter what power it is) for the carrying out of imperialist plans.

French-Canadians, aware and proud of the growing place of Canada among the nations, accept courageously the obligations of a free alliance with England or any other Ally; but they refuse energetically to shed blood for any kind of "colonial" status. This is their attitude because they consider that Canada has come of age and is in full possession of her rights since the Statute of Westminster.

And if the prudence of French-Canadians appears to be excessive in face of a conscription project which may either serve imperial ends or real national defence, it is because Canada contains a great many citizens who are apparently ready to sacrifice Canadian youth for the service of the "Mother Country", just as they prefer not to fly a national flag so as to cherish more fully the Empire's flag.

French-Canadians are in no way anti-British, but they are Canadians above all. One does not find among them individuals who plan to make a fortune in Canada in order to live and die in England or France, two countries which they admire, but which are not their native land and cannot be regarded as such.

(Turn over)

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Our compatriots wish to do their part to win the war. The are not counting on others to win it for them. They understand fully that the longer the war lasts the heavier the cost will be. Also, they accept all the sacrifices asked of them in the name of Canada. They do not desire conscription but still less do they want defeat.

That is the spirit with which French-Canadians examine not only conscription but all problems whose solution could affect the future of Canada, their beloved country.

Three of last week's speeches in the House of Commons deserve special mention: Hon. Mr. Cardin's, he is a courageous and persuasive counsel on behalf of our Province; Mr. Brooke Claxton's, which dealt generously with Canadian unity and Mr. King's which defined his present position.

Governing the country becomes exceedingly difficult between Canadians who will not hear of overseas conscription, even if it became necessary, and other Canadians who seem more anxious for conscription than for victory, disregarding Canadian Unity which is so essential.

Mr. King, who seems to have been right in maintaining his confidence in the voluntary system, gives useful advice to anti-conscriptionist members when he urges them to strain every effort to make the voluntary system a success once the Mobilization Act is amended. Obviously, the only way left to avoid conscription is to assure the success of the "volontariat" in all aspects of our war effort, to create a spirit of victory and to remove from the most determined conscriptionists any pretext to ride their hobby horse.

Engaged in the most "total", universal and inevitable of all wars, we have the choice of two attitudes: do everything to win it or accept in advance servitude and misery imposed by the conquering Nazis and Japanese. We must be as determined as our Allies to win this war, choosing ourselves the best means.

The war has entered a new phase and the enemy will soon receive deadly blows. During the first two years none of the United Nations was prepared for a war deliberately planed by an enemy who obtained easy successes everywhere. Suffering cruel reverses, our Allies have organized a tremendous production of war material and are on the point of fighting the enemy on his own territory with the important assistance of a Fifth Column comprising millions of men free yesterday and enslaved do-day, who are impatient to collaborate with the nations left intact to pursue the invader.

God grant that within a year, and under an effective voluntary system, Canada and her Allies may achieve a victory which they will, we hope, know how to use this time.

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T/MP
16.6.42

CONFIDENTIAL C244660 N 305-61-M
1442
(Leger)

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The following is the information obtained from the Whip as to the possible vote on the Mobilization Act Amendment:

Province	Vote for Amendment	Opposed	Doubtful	Absent on Active Service	Away
Ontario	51	2(Elie Bertrand) (Goulet	2	3	1(W.H.Moore)
Quebec #	14	48	2		
N. S.	10				
N. B.	4		1(Leger)		
Manitoba	11			2	
B. C.	8			2	
P. E. I.	4				
Saskatchewan	11	1 (Fleming)			
Alberta	7				
	120	51	5	7	1

- There is one seat vacant.

NOTE: In Ontario, Factor is listed as a supporter, but is in the Air Force. He could be recalled for the vote.

In Quebec, Hallé and Tremblay are supporters who are on active service. They could be recalled for the vote.

Hugues Lapointe is opposed and may absent himself during the vote.

(W.N.T.?)

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(W.J.T.?)

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Re. Speech by Mr St Laurent

C244661

L'Action Catholique, June 18th.

Canadianism

It was a vigorous stroke that the Honourable Louis St. Laurent gave on Tuesday in the House of Commons in the direction of the only Canadian unity that is rational and possible. This man, entirely new to politics, who has not undergone the deformation which is inherent in the process of facing the electors, and who means to carry out his duty without thinking about his re-election, speaks a language which is astonishing by its novelty. We do not think that the House of Commons has ever heard a plea more courageous, more intelligent, more skilfull, and more complete in favour of Canadian unity, and of the French-Canadian minority. Mr. St. Laurent has nothing of the popular orator but the strength of his logic and the obviousness of his sincerity, which is superior to rhetorical periods, were the signal for salvos of applause, at once significant and salutary. If the debates in our parliaments remain on this level we shall have Canadian unity, we shall have victory without conscription, we shall have the respect for our rights and prerogatives, and we shall have our fine and great country of justice and liberty.

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The strength of the Minister of Justice lies in his unequivocal Canadianism. He used harsh language about the separatists and language harsher still about the imperialists, who are originally responsible for the separatist reaction. Mr. St. Laurent is neither a separatist nor an isolationist, but to those who would assimilate us he says boldly, "175 years of relations with the British have demonstrated that we shall not be assimilated." In other words, you are losing your time, so devote your energy to other and more practical causes.

On the matter of conscription Mr. St. Laurent trusts his leader and invites the members to do the same. Like Mr. King, he is certain that conscription is not necessary at this moment, and he hopes that it will never be necessary, but he believes that the government should be provided with all the power it might need one day, distant or close. In our opinion, if Mr. St. Laurent has broken the imperialists sufficiently for the remainder of the war he is right in trusting the government which is certainly the best judge of what should be done for the defence of Canada, but if the imperialists are still capable of gaining power our representatives are justified in retaining their attitude of distrust.

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication L'Action Catholique.

Date June 18/42.

Subject

C244093

Le Canadianisme

Terrain d'entente

Avons-nous à nous excuser d'exprimer notre satisfaction en face de deux pièces très différentes publiées hier par l'"Action Catholique": une analyse substantielle du discours prononcé mardi à la Chambre des Communes, par l'hon. Louis St-Laurent, ministre de la Justice, et le texte d'une déclaration élaborée de la Ligue de la Défense du Canada ? Non, nous n'avons nullement à nous en excuser.

Rester calme et conserver le sens de l'objectivité en présence de deux opinions provenant de sources opposées, c'est une attitude qui vaut certainement toute autre et qui demande beaucoup plus de courage que de s'emballer et de suivre. (Les "suiveux" ne sont pas toujours ceux que l'on pense ou que l'on dit.)

Il faut admettre que le calme et le sens de l'objectivité sont deux choses de plus en plus rares, pour deux raisons : 1—la politique des partis nous a tous tellement habitués à trouver tout bon d'un côté et tout mauvais de l'autre qu'aujourd'hui, même les esprits écoeurés de la partialité des partisans versent très souvent dans le même défaut que ces derniers, avec cette différence que leur partialité aveugle non en faveur d'un parti contre l'autre, mais contre les deux; 2—l'idéologie hitlérienne rayonne plus qu'on ne le croit sur le monde actuel, qui pense avec violence et méprise l'esprit de réflexion.

A notre humble avis, l'une des caractéristiques de l'ordre nouveau si impatiemment attendu, ce devrait être que chacun puisse penser avec objectivité dans le domaine des questions libres, sans encourir la violence colérеuse des esprits embrigadés dans un parti ou une coterie. Ainsi se trouveront élargis nombre d'horizons, pour l'honneur de l'intelligence contemporaine et pour le plus grand bien des individus comme des collectivités. Voilà pourquoi ce sera servir fort bien la société que d'inviter les gens à raisonner, à voir du bon là ou il y a du bon et du mal là où il y a du mal, c'est-à-dire, à cultiver dans l'élite et dans les masses le sens de l'objectivité, principe de toutes les unions nécessaires en vie collective.

* * *

C'est un vigoureux coup de barre que l'hon. Louis St-Laurent a donné, mardi, à la Chambre des Communes, dans le sens de la seule unité canadienne rationnelle et possible. Cet homme politique tout nouveau, qui n'a pas subi la déformation inhérente à l'entraînement électoral et qui entend accomplir son devoir sans se préoccuper de sa réélection, parle un langage qui étonne par sa nouveau-

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té. Nous ne croyons pas que la Chambre des Communes ait jamais entendu un plaidoyer plus courageux, plus intelligent, plus habile et plus complet en faveur de l'unité canadienne et de la minorité canadienne-française. M. St-Laurent n'a rien du tribun, mais la force de sa logique et l'évidence de sa sincérité — ce qui l'emporte sur les périodes ronflantes — ont déclenché des salves d'applaudissements significatives et salutaires. Que les débats de nos parlements se maintiennent à ce niveau, et l'unité canadienne, nous l'aurons, la victoire sans la conscription nous l'aurons, le respect de nos droits et prérogatives, nous l'aurons, notre beau et grand pays de justice et de liberté, nous l'aurons.

La force de M. le Ministre de la Justice est dans son canadianisme sans ambages. Il a eu des paroles sévères pour les séparatistes et des paroles plus sévères encore pour les impérialistes, qui sont les premiers responsables de la réaction séparatiste. M. St-Laurent n'est ni séparatiste ni isolationniste, mais aux assimilateurs il dit crânement: "175 ans de relations avec les Britanniques ont démontré que nous ne serons pas assimilés", en d'autres termes : Vous perdez votre temps; consacrez donc vos énergies à d'autres causes plus pratiques.

Relativement à la conscription, M. St-Laurent fait confiance à son chef et invite les députés à procéder de même: comme M. King, il est certain que la conscription n'est pas nécessaire en ce moment et il espère qu'elle ne le sera jamais; mais il croit que le Gouvernement doit être muni de tous les pouvoirs dont il pourrait avoir besoin un jour lointain ou prochain. A notre humble avis, si M. St-Laurent a suffisamment amorti les impérialistes pour jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, il a raison de faire confiance au Gouvernement, qui est certes le meilleur juge de ce qui doit être fait pour la défense du Canada; mais si les impérialistes sont encore susceptibles de gagner le pouvoir, nos députés sont justifiables de garder leur attitude de défiance.

* * *

La déclaration de la Ligue de la Défense du Canada nous réjouit elle aussi, parce qu'elle rejoint, sans en avoir l'air peut-être, M. St-Laurent sur le terrain du canadianisme, où l'entente devient possible, pourvu que, de part et d'autre, on respecte les principes et certaines réalités géographiques, politiques et pschologiques inéluctables.

Nous croyons désormais utile un organisme tel que la Ligue de la Défense du Canada, qui semble se métamorphoser en une espèce de ligue de canadianisme, dont nous avons grandement besoin dans la vie canadienne comme nous avons besoin du Comité Permanent de la Survivance française et des sociétés St-Jean-Baptiste dans la vie canadienne-française. Rien ne nous paraît répréhen-

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Subject

sible dans le programme considérable publié hier. Réalisé avec un esprit canadien et canadien-français, ce programme positif ne peut que contribuer à l'amélioration chez nous de la politique, de l'économique et de la culture. Nous tenons compte de ce que le mot "Canada" dans son nom indique une intention de travailler dans tout le Canada et qu'un article de son programme l'élève au-dessus de toute tentation de s'affilier à un parti politique quelconque. Quant à sa luttte contre la conscription, elle se poursuivra "dans la légalité la plus absolue". — Tout cela, selon nous, donne du crédit à la Ligue.

Eugène L'HEUREUX

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The Prime Minister

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Date.....

Subject.....

C244665

sible dans le programme considérable publié hier. Réalisé avec un esprit canadien et canadien-français, ce programme positif ne peut que contribuer à l'amélioration chez nous de la politique, de l'économique et de la culture. Nous tenons compte de ce que le mot "Canada" dans son nom indique une intention de travailler dans tout le Canada et qu'un article de son programme l'élève au-dessus de toute tentation de s'affilier à un parti politique quelconque. Quant à sa luttte contre la conscription, elle se poursuivra "dans la légalité la plus absolue". — Tout cela, selon nous, donne du crédit à la Ligue.

Eugène L'HEUREUX

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Head

N. R. M. A. Amendment

Subject: Uselessness of the proposed government action and of steps which have led up to it.

Criticism:

A great deal has gone wrong with the reasoning powers of ministers who are asking for a mobilization authority which they protest they do not need, and which they say it would be unwise to exercise. It is as clear as mud, and there is still a lot of mud in party politics.

. . . . . .

Two Government spokesmen on Tuesday contributed to a debate which on their own showing will get the country nowhere, means nothing to the war effort, and is a waste of time.

. . . . . .

Then why the plebiscite, which cost a good deal of money, accentuated disunity, and, so far as the majority vote is concerned, was an astounding futility? Why this long debate, if nothing is to come of it; and one Minister after another adds to the assurance that nothing will come of it?

. . . . . .

(Montreal Gazette, June 18, 1942)

Suggested Reply:

It was clearly stated when the plebiscite was proposed that conscription for overseas service was not the policy of the government and would not be adopted unless it became necessary to secure the required number of men. The plebiscite was not held because of any present need for overseas conscription. It was held

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in order to place the government in a position to meet a possible future contingency. That fact was clearly and repeatedly stated in Parliament and to the people before the vote was taken.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date JUN 1 8 1942

Subject

C244363

WHY AMEND THE BILL ?

One Federal minister after another rises in his place in the House of Commons and argues against the amendment for which he proposes to vote. The Prime Minister gave them the example and they are following it with what would be, in other circumstances, an impressive display of Cabinet solidarity, a solidarity almost as complete as that of the eight provinces which voted for conscription on April 27. Something has gone wrong with our democracy. A great deal has gone wrong with the reasoning powers of ministers who are asking for a mobilization authority which they protest they do not need, and which they say it would be unwise to exercise. It is as clear as mud, and there is still a lot of mud in party politics.

Two Government spokesmen on Tuesday contributed to a debate which on their own showing will get the country nowhere, means nothing to the war effort, and is a waste of time. If the Hon. C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply is right, and if the Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Minister of Justice, is right, Canada does not need conscription for overseas service. Then why the plebiscite, which cost a good deal of money, accentuated disunity, and, so far as the majority vote is concerned, was an astounding futility? Why this long debate, if nothing is to come of it; and one Minister after another adds to the assurance that nothing will come of it?

Mr. Howe and Mr. St. Laurent argue that what is good enough for Australia and South Africa is good enough for Canada. Neither of those Dominions has conscription for overseas service and each is making a fine war contribution. Australia's is magnificent. Eight of the nine Canadian provinces knew all this when on April 27 they voted 80 per cent. for conscription for overseas service. They believed that Canada, hitherto ranking as the first of the Dominions, should place no limit upon its war effort. They knew, because the Prime Minister had told them, that the restriction which Mr. King had put upon that effort, was having an unfavorable effect upon Canada's reputation in Allied countries. They voted for action, which is now being denied them, although an amendment without ensuing action can do nothing to redeem the Canadian war effort in the eyes of those by whom it has been criticized. In this respect we are, and will be, exactly where we were before the plebiscite.

Mr. Howe thinks that those who are, as he says, over-emphasizing the need of conscription for overseas service—he classes them with the Colonel Blimps—are going back in their minds to the last war and are refusing to see Canada's obligation "in relation to the obligations of our Allies." They "take no cognizance of the battle raging on a dozen or fifteen battlefronts. . ." This is hard to follow unless Mr. Howe meant the exact opposite of what he said. It is precisely because the Canadian people recognize their obligation in relation to those of their Allies, and because they do take cognizance, very acutely and anxiously, of the battle raging on a dozen or fifteen battlefronts, that they are so determined to play their part and have given the Government a mandate to that end. Mr. Howe sees no evidence at the moment that the voluntary system has failed. Assuming, however dangerously, that it has not failed, does the Minister propose to wait until it has, perhaps at a moment of greatest and most urgent need? The Allies of whom he speaks have not waited. Their enemies did not wait.

The Minister of Justice, in as able a defence of the French-Canadian attitude as has yet been offered, nevertheless allows himself to make this statement: "It may be great and glorious to fight "and die for the world's salvation, for the salva- "tion of the United Nations, for the salvation of "democracy and Christian civilization, but that is "not a duty which citizenship imposes as an obli- "gation correlative to the rights which citizenship "guarantees as a privilege." If this be true, then in heaven's name, what does citizenship mean, and for what are we fighting?

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Conclusion of Memo

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(X)

C244670

Points to bring out

Evidence disappearing —

why defend case — reason for many

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Colonel Guerin:

"Are you in favour of relieving the Government from any obligation arising out of any post commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service"

C.D.W.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C244672

Mr Pickersgill.

Terry McDermot thought you might care to see this report, arising out of the meeting of the Institute in Toronto.

EKB.

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To E.K.B. Private 752a C244673 Reasons for use of confidence before making analyses

The question of conscription for Overseas Service threatens once more to split Canada, to perpetuate two nations warring within the bosom of a single state, to arrest once more the growth of a true Canadian nation, to inject a lasting poison into the country's veins - and all this without giving us any guarantee whatever that Canada's part in the war will be in anyway enlarged, or that the results will alter the outcome of the conflict materially.

From the discussion last May 24th it seems to me that there emerged a great many serious objections to legislating conscription in the near future or at all, except (as far as the latter is concerned) on definite conditions. Even the advantages of the legislation depend directly on certain hypothetical conditions whose realization is very doubtful. I put the latter - the advantages - with these conditions, first.

1. It would increase our army to the maximum.
2. It would put enlistment on a fair basis, as all would be subject to the Act without fear or favour.

These are real and very important desiderata. They would only be realized if the act could be enforced, and if it could be enforced so universally i.e., without very extensive exemptions, that there would prevail a general conviction that fairness and efficiency in the use of manpower were being exercised.

It seems fairly clear from reports from Quebec that the Act could not be enforced there: and if the history of 1917-1918 teaches us anything the applications for exemptions in Ontario or elsewhere shows how difficult it would be to avoid the appearance of unfairness in applying it.

If the Act cannot be enforced properly all over Canada

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that would seem to condemn it. But some may think that even if it were imperfectly administered it would still be better than the present system. And so we must consider it in this light. I shall not deal here with the modifications mentioned, viz. (a) legislation for part of Canada: and (b) legislation for the Western hemisphere. The first is a major surgical operation which would wound the country, our nation, irreparably. It is specious but illusory. It would not satisfy true Canadians because it obviously could not use conscription to get maximum man power nor would it satisfy the sense of justice which impels many to want conscription. The other is a typical piece of academic balm which the un-analytical Canadian, i.e., the average Canadian, would reject as a blind or as inadequate. We have to face national conscription for anywhere on the globe or none at all.

Its dangers - for they are much more that disadvantages - are many.

Too many people are still unconvinced in their hearts about its wisdom. Even those who clearly incline to the conscription method admitted to being uncertain about it. If there were some who had no doubts, they either did not feel strongly enough to rise and assert their position: or they did not quite see how they could justify it: or they intend to hold their fire in public and press it in their own way. This last is an ignoble motive at this time and should not be given too much weight in judging the issue. Much of the enthusiasm for conscription in many parts of Canada is probably due to a complete

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unawareness of the attitude of French Canada to it.

There is no clear mandate from the people for military conscription only. The strength of the C.C.F. support is not known in Canada, but Mr. Coldwell's straw vote from the Ontario towns and other reports, show that a fair number of Canadians would accept it, vote for it, only if it were part of a larger total programme.

The French Canadian reaction is apparently entirely predictable. Even if those who warn us of civil war, of mutiny in the camps, of large scale industrial sabotage or defection, are alarmist in detail, we can assume that it would consolidate the French Canadian against a federal law, and intensify a profound French Canadian resentment in nearly every province in Canada.

Part of the reaction would manifest itself in an outburst in the French Canadian press that would inevitably call for wide censorship or suppression of the newspapers. It would make it impossible to hold public meetings for French Canadians in safety.

It would also raise to a bad eminence, like Satan in Paradise Lost, certain Quebec politicians, and give the badge of leadership, to a group of men whose sense of public, i.e., national, responsibility is warped, ignorant, and sinister.

It would fertilize immeasurably the soil of distrust and contempt and fear in which the agents of the enemy (conscious and unconscious) are now so actively working.

It would create a situation for English Canada in which union with the United States would tend to lose some of the disfavour

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in which it is now held. For the more impossible it seems to English Canadians to create a true nation north of the 49th parallel, and the more the threat of a solid and antagonistic Quebec grows to be a reality in our political life, the more attractive the obviously overwhelming weight of the United States would appear as a way of wiping out that threat.

It would also accelerate provincial legislation in Quebec leading to Canadian ownership of industry in that province.

The enactment might give English Canadians a brief sense of mastering Quebec. But it would in short order become Dead Sea fruit in our mouths. That is not the motive of statesmanship - or of citizenship, and is to be rejected without qualification.

As things now stand therefore it seems to me that (1) above all else we want to go on building Canada even, ~~more~~ no, especially in war time. That alone, a single Canada, can fight a war of survival.

11. That process is in mortal danger because of an imminent act of state from whose deep consequences we cannot withdraw when the war ends.

111. Victory will not be lost or gained by what we do about conscription.

1V. At this time what is needed above all else in Canada is action in terms of national morality, national idealism, national motive of the highest order. In his restrained way Burke told us that "magnanimity in polities is not seldom the truest wisdom." And from English to French Canada it is magnanimity even more than cold justice or efficient sternness that we now need. Conscription now or before

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certain conditions are truly changed would be a tragic piece of defeatist legislation, a gratuitous act on our part to ensure that however successful we may be in reasserting in the world at large the superiority of freely organized and liberty-inspired peoples we had written indelibly into the memory of our Dominion a charter of schism and strife.

#The fact is that the whole principle of Burke's argument on behalf of the colonies applies here. The Tories of that day cast off the colonies by forgetting that "great Empires and little minds go ill together."

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Stet & use

18. What is the best method of preventing resort to conscription for service overseas?

The answer is very sinple. It has frequently been given. It is to stimulate voluntary recruiting with the same whole-hearted and partiotic enthusiasm which is devoted to the raising of war loans and other voluntary efforts.

The number of men required for the army is limited. If half the energy now being devoted to advocating and opposing conscription were devoted to the encouragement of voluntary enlistment, there would be no difficulty in obtaining all the men the army needs. Moreover it would be a far more effective army.

Many of the advocates of conscription seem to forget that the army, like the navy and the air force, wants the best men it can get , not the poorest. This is true, above all, of the front line troops of a modern mechanized army.

No one will deny that a man will be a better soldier if his service is voluntary.

The more we all do to encourage voluntary recruiting, the less likelihood there is that conscription for service overseas will ever be needed.

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19. What is the surest was of bringing about conscription quickly?

The surest was of bringing about an early resort to conscription is the method being adopted by the so-called League for the Defence of Canada.

By giving the impression to the rest of the country that French Canada would rather have Canada defeated and conquered than resort to conscription to maintain the army that is helping to keep the enemy away from Canada, ~~they~~ are discrediting their own people and arousing passions which may well prove irresistible.

Let the true representatives of French Canada make it clear that they will accept anything, even conscription, for overseas, if it should become necessary to win this war, and they will find that the vast majority of the Canadians of other races will, with equal generosity, respect their views ~~about~~ conscription ~~until~~ the very moment it is really required ~~in the Canada's interests~~.

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That moment may never come. But extremes inevitably breed opposite extremes. If the representatives of French Canada unitedly refuse to approve the removal of this restriction on the power of the government to resort to conscription if it should become necessary, what will be the result?

It will be interpreted by the rest of the country as a refusal by French Canada to do whatever is necessary to defend our country. It will be so interpreted in other countries, and particularly in the United States which already has conscription for service anywhere.

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20. What action is in the best interests of French Canada?

The action which is in the best interest of French Canada is exactly the same as that which is in the best interests of English Canada.

For both it is to support a policy which will best promote harmony between the two races, and the security of our country through the defeat of the enemy.

The majority of Canadians ~~have indicated that they are prepared for conscription if the government believes it is necessary.~~ They are not demanding conscription unless it is necessary. Surely that is not unreasonable or extreme.

It is the policy of the present government.

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June 22, 1942

C244682

Conclusion Second Reading
of the Bill amending the National Resources
Mobilization Act.

Opposition to Bill

two extremes - (dealt with;
(would not be altered by a series
(of debates.

Come to Parliament - with legislation mandatory.

See Hanson, Coldwell, et al.

Same ground again.

(a) Speaker rules second debate out of order.

(See rulings)

(b) To discuss merits of conscription (or application of).

Time may be a factor.

Military secrets as well.

(c) To obtain expression of confidence.

Reasons for:

(I) Said I would come.

(2) Division of view in Parliament itself on second reading (small majority).

(3) Government must have confidence of Parliament, and Parliament must share responsibility.

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Compare Churchill -

Has all parties back of him, but

still felt he must have vote.

Impossible to say what may be possible - before January 1943.

Conditions may change meanwhile.

Parliament sitting - no question.

Parliament not sitting - calling together

Government will seek decision

(as in case of declaration of war).

Necessity to take into account all possibilities.

Can only speak for myself.

Government blamed for what we do and do not do.

Must be assured of Parliament's backing and of confidence.

Must look a long way ahead in reaching decision.

(A long war - 1945

(Immediately

(Possible ~~sufferings~~ happenings on Pacific as well as Atlantic

All involved in "relevant circumstances".

Re Cardin:

Policy

Secrecy

Betrayal.

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If and when the government reaches the conclusion that it is necessary to resort to conscription for overseas service, while I am head of the administration, the government will come to Parliament, announce its decision, and such of the reasons for its decision as may with due regard to the safety to the state be made public, and ask for a vote of confidence.

This procedure will involve no diff[illegible]

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existence of a state of war. By following this procedure the government would be giving a full and complete assurance that conscription for overseas service was not being applied secretly; it would, moreover, be assuring itself of the confidence of Parliament, and sharing the responsibility with Parliament. If Parliament did not approve of the application of conscription for overseas service, it would have the opportunity by its vote to register its disapproval. The rights of Parliament and the supremacy of Parliament would be upheld.

C244685

I doubt if any hon. member, however impatient he may feel of the policy of the government, will question the propriety of that position. Should anyone feel inclined to do so, I would like to remind him that Mr. Churchill followed a like course on his return to Britain after his visit to Washington and Ottawa last winter, despite the fact that his administration has the backing of all parties, and although no issue was involved which touched the national unity of his country.

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In following this course, should the necessity for resorting to conscription for overseas service arise, I feel, also, that I shall be fulfilling the spirit of my undertaking on February 25th, that "when we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament, and have it discussed on its merits." It is true that the debate on the merits of conscription itself has, of necessity, come on the present bill; but the decision of the government will be presented to Parliament, and the government will stand or fall on the verdict of this House.

Let me repeat at the conclusion what I said at the outset. In speaking as I have done concerning the responsibility to Parliament of the administration I am naturally speaking for myself alone as head of the administration. I cannot, nor would I wish to attempt to bind any future administration.

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C244687

National Unity and National Survival

Mr. Green (Vancouver South):
June 22, p. 3825

"I hope there will be ..... less talk about national unity and more concern about national survival."

Suggested Reply:

What does national survival mean? Surely the survival of the nation as a whole.

How is that survival going to be furthered by a deliberate policy of disruption?

No reasonable person would deny that unity must be sacrificed if need be for survival.

But anyone who lightly suggests disregarding unity before the need is proved up to the "hilt" is, in effect, urging us to weaken our powers of survival.

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The main issue not conscription but where conscripts to be employed

C244688

Mr. Green (Vancouver South):
June 22, p. 3826

"The main issue is not whether we are to have conscription .... the main issue now is whether men conscripted are to be available for service wherever they are needed."

Suggested Reply:

That is precisely the position of the government.

We have conscription now.

We are not going to change the method of conscripting men.

We are going to extend the scope of their services to other areas in this hemisphere where their services are needed now.

We are going to conscript all the men we can train in addition to the volunteers.

Once the amendment is passed, we will have the power to send the men where they are needed when they are needed.

There is no practical object to be served in extending the scope of the service of conscripted men to areas where they are not needed.

What is important is to have the power to extend the scope of the service of conscripted men so that it can be used promptly and effectively in case of need.

That is what the government is asking from Parliament.

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Yonng men tied to service
in Canada.

Mr. Green (Vancouver South):
June 22, p. 3826

"Young men serving under the terms of the National Resources Mobilization Act will have no part in keeping the enemy away from our shores. It may mean the waste of thousands of the cream of our young men by not making full use of them because they are tied down here in Canada under the present government policy."

Suggested Reply:

No young man called up for service is tied down here in Canada".

All have the privilege of enlisting for service anywhere: thousands have taken that privilege -- it is a privilege and, I hope, will always remain a privilege to serve in Canada's army.

Some men must be kept in Canada; some must serve abroad. Is it seriously suggested that volunteers be forced to say in Canada, while conscripted men are sent abroad?

Or does the hon. member for Vancouver South seriously suggest that our coastal defences be denuded of troops and that all our men be sent abroad?

He says (p. 3827) that "under present government policy we are developing a home defence complex."

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This is a favourite argument to bolster up a weak case for the immediate application of conscription for overseas service.

It works this way:

1. You pretend Canada has no voluntary army.

2. You then exaggerate the importance of the territorial restriction on compulsory service.

3. Finally you say that proves we are concentrating on home defence.

What are the facts:

The Canadian army consists of over 300,000 volunteers and over 30,000 serving compulsorily -- ten times as many volunteers as men called up, and that after many months of compulsory service when we have taken all the men the army could handle. Does that look like a "home defence complex"?

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The prestige of Canada

Mr. Green (Vancouver South):
June 22, p. 3827

"the present policy is lowering the prestige of Canada ..... it is wounding the pride of the Canadian people in their nation."

Suggested Reply:

If this is true, what is the cause?

Can it not be attributed mainly to the systematic campaign of ignoring the existence of our magnificent voluntary army -- a campaign carried on almost entirely for political purposes.

If the honourable member and those associated with him, and the press that supports him, would take a real pride in our army, would boast a little about its size and its splendid spirit, and the wonderful achievement of raising half a million volunteers for the armed forces in less than three years, they would not need to worry about the prestige of Canada.

Without entering at all into the respective merits of the voluntary and compulsory methods, who will dare to argue that it is less honourable to send a voluntary army abroad than to send an army raised by compulsion.

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There are good arguments for raising men for the army by conscription and that is why the government has been raising men by that method for nearly two years; but no Canadian needs to hang his head because this country has raised half a million men by the voluntary method.

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MILITARY SERVICE OVERSEAS

Mr. Diefenbaker (Lake Centre):
(p. 3621)

"Up to the present time the only two ministers who have spoken in this debate..... have been the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture, both of whom have consistently opposed military service overseas....."

Suggested reply:

This is an excellent example of deliberate confusion of two separate points.

How can it be said that a government which has sent overseas the magnificent Canadian army is opposed to military service overseas?

In order to bolster up a weak case for immediate resort to conscription for overseas service, certain members of the opposition, and certain newspapers which support them, try systematically to make it appear that Canada has no army overseas.

Mr. Diefenbaker at p. 3622 said:

"I frankly admit that material contribution of Canada has been very great. Our contribution to the navy and the air force and to the production of munitions has been something of which Canada may well be proud."

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But not a word of praise for our magnificent army which Mr. Churchill himself has lauded in terms of which every Canadian should be proud.

Mr. Diefenbaker knows there are about twice as many volunteers serving in the army as in the navy and air force combined. Is he ashamed of that record?

Does he try to obscure that fact merely to serve partisan political ends?

Is it fair to the three hundred thousand Canadians who are serving of their own free will in Canada's army to ignore or belittle their contribution?

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Delay in dealing with manpower problem.

Mr. Shaw (Red Deer):
June 23, p. 3875

"For five long months we have been toying with the manpower problem in this country."

Suggested Reply:

This is not in accordance with the facts. The present manpower programme of national selective service was announced on March 24th. It was then in actual operation.

What we are doing in this debate is making provision to meet a future emergency. Actual manpower problems are being met -- and boldly met -- on a comprehensive scale. There has been no delay and no reluctance to use drastic measures.

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Mr. Ross Gray (Lambton west):
June 18, p. 3759

"It has been stated by the government that the voluntary method of obtaining men has succeeded and will suffice for the March, 1942, to March, 1943, programme. How can we say that the voluntary method has succeeded when it has never been tested? How can we say that we have sufficient man-power entering into the army when we do not know what we may expect during the period 1942-43? ..... To say that we have enough men is to say that we know with some degree of certainty the number of casualties we shall suffer in battle."

Suggested Reply:

The government is in complete agréement with this view. We do not know and cannot know with any certainty how many re-inforcements the army will require.

No member of the government ever pretended we could.

I myself said on February 25th that we honestly believed we could get the necessary volunteers, but I added that we wished to be prepared for any emergency.

That is exactly why the government is now, in good time, seeking the power to meet an emergency quickly.

The hon.member says (p. 3760): "let us take positive action now."

Surely he knows we began to take positive action to train all the man we could handle nearly two years ago. We are taking all we can train. They will be

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just as well trained and just as available, in an emergency, regardless of the particular label they now bear.

The hon. member suggests (p. 3757) that the public is in a state of bewilderment and daze.

Let us cease confusing mere words with actual hard facts and most of the bewilderment will disappear.

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Mobilization Act

C244698

Re: Attitude of Social Credit Party

From Mr. Blackmore's speech it is quite impossible to tell where the Social Credit group stands on the amendment to the Mobilization Act.

However, Mr. Quelch (Acadia) was apparently defining the attitude of this group when he said (June 15 at p. 3648):

> "All the things to which I have referred should be put into operation ..... but the members of the group to which I belong are not going to refuse to agree to the removal of the overseas limitation from the mobilization bill until that is done. The plebiscite gives the government a free hand in that regard ...."

Since they intend to support the government there would appear to be nothing to be gained by dealing with their other suggestions.

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National Resources Mobilization Act

Subject: Presentation of legislation for conscription before the time when conscription becomes necessary, has arrived.

Criticism: At bottom what M. Cote affirms is that the plebiscite has led the electors into error. The manner in which the question was drawn up extracted from them a vote which the majority of them would not have given if its meaning had not been ambiguous; that the Prime Minister is not following the procedure which he had promised to follow in the event of an affirmative reply in the plebiscite. The Member for Verdun is right.

On the 25th of February last, the Prime Minister indeed said "when we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to Parliament and have it discussed on its merits."

Now this is not at all what the government is doing. All the Members of the government are agreed in recognizing that conscription for overseas service is at this moment neither absolutely necessary nor even necessary at all. Nevertheless, the members are being asked to vote immediately a law for compulsory military service overseas.

(Le Droit, June 22nd, 1942).

Reply: 1. Immediate necessity for Alaska, Newfoundland etc—
2. Get debate over now so that action can be prompt in an emergency overseas.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Droit

Date June 23/42

C244700

Subject

Le cas du député de Verdun

M. Paul-Emile Côté, député libéral de Montréal-Verdun a laissé entendre qu'il votera contre le bill de la conscription pour service outre-mer, bien que la circonscription qu'il représente ait donné une réponse affirmative au plébiscite. Le fait est digne de mention. Car, jusqu'à présent, ceux qui ont pris la parole, à la Chambre des communes, en marge du bill amendant la loi sur la mobilisation, voteront selon le désir exprimé par leurs électeurs lors de la récente consultation populaire.

Le député de Verdun raisonne comme ceci: "La réponse affirmative, lors du plébiscite, l'a emporté par une majorité de 8.000 voix. Je suis donc délié de mes engagements par mes électeurs. Je suis libre de voter comme je l'entends. Or, je suis convaincu que mes électeurs de mon comté, s'ils avaient cru que l'on présenterait immédiatement une législation pour imposer la conscription par décret ministériel, n'auraient pas donné en majorité un vote affirmatif. Je leur avais d'ailleurs promis que, s'ils votaient oui, leur vote ne signifirait pas un vote pour la conscription. C'est exactement le contraire qui se produit. Dans ce cas, je ne peux approuver le présent bill." Le député de Verdun n'a pas employé textuellement ces mots. Mais c'est, en substance, ce qu'il a dit.

Au fond, ce que M. Côté affirme, c'est que le plébiscite a induit ses électeurs en erreur, que la manière dont la question était rédigée leur a arraché un vote qu'ils n'auraient pas donné en majorité si le sens n'en avait pas été ambigu, que le premier ministre ne suit pas la procédure qu'il s'était engagé à suivre dans le cas d'une réponse affirmative au plébiscite. Le député de Verdun a raison.

Le 25 février dernier, le premier ministre, en effet, disait: "Quand nous jugerons que nous ne pourrons pas lever le nombre d'hommes requis pour outre-mer par le volontariat et qu'il sera absolument nécessaire d'en lever davantage par d'autres méthodes, nous arrêterons alors notre décision, la soumettrons au parlement pour qu'elle soit discutée à sa valeur."

Or, ce n'est pas du tout ce que le gouvernement fait. Tous les membres du gouvernement s'accordent à reconnaître que la conscription pour outre-mer est, en ce moment, ni absolument nécessaire, ni même nécessaire. Cependant, on demande de voter immédiatement une loi de service militaire obligatoire pour outre-mer.

C. L'H.

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N.R.M.A. Amendment

Subject: Inadequacy of voluntary method of enlistment at present.

Criticism: "Our experience with the Hong Kong expedition offers an eloquent commentary upon the adequacy of voluntary enlistment: a sudden call came for two battalions and there was not even one battalion available that was up to battle strength and fully trained throughout all ranks.....Obviously, if voluntary enlistment was as effective as it is cracked up to be, such a situation should not have arisen."

(Quebec Chronicle Telegraph, June 13th)

Suggested reply:

1. Selection of battalions was limited by desire not to cut into forces intended for Britain

2. Point thoroughly dealt with in Duff Report

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Quebec Chronicle Telegraph

Date June 13/42.

Subject

C244702

FACTS WANTED: NOT ARGUMENT!

Whether one agrees with Hon. P. J. Cardin or not in his attitude towards compulsory service, it must be admitted that he is pursuing an open and consistent course in which he puts, if not Country, at least Province before Party. And that is much more than can be claimed for the Prime Minister, we are sorry to have to say. If it is true, as the former Minister charges, that Hon. Ernest Lapointe and himself induced the people of Quebec to support the war on the strength of assurances that there would be no conscription—which Mr. King authorized them to make—then the latter is not fit to be Prime Minister of Canada but French-Canadians are fully justified in protesting bitterly over the cynical manner in which they have been duped.

Mr. Hanson contends that immediate conscription is necessary, Mr. King professes to believe that there is no immediate necessity for it and Mr. Cardin declares that there is no necessity for it whatever. Which of these three is right? No one outside of the Government and of the official bureaucracy at Ottawa is in any position to consider the question intelligently for the material facts have been and are still being withheld from the country. One way or another this issue is far too serious to be trifled with or to be decided on the strength of inadequate data and the Montreal Star goes to the root of the problem when it calls upon the Government to make all the pertinent figures of manpower known. Without these we are being blindly led by an Administration that—there is too much reason to fear—is blind itself. But even with complete statistics available, it will still be necessary to establish an acceptable definition of what constitutes "necessity."

* * *

Mr. King argues, without producing any corroborative evidence, that there are ample replacements available for the forces we have placed in the field and that voluntary enlistment is still providing a satisfactory enrolment. If there is any difference here between Mr. Cardin and himself it is apparently that he does recognize as a possibility that replacements may run short and that voluntary enlistments may peter out before the end of hostilities whereas the former is convinced that all our manpower needs for the duration of the war will be fully taken care of on the existing basis. Mr. Hanson, presumably, will not dispute the present availability of replacements: something that means very little since our overseas troops, through no fault of their own, have not yet been in action after more than two years of a world war. We doubt whether he can do more than hazard an opinion about the status of voluntary enlistment but he may quite reasonably anticipate that the casualties, once our men come to grips with the enemies, will prove to be on such a scale as to upset the wishful calculations of Messrs. King and Cardin.

The material point, in short, is that the fight has not yet started so far as Canada is concerned and that we ought to make our preparations to meet the worst, rather than the best that may befall. If men are not needed overseas, they need not be sent there but at least fully-trained men ought to be available at all times to meet any emergency that may develop suddenly, however serious. Our experience with the Hong Kong expedition offers an eloquent commentary upon the adequacy of voluntary enlistment: a sudden call came for two battalions and there was not even one battalion available that was up to battle strength and fully trained throughout all ranks. As a result, although two active service battalions were selected that had been in service for a number of months, it was necessary to bring them up to strength by the addition of a proportion of only partially trained recruits, at the last moment. Obviously, if voluntary enlistment was as effective as it is cracked up to be, such a situation should not have arisen. If this is not convincing proof, go a little farther and ask the commanding officers of our reserve units, who are recruiting at the present time, what fruits the voluntary system is yielding.

* * *

At all events, we repeat that it is the part of wisdom to make our preparations to meet the worst that may befall, since a great deal of hard fighting is almost certainly still ahead of us. And to this end, it is mere logic that the Government should be free to call upon any citizen for whatever service may be needed of him, nor should it hesitate to do so. A policy of delaying action until emergency arises is, of course, the easiest and most pleasant way but it is by no means the safest one and if national unity is more important than conscription, victory is most important of all—without it we shall not enjoy liberty, let alone unity. That, we take it, is Mr. Hanson's case in the absence of the information to which the country is entitled but which the Government is withholding from it, as stated above. What the anti-conscription case may be we do not know for, so far, we have seen it supported by nothing but taunts, denunciations and dogmatic assertions. One complaint made is that English-Canadians are ill-informed on the issue: if so that is a reproach first of all

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Office of
The Prime Minister

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C244793

Subject

to Mr. King and his Ministers who have provided them with such information as they possess. But where is the evidence that Quebecers possess superior enlightenment and, supposing it to be their's, how are they sharing it with their fellow-citizens? The vital need is for facts, not argument and for an agreement upon premises but the prospects for getting them, most regrettably, are poor indeed.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C244704

MEMORANDUM

29.VI.42

Prime Minister

re Mobilization Act

The attached note repeats points already made in your speech — but not yet, I believe, fully driven home.

You may wish to consider including parts at least, in the forthcoming speech.

J.W.P.

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CONSCRIPTION AND VOLUNTARY SYSTEM

One point seems to require further clarification. Conscription and the voluntary system are not alternative methods of raising men for the army. Both are used and they supplement one another.

The Minister of Finance pointed out in his budget speech that the introduction of the principle of compulsory saving did not mean that the government was substituting compulsory for voluntary savings. The government has taken the same position regarding the raising of men: the existence of compulsory recruiting does not mean that voluntary recruiting should be abandoned. Both can exist side by side, and the combination of the two enables men to be raised far more quickly than would be possible with either method by itself.

Let me illustrate this point. Apart from its concessions in the case of key men for war industry, the army accepts all the volunteers who are up to the standard of fitness required. Many of these volunteers would not be reached for months, if at all, by any system of drafting men which could be devised. Moreover these voluntary enlistments represent a saving of thousands and thousands of yards of red tape.

The use of compulsion to supplement the voluntary system makes it possible to comb over the remaining manpower and to ensure that all men are obliged to serve in the army who are fit to serve and who are not more essential in other forms of service.

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The issue therefore is not whether or not we should have conscription for military service. We have conscription already. The issue is merely one of determining where the conscripted men should serve. It is the policy of the government to re-inforce the army overseas with volunteers as long as volunteers are available. But we are continuing to raise men by the compulsory method as fast as they can be absorbed into the army. They are given the same training as volunteers. They will be available, in as large numbers as they can be trained, if they should be needed. No time has been lost and no time is being lost.

Surely no one seriously advocates a policy of compelling volunteers to stay in Canada for the sake of sending conscripted men overseas. Yet that, in fact, is the only way the government could give practical application to conscription for overseas service at the present time.

When the advocates of immediate conscription for service overseas are forced by the facts to admit that ~~it~~ conscription is not needed to obtain the number of men required for the overseas army, they fall back on a second argument. They say that it is not fair to let the best men go to fight, while the slackers remain behind. Personally I do not believe that there are many slackers in Canada, once the real danger and the real need are made clear. What is more I cannot understand the desire in certain quarters to fill up the ranks of the army with slackers. I am sure it is not shared

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by the Minister of National Defence. The Canadian army contains a large part of the flower of Canadian youth. It deserves to be backed up and re-inforced with the best and not with the poorest men we can raise.

In saying this I am not for a moment suggesting that the great majority of the men called up for compulsory service are slackers. I am sure the Minister of National Defence would be the first to agree that they are not. It is not always easy for a young man to decide where his duty really lies. Under the compulsory system that decision is made for him. To many I am sure that is a great relief. I am sure those men become just as good soldiers as volunteers. But no one will make me believe they wi are better soldiers than volunteers.

They can always volunteer for service anywhere and many thousands have done so. Every man called up for service has the privilege of becoming a volunteer. And the use of the word privilege brings me to another point. I believe that if all our people showed a greater pride in the Canadian army; if we developed the habit of regarding it as a privilege to serve - instead of regarding it, as some seem to do, as a penalty - it would give greater encouragement to our young men to vie with one another for the honour of enlisting freely.

Compulsion then would continue to occupy the sub-ordinate place it now has. It would be an auxiliary to the voluntary system, confined to the purpose - and it is the firm

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purpose of the government - to see that no able-bodied man escaped some form of essential war service.

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C244709

TRANSLATION

JL:NB
7/7/42

EXCERPTS OF A SPEECH MADE BY PREMIER GODBOUT, AT RIVIERE DU LOUP, AS REPORTED IN "LE SOLEIL", JULY 6, 1942

"We are living in a difficult period, and in these dark days the head of a Government is happy to find near him enlightened men like the new Attorney General of the province. In such moments as these, it is natural that one gets blows, but that does not matter. Like Mr. Leon Casgrain, I did not get into politics for sheer pleasure, and I do not remain a political man for sheer pleasure. In life each person has to serve in the post which fate has designed for him. He must serve his fellow countrymen and also the truth. This is what Mr. Casgrain meant to do. Throughout his public life, he has always gone straight".

Mr. Godbout continues by giving his conception of the statesman. "The statesman should represent the people in the council of the nation. He should represent the point of view of the people, but he also has another mission: He must guide those who have sent him to Parliament by judging events at their real value. This conception of the statesman is closely linked with the honour to serve. The sense of duty is the only thing required. Leon Casgrain has all those political qualities. In

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every circumstance, he has told the truth to the population because his character is based on equity."

The Prime Minister then spoke in high terms of Ernest Lapointe. "I would like to follow his footsteps. Lapointe has always told the truth. He told it without fear because he relied on the good sense of our rural population. In every circumstance, he took his own responsibilities, thus his village was honoured in his country, and his country was honoured in the world. All his political life was devoted to the unity of Canada. Today, more than ever, the ideal of Lapointe must animate us. Canadians of every part of the country have the duty to understand that they are not alone in Canada. Our population of the province of Quebec has to live on friendly terms with the majority. One who would preach integral nationalism would commit an act of treason."

"Have you ever met somebody in your village whose sole responsibility would stop with the limits of his farm ? Instead of continually asking for our rights, we should also look for our duties. Let us do our duty, and the rest will come automatically. This is the simple and Christian principle of love which we

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must oppose to the hatred/characteristic of Hitler and also to all forms of narrow and sectarian nationalism".

"We must accept everything in the name of our country. We must be ready to give everything and to accept everything, and I add that the French Canadians must be the first ones and not the last ones to do their duty. Those who preach the contrary act like cowards. The province of Quebec can look with confidence to Ottawa. The French Canadians can count upon the generosity of Mr. King, the brother of Mr. Lapointe. They must understand that our country is not Quebec, but Canada. They must also understand that the destiny of our brothers who live in other provinces depends upon our attitude."

The Prime Minister then explained that the Canadian collectivity is like a big family. In large families, there are misunderstandings. Because we are the elders, the old Canadians, we must see that our attitude vis à vis our young brothers is not too violent.

"The time has come when we must face the truth. The province of Quebec has the duty to collaborate with the central Government. We must judge with our good sense and not with our nerves. The Nazis are already

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trying to grab our country. This war is not the war of Great Britain, nor the war of China or of the United States. It is our war because our civil and national liberties are in the battle. When our country asks for more and more sacrifices, it is for the well being of everybody in this country and not for others. In troubled and tense days like the ones in which we live, it is much easier to play politics based on prejudices, but this is treason to one's country and an act of cowardice to one's conscience."

The Prime Minister then outlined the Hitlerian conquests. The examples of the European countries must help us. The situation is grave, and we are in danger. "If there is one weakness in the administration of this country, it is that our population is not told how grave the situation is.".

But this war will end. If we lose it, it will be the end. If we win it, there will be difficult moments to go through before we know prosperity again. First will come demobilization, then the transformation of our war industries into peace industries.

"It is with these problems in mind that the Government has brought some reforms to our system of education". Then Mr. Godbout added that the present

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Government had always considered the education as the essential part of our renaissance. "That is the spirit in which these reforms were made. Youth must be prepared to fulfil the task with which it will be faced after the victory. The French Canadian youth must have a sense of honour and must also be willing to take its responsibilities. Our French Canadian youth should have nothing to do with integral nationalism and should understand this : The sons of those who discovered America have no right to limit their country to the province of Quebec".

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Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4319-4320

Revised Hansard
July 7, 1942
Pages 4006-4007

C244714

4006

"In the present debate (July 7, 1942) there are two things which have been proven beyond all shadow of doubt. The first is that the use of the method of compulsion for raising men at any time up to the present, has not been necessary to obtain the men required for overseas service in any of the armed forces of Canada; in the air force, in the navy or in the army. The second is that the totality of Canada's war effort would not have been, in any particular, increased, through an extension of the principle of compulsion to service overseas. Indeed, by resulting dissension, it might have been considerably reduced.

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

"I mention these facts, also, to make perfectly clear that in asking, as is being done by the present bill, that, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, the government should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, the government is doing so not in response to political pressure or popular clamour in any part of the country..."

4007

"I have no doubt whatever that the events of the war will more than justify the course which the government has thus far pursued, and is pursuing today. I know that the government's present course is already justified in the eyes of the very large majority of the citizens of Canada who have expressed the view that the government should have complete freedom in meeting the different situations of the war as they may arise. I believe that the wisdom of the government's course will become equally apparent to most, if not to all, of those who have been unwilling, or still hesitate to trust the administration with so wide a measure of discretion."

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Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4324

Revised Hansard 1942
p. 4011

"If, in reference to the very difficult question of service overseas, anyone can conceive of a policy which is better calculated to serve the national interest than the one the government has formulated, and which is clearly and concisely expressed in the words: 'Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary', I shall be first to advocate its acceptance. I can only say that nothing of the kind has been proposed by any hon. member in the course of the debate. Nor do I believe that anything better can be suggested. Indeed, the events of the war, as well as all that has been said in the course of the debate, should have made it wholly apparent that, all circumstances taken into account, it is the only sound policy."

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Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4324

C244716

"If, in reference to the very difficult question of service overseas, anyone can conceive of a policy which is better calculated to serve the national interest than the one the government has formulated, and which is clearly and concisely expressed in the worlds: 'Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary', I shall be first to advocate its acceptance. I can only say that nothing of the kind has been proposed by any hon. member in the course of the debate. Nor do I believe that anything better can be suggested. Indeed, the events of the war, as well as all that has been said in the course of the debate, should have made it wholly apparent that, all circumstances, taken into account, it is the only sound policy."

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Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p.4026

Revised Hansard
July 7, 1942
page 4012

C244717

"If, at some future time, it became necessary in the judgment of the administration to apply conscription for service overseas, that step, it is to be presumed, would be to meet a situation which would permit of little, if anything, in the way of debate. Debate would involve delays at a moment when time had become a vital factor. Knowing that this is likely to be the case, had the government sought to postpone debate on overseas conscription until the hour of an emergency, hon. members might well have complained that on so controversial a question they were not being treated with the consideration to which the representatives of the people were entitled. It might have been said that their hands were being forced.

There is an additional reason why the debate on conscription for service overseas should take place upon the present bill rather than at a time - should the situation so demand - that the government may have reached the decision that the application of the compulsory method to military service overseas has become necessary. That reason is that the need would almost certainly arise in circumstances in which military considerations would prevent the disclosure in open debate of the factors on which the decision of the government was based. The government's judgment in the matter will necessarily depend, in very large part, on military information of the highest degree of secrecy. There is nothing more important in the movement of troops at a time of war than that all matters pertaining thereto should be surrounded with the utmost secrecy. Moreover it is not only Canada's position, and considerations of special interest to Canada, that have to be taken into account. Very careful account has to be taken of the hostile use the enemy may make of information disclosed, and of how far any disclosures on military matters may affect the position of every one of the united nations.

It has, I think, been made abundantly clear that, so far at least as the present administration is concerned, any decision respecting conscription for overseas service will not rest solely with the military authorities, but that any action taken under the present bill must and will be authorized by the Governor in Council. In other words, the decision will be the decision of the cabinet, subject always to its responsibility to parliament.

I have also already given to hon. members an assurance that all relevant factors would be taken into account by the cabinet in reaching a decision."

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Unrevised Hansard
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p.4326

4012

"If, at some future time, it became necessary in the judgment of the administration to apply conscription for service overseas, that step, it is to be presumed, would be to meet a situation which would permit of little, if anything, in the way of debate. Debate would involve delays at a moment when time had become a vital factor. Knowing that this is likely to be the case, had the government sought to postpone debate on overseas conscription until the hour of an emergency, hon. members might well have complained that on so controversial a question they were not being treated with the consideration to which the representatives of the people were entitled. It might have been said that their hands were being forced.

There is an additional reason why the debate on conscription for service overseas should take place upon the present bill rather than at a time - should the situation so demand - that the government may have reached the decision that the application of the compulsory method to military service overseas has become necessary. That reason is that the need would almost certainly arise in circumstances in which military considerations would prevent the disclosure in open debate of the factors on which the decision of the government was based. The government's judgment in the matter will necessarily depend, in very large part, on military information of the highest degree of secrecy. There is nothing more important in the movement of troops at a time of war than that all matters pertaining thereto should be surrounded with the utmost secrecy. Moreover it is not only Canada's position, and considerations of special interest to Canada, that have to be taken into account. Very careful account has to be taken of the hostile use the enemy may make of information disclo ed, and of how far any disclosures on military matters may affect the position of every one of the united nations.

It has, I thin, been made abundantly clear that, so far at least as the present administration is concerned, any decision respecting conscription for overseas service will not rest solely with the military authorities, but that any action taken under the present bill must and will be authorized by the Governor in Council. In other words, the decision will be the decision of the cabinet, subject always to its responsibility to parliament.

I have also already given to hon. members an assurance that all relevant factors would be taken into account by the cabinet in reaching a decision."

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Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4027

Revised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4013

* "As to the right thing being done by the government at the right time, and in the right way, that, it seems to me, as I said in opening this debate, necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war. This does not constitute a reason for a second debate on the conscription issue. It is, however, the strongest of reasons why a government, once it has reached a decision that the needs of a situation demand a certain course of action on which opinion may be divided, should take the earliest possible opportunity of making perfectly sure that it enjoys the confidence of parliament, and that it may rely with certainty upon the support of parliament in giving effect to the decision reached. Especially is this the case where widely divergent views have previously been expressed in the country, and also in parliament, on the wisdom of any discretionary power being given the administration; and where it is to be expected that differences will still exist concerning the wisdom of the decision.

A second debate on conscription is one thing. A vote of confidence in a government before it undertakes to enforce a particular course of action is quite another and wholly different thing.

If an administration is to begin to carry out its duties in the prosecution of a war, it cannot afford to be left in any doubt, at any time, as to the adequacy of its support by parliament, and least of all in a time of peril. The assurance of the confidence of parliament is particularly necessary to the leader of a government where there is the slightest reason for him to doubt the extent to which he may be able to rely upon the support he will receive in the House of Commons. "

* Also used June 10, 1942
Unrevised Hansard
p. 3517-18

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Revised Hansard
July 7, 1942
Pages 4014

Unrevised Hansard
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C244720

4013

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Extract from Unrevised Hansard
July 7, 1942
p. 4328

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C244721

"I intend, therefore, if the time should come when the government decides that it has become necessary to send overseas men who have not volunteered for general service, and I should be in office at the time, to ask my colleagues to join me in seeing that parliament is immediately informed of the government's decision. If parliament is not in session, I would do whatever lies within my power, to see that parliament is informed as soon as possible after the decision has been reached.

"I intend, at the same time, to see that, before the administration assumes the additional responsibility of enforcing its decision, hon. members are given an opportunity, not for any second debate on the question of conscription, but of showing their confidence or want of confidence in the administration.

"In following this course, I hope it will be agreed that I am fulfilling the spirit of an earlier undertaking given to parliament on February 25, that 'when we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament, and have it discussed on its merits.' The debate on the merits of conscription has, of necessity, come on the present bill. What really is important hereafter is that the government's decision should immediately be presented to parliament, and that the government should be prepared to stand or fall on its decision."

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"I am unable to indicate, at present, which procedure will be followed in the event of the government reaching the decision that it should have recourse to conscription for service overseas. That must depend upon the circumstances at the time. In a matter which relates to a future decision of the cabinet, and so immediately to the confidence which others may have in my judgment and my fidelity, I obviously can speak only for myself. No one can say what the course of the war will be, or what, at any time, conditions may be in our own or other countries. In seeking to free the government from one commitment, I do not wish to be drawn into making another. I wish, however, to leave no doubt in the mind of any hon. member that, if I am at the head of the administration when such a decision is reached, I shall ask to be assured of the confidence of the House of Commons before the government proceeds to enforce the decision.

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As a rule I do not pay any attention to criticism or misrepresentation which appears in the press. However, since the Gazette has questioned the accuracy of my statement on Tuesday evening and invited me to name the newspapers to which I had reference, I shall name one of them.

It is the Montreal Gazette. I put aside the editorial entitled "Mr. King clarifies the plebiscite issue" which appeared on February 27th, because it afforded a particularly glaring example of the misrepresentation to which I made reference.

Let me quote one sentence:

(here quote)

It might be argued that such a statement would not mislead a Canadian reader. But that is not the point. It is just such isolated sentences which, quoted in other countries, have been so detrimental to the good name of this country.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C244795

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette,

Date July 9/42

Subject

PLAYING WITH ACCURACY.

In the course of Prime Minister King's concluding speech on the inconclusive amendment to the mobilization act there occurred an episode which did nothing to elevate the tone of parliamentary debate. Mr. King accused unnamed members of the Opposition "and the press that supports them" of repeating a statement that the Government is unwilling to send men overseas. He said that this was not the truth and was obviously intended to serve a political purpose. Now if any one man should know what things are said for political reasons, and when they are said to further political interests, that man is the Prime Minister, but Mr. King ought to be more careful of his text when attempting to impugn the motives of others. In this instance of Tuesday night his accusation was very promptly and vigorously rebutted by Conservative members. Driven into a corner Mr. King singled out John Diefenbaker of Lake Centre, Sask. Confronted with another flat denial he read from Hansard of a speech delivered by Mr. Diefenbaker on June 15 in which both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Gardiner, were said to have "consistently opposed military service overseas" and from whom, in Mr. Diefenbaker's opinion, "military service overseas" need never be expected "regardless of what the people may demand." Mr. Diefenbaker answered immediately that his statement had reference only to compulsory service.

The explanation was unnecessary since the Prime Minister, having heard the speech of June 15, or having read it in the record, knew what the facts were. Mr. Diefenbaker was talking about compulsory selective service. He used the words "conscription for overseas service" in the very paragraph of which the Prime Minister quoted only a part. The whole context was a discussion of this subject and of the Government's attitude toward it. Mr. King's accusation was based upon one or two phrases occurring in the opening paragraph, phrases which, read with succeeding statements, left Mr. King with no ground whatever for his charge. He is too old a parliamentarian not to have known this. What is worse, the "some honorable members opposite"—later reduced to one, then to none—were bracketed with "the press that supports them." Will the Prime Minister have the goodness to name the newspapers that have been "repeating the "statement that the Government is unwilling to "send men overseas?" We are quite certain of his inability to do this, but he has made the charge.

What is the inference? It is that Mr. King has become very conscious of his vulnerability, of the inconsistencies of his position and of a disgusted public opinion. He is ready to use weapons which, were he in better case, he would scorn to employ.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

C244726

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette.

Date Feb. 27/45.

Subject

MR. KING CLARIFIES PLEBISCITE ISSUE.

Prime Minister King was wise in making the explicit statement, in his long House of Commons speech Wednesday, that an affirmative vote in the plebiscite would not be construed as a vote of confidence in the Government. His assurance removes the strongest argument of those misguided oppositionists who advise voters to "boycott" the plebiscite.

This is a delusion which must be dispelled, not for the sake of any party but for the sake of Canada. This plebiscite is being held, not to express an opinion of the Canadian Government or its war effort, but to release the Government from commitments which, it feels, restrict its power to recruit men for overseas service. Obviously, those who want the Government to conscript should vote "yes." They may feel, as many do, that the plebiscite itself was unwise. But if the plebiscite is to be held at all there is only one course open—support it. Vote, and vote "yes."

It is, of course, perfectly true that if Mr. King is released from his pledges by an affirmative vote, he may still choose to do nothing about raising overseas armies. There is no way to get around this fact. But surely it is equally true that if the vote is negative—as it would be, if those who would otherwise vote "yes" were to stay away from the polls—then Mr. King would feel even more bound by his commitments than he does now. And if it is impossible to induce Mr. King to enact overseas conscription today, how shall we expect to do so then?

Clear thinking on this question is essential. We oppose the plebiscite for one principal reason, because it impedes an all-out war effort. But to boycott the plebiscite would impede the war effort still more. Therefore, vote "yes."

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— nothing about raising by "conscription" — refusal in vote to give power to raise armies for overseas service

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(S.F. RAE TO N.A. ROBERTSON)

MC/AN

SFR/SR
10.7.42

Conscription of Nationals of Countries Maintaining Foreign Forces in Canada.

C244727

A meeting was held in Mr. Robertson's office on the afternoon of July 7th, at which the following were present:-

Mr. N.A. Robertson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Baron Silvercruys, Belgian Minister to Canada.

Major J. Leal, Department of National Defence.

Mr. M. Wershof, Department of External Affairs.

Mr. S.F. Rae, Department of External Affairs.

Mr. Robertson referred to the previous correspondence with the various Allied Governments with respect to the proposal that the Canadian Government should apply the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act to nationals of countries maintaining Foreign Forces residing in Canada. From the replies which have been received, it had been made clear that many of the various allied governments, including the Belgian Government, felt strongly that the Canadian authorities should enforce their conscription laws against their nationals in Canada. Mr. Robertson set forth the objections to this counter proposal in the following terms:-

(1) As a country of immigration, Canada was peopled by a good many people of foreign stock who had come to this country in order to make their homes here, and who, in many cases, had children who were Canadian nationals. The only tie to their former motherland lay in the fact that they had neglected to take the legal step of becoming naturalized in Canada. It was felt that severe hardships would be inflicted on such individuals if such compulsory military measures by their former governments were put into practice.

(2) While the Belgians, together with the Norwegians and Netherlanders were probable exceptions, so far as several of the other Allied Governments were concerned, hostility existed to these Governments in the minds of many persons, who in a purely formal sense, were nationals of the countries concerned. The majority of Ukrainians in Canada would, for example, strongly object to enlisting in the Polish Forces, as would a good many Polish Jews. Many Slovaks who were anti-Nazi would still prefer to serve with the Canadian Army

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rather than with the Czechoslovak Army. A similar situation existed between Croats and Serbs, and would give rise to grave difficulties in the application of Yugoslav compulsory measures. These difficulties would tend to outweigh the advantages in terms of manpower.

(3) The position of the United States had already been made clear, as had that of the United Kingdom. In neither country had permission been given to apply the conscription laws of foreign governments, and in the case of the United States, even voluntary enlistment was prohibited. Canada had already given considerable assistance to the foreign forces, but in the light of the considerations upon which the policies of the United Kingdom and the United States were based, it was not possible to reverse the previous decision of the Canadian Government, which had been opposed to permitting the application of foreign conscription laws in Canada.

In view of these considerations, Mr. Robertson indicated that the alternatives were either the acceptance of the original Canadian Government proposal, or of a proposal similar to that advanced by the United Kingdom Government which had been agreed to by the various foreign governments in the United Kingdom.

In reply, Baron Silvercruys pointed out that he clearly understood Canada's position, but felt that, on the first point, the Canadian view was based on what might be called a pre-war attitude of mind. He referred to the conflicting fact that the Canadian Government were preparing to put through Bill 80, even at the risk of alienating an appreciable section of public opinion in Canada. The application of conscription for overseas service might be considered necessary from the point of view of the prosecution of the war, even though objections would be raised within Canada.

While feeling that the second point had more substance, Baron Silvercruys suggested that it might be possible to work out some provision for "political objectors", along the lines of the provisions for "conscientious objectors". In addition, he doubted whether the Czechoslovaks and Poles were anxious to apply conscription here. Mr. Robertson indicated that a uniform policy would have to be applied to all the governments maintaining foreign forces in Canada, and that there could be little doubt that, were the Canadian authorities to grant such permission, all the Governments concerned would be anxious to make full use of their powers. On the third point, Baron Silvercruys said that the Belgian Government had not concurred in the United Kingdom proposals, although they had finally accepted them. It was

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unlikely that steps would be taken to raise the question again in the United States.

Mr. Robertson said that, in general, the view of the Canadian authorities was that as much help as possible should be given to the foreign forces, the existence of which served to rally the people of occupied countries. The object of the Canadian policy was to help the foreign forces, and yet to refrain for the reasons stated, from permitting them to apply their conscription laws to their own nationals in Canada. The views which had been expressed could be regarded as a "semi-official" indication of the views of the Canadian Government, and a formal communication would be sent to the Belgian Minister along the lines of this conversation.

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The PM to see

C244730

Commenting the French-Canadian press following the Prime Minister's speech and the second reading of Bill 80.

The strongest criticisms of the government's policy have appeared where they might be expected, in Le Devoir and Le Droit. The latter paper has been much more vigorous and its irreconcilable opposition may be gathered from such comments as these:

"The Liberal party has denied a political past of 25 years in extent and has violated the most solemn of promises made to the Canadian people and especially to French Canada."

"The group of Ministers who are in favour of applying conscription for overseas service at the earliest possible moment are the more powerful. They have in their hands the fate of the Cabinet. As soon as they demand the immediate application of this measure the Prime Minister will have to yield or resign."

Le Droit is not satisfied with the Prime Minister's proposal of a vote of confidence, to be asked for before conscription is applied. In its view, the present debate should have been postponed till the immediate

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need for conscription had been demonstrated by a failure in the voluntary method of enlistment. However, Le Droit does not anticipate the crisis which it foresees when conscription is applied, until next March at the earliest.

Much more moderate comment appears in such journals as Le Soleil, L'Evenement Journal, and La Patrie. None of these papers is reconciled to what has been done, but nevertheless they plead for confidence in the Prime Minister.

L'Evenement Journal remarks,"the wisdom of the Liberal leader is then today the only defence against what French Canada has regarded as an inéquitous thing. Under these conditions the national interest demands that the French-Canadian representatives abstain from any agitation which might embitter a quarrel which is tending to be calmed. This thought should prevent true patriots from performing any action or uttering any word which might provoke a new crisis in the federal arena. It is of imperative importance that the minority should assist Mr. Mackenzie King in a discreet way in saving the country from a threatening danger."

Le Soleil takes almost exactly the same line, admitting moreover that "it is necessary to risk something in order to win the principal prize." Le Soleil asserts

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that the Prime Minister will not reproach his Quebec followers for not having understood a device which was rendered necessary by circumstances which could not be controlled in any other manner.

La Patrie urges a campaign for increased voluntary enlistment so that the danger of conscription may be averted. Le Canada has taken this line also.

It is worth noting that neither La Presse nor L'Action Catholique has made any comment whatever on the bill, or the Prime Minister's speech, during the whole of last week.

EKB/PM
13.7.42

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C244735

that the Prime Minister will not reproach his Quebec followers for not having understood a device which was rendered necessary by circumstances which could not be controlled in any other manner.

La Patrie urges a campaign for increased voluntary enlistment so that the danger of conscription may be averted. Le Canada has taken this line also.

It is worth noting that neither La Presse nor L'Action Catholique has made no comment whatever on the bill, or the Prime Minister's speech, during the whole of last week.

RKB/PM
13.7.42

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Analysis of Votes by Quebec Liberals who voted against Bill 80

	Committee of Supply	Secret Session	Hong Kong
Authier	Did not vote	Did not vote	Did not vote
Bertrand (Lionel)	Did not vote	Against	Did not vote
Blanchette	For	Did not vote	For
Bonnier	For	For	For
Bourget	Did not vote	Against	Did not vote
Cardin	For	For	For
Cloutier	For	For	For
Crete	Did not vote	Against	For
D'Anjou	Against	Did not vote	Did not vote
Dubois	Did not vote	Did not vote	For
Durocher	For	Did not vote	For
Eudes	For	Did not vote	For
Fauteux	For	For	For
Ferland	For	Did not vote	For
Ferron	For	For	For
Fontaine	For	For	For
Fournier (Alphonse)	For	For	For
Fournier (Sarto)	For	For	For
Gauthier	Against	Against	Did not vote
Gingues	For	Did not vote	For
Lacombe	Against	Against	Did not vote
Lacroix (Edouard)	Against	Against	For
Lacroix (Wilfrid)	Against	Did not vote	Did not vote
Laflamme	For	For	For
Lafontaine	For	For	For
Lalonde	Did not vote	Against	For
Lapointe (A. J.)	Did not vote	Did not vote	Did not vote
Leclerc	Did not vote	Did not vote	For
Lizotte	Did not vote	Did not vote	For
McDonald (Pontiac)	For	For	For
Poirier	For	Did not vote	For
Pouliot	Against	Against	Against
Raymond	Against	Against	Did not vote
Rheaume	For	For	For
Ryan	For	For	For
Thauvette	For	For	For

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WWII - Conscription ✓

C244737

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re Committee Stage of Mobilization Act.

To judge from the press reaction, there seems little excitement over the Prime Minister's closing speech.

Only the violent anti-government papers have attacked the proposed vote of confidence. Some of the favourable comment, also small in volume, has made one good point i.e. "if the Prime Minister had sought the easy way, he would not have proposed a vote of confidence. When the present bill is passed, the government has full authority to act. By asking for a vote of confidence the Prime Minister courageously faces the risk of defeat - a risk which he need not have assumed."

One or two papers have suggested that to delay overseas conscription until it is "necessary" may be "too late."

A folder is attached containing samples of this criticism; also an outline of the suggested reply.

J.W.P.

Ottawa.
18th July, 1942

J.W. Pickersgill

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C244738 Nationalization Act -

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 20, VII, 42

Prime Minister

Suggested replies to some of the points made by the ex Premiers from Quebec.

J.W.P.

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Read

THE PLEDGE WAS MADE TO QUEBEC

Mr. Raymond (Beauharnois-Laprairie):
(June 18, 1942, translation p.2.)

> "This commitment was made in favour of the province of Quebec, in whose name Mr. Lapointe was speaking when he proposed a compromise, when he stated the conditions of our participation .....Therefore, only the province of Quebec could release the government from their commitments."

Suggested reply:

This statement is not in accordance with the facts. Mr. Lapointe in the passage quoted by the hon. member did not claim to be speaking for the whole government, when he spoke with reference to Quebec. He said: "I am authorized by my colleagues in the cabinet from the province of Quebec....."

No one knew better than Mr. Lapointe that all matters of defence and war were federal not provincial matters; no one knew better that no province could impose a veto on the war policy of the nation.

What he was doing was what he had a right to do: he was expressing the views of the people of Quebec as he understood them and pointing out the necessity of taking them fully into account.

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But the pledges themselves were given to the people of Canada in all parts of Canada. They were given on a national issue on which all citizens are entitled to an equal voice. There can, therefore, be no doubt that all citizens should have an equal right to express their opinion on the release of the government and that every individual opinion is entitled to equal weight.

To say less is to deny the existence of a Canadian nation. By asking Parliament to give it freedom of action the government is implementing the national verdict on a national issue.

The use which the government makes of its freedom of action is the responsibility of the government so long as it retains the confidence of Parliament. But there is no doubt that the majority of the people of Canada wish the government to have that freedom. The possession of that freedom of action affects no minority rights; it does not touch the constitutional powers of any province; it is exclusively within federal jurisdiction.

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Rest

A "MODERATE" WAR EFFORT

It is frequently said by the extremists among the opponents of conscription for overseas service that the government promised a "moderate" or "limited" war effort. The same charge is made from time to time by Conservatives.

Suggested reply:

It is one thing to oppose conscription for overseas service because it is not needed; or because it is honestly believed that Canada can make a better war effort without using compulsion for overseas service.

But it is quite another thing to oppose conscription for overseas service and to justify that opposition on the ground that the government promised a "moderate" or a "limited" war effort.

Moreover, the statement is wholly untrue. The war policy of the government was set out in a series of radio broadcasts in the general election campaign of 1940. My own broadcasts were delivered in both English and French and the texts were widely circulated.

One quotation, from the broadcast of February 23, 1940 is conclusive on this point. I said: "This war demands Canada's utmost effort."

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That was the policy placed before the people and overwhelmingly endorsed by their votes in that election. It is a policy from which the government has never wavered.

We believed then, and we still believe to-day that Canada can put forth her utmost effort without resorting to conscription for overseas service. But we believe equally that the situation is so grave that no unnecessary risk should be taken. That is why we are asking for authority from Parliament now to meet a future emergency if it arises.

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Conscription the logical consequence of pre-war defence expenditures

Mr. Crete (St. Maurice-Lafleche):
June 12; official translation p. 2

> In 1939, the increase in our war appropriations took on greater and more alarming proportions. Almost one hundred million dollars for war purposes. There were renewed protests on the part of those who believed Canada was definitely committed to a course of action leading to war and who stated that military preparations would inevitably lead to war, that war meant our participation in it, that such participation would become extra-territorial, that extraterritorial participation would require the sending of men and war equipment overseas, that any expeditionary force of ours would need reinforcements, and that the organization of these reinforcements was predicated on the heavy recruiting of men which would lead in the end to conscription for overseas service, which we are now being asked to adopt.

Mr. Dubois (Nicolet-Yamaska):
June 12; official translation pp. 3 & 4

> In 1937, 1938 and 1939, I opposed the increase in military appropriations, not because I was averse to incurring the defence of Canada, far from it; but because I feared the dire consequences which confront us today and which are menacing our national unity, if it still exists in our country.
>
> Step by step and from one concession to another we have now reached the brink of the abyss that was foreseen in 1937, because, whether we like it or not, this measure undoubtedly incorporates into our statute books the principle of conscription for overseas service.

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Under the pretext that our sacrosanct national unity is at stake, it will be asserted, tomorrow as today, that we are waging Canada's war for Canada, for the defence of all the liberties and all the rights of the Canadian people.

Suggested reply: The best reply is that given in the words just quoted. Wherever our men are serving, they are serving Canada.

The attitude that conscription for overseas service will not increase Canada's total effort; that we can make a better effort without conscription for overseas service is perfectly defensible. It is, in fact, the position of the government and will continue to be the policy of the government as long as the voluntary system gives adequate results.

But those hon. members who opposed Canada's defence expenditures before the outbreak of war; who would have left Canada defenceless in the face of the rising menace from Germany and Japan; are today suggesting that the defeat and conquest of Canada would be preferable to the application of conscription, should it be needed to enable Canada to help defeat Germany and Japan.

Such an attitude is unworthy of any Canadian citizen; it is doubly unworthy of a representative of the people when Canada itself is in danger and may, at any time, need the help of other free nations to defend our very

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existence. It is an example either of blindness to the terrible menace which threatens us or of a willingness to risk the lives and homes of their constituents rather than tell them the truth about the appalling danger to themselves and their country.

It is one thing to oppose conscription for overseas service because it is not needed; it is quite another to obstruct and hamper the defence of Canada because it might possibly lead to conscription for service overseas.

What kind of representative of his people is the man who today boasts of the fact that he did his utmost to prevent his country from preparing to meet the terrible danger which has now come so close to our very shores?

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CANADA SHOULD NOT HAVE GONE TO WAR

Mr. Wilfrid LaCroix (Quebec-Montmorency):
(June 16. Translation p. 7)

> ".....the declaration of war was bound to be followed by conscription for overseas service. I would have preferred it if my country .....had not declared war but had used her small manpower to set herself up as the arsenal and granary of the British Empire. That is why I voted against the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne on September 9, 1939....."

Suggested reply:

> Had this opinion prevailed there might to-day have been no British Empire and no free Britain to help keep the Nazis from Canada. Mr. Churchill told us in September, 1941, that Canada's effort constituted "an element in the resistance of the British Empire without which that resistance could not be successfully maintained."
>
> Without Canada's army in Britain, without the steady stream of pilots and airmen from the Commonwealth Plan, without the convoy work of Canada's navy, Britain to-day might be under Nazi domination.
>
> If that had happened what use would Canada have been as the arsenal and granary of the British Empire.
>
> Surely it is not necessary to wait until the city of Quebec has been bombed from the air to realize that the fate of all free countries is equally bound

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up in the defeat of the enemy and that no free country can, in its own interests, afford to sit back and let others do the fighting for its own safety.

The hon. member has consistently opposed every step in Canada's defence in this war: that record will not be forgotten in the years to come.

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C244748

Unrevised Hansard
July 22, 1942
p. 4919

Revised Hansard
July 22, 1942
pp. 4564-4565

"When the government decides that it is necessary and advisable to resort to conscription as a method of raising men for service overseas, an order in coundil will be passed dealing with members of the forces as a whole. It will not be a matter of passing a series of orders in council, but one order in council will cover the entire force.

As to further legislation at this session of parliament the introduction of an act which will amount to a military service act or something equivalent to it. My hon. friend will realize that that would mean a second debate, which would resolve itself into going over, time and time again, very much the ground already covered, notwithstanding that at the present time we have the existing regulations in reference to the calling up of men under the mobilization act. Any regulations that will be passed with respect to service overseas, I should say, broadly speaking, would be similar if not wholly identical. I cannot see wherein it is necessary to embody all these regulations in the form of an act. To introduce further legislation at this session would help to defeat one of the main purposes of this legislation, namely to get into the hands of the government, as soon as possible, the power which it is desirable it should have at this particular time."

.....

"Well, it is because of hon. members like my hon. friend who has just spoken that I have felt it absolutely necessary to have an expression of the confidence of this house before I undertake to put any conscription act into force with respect to service overseas."

.....

"There is no submission to parliament with regard to conscription. Let me make it perfectly clear that, so far as coming back to parliament for any purpose is concerned, there will be no coming back to parliament for a second debate on conscription, nor will there be any coming back to get the approval of parliament of the decision made. When the government makes its decision that decision is made, and it will be carried out either by this government or by some other government. It will not have to be approved by parliament first. The question whether or not a ministry, headed by myself will enjoy sufficient confidence in the minds of hon. members of this House of Commons and of the people of this country to administer conscription, once it has been decided that conscription for service overseas shall be enforced, is a separate matter, and it is a matter on which I shall wish to have an expression of confidence."

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Revised Hansard
July 22, 1942

C244749 Pages 4564
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Unrevised Hansard
July 23, 1942
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"I want to make perfectly sure at the present time that, so far as I am concerned, coming to this house for an expression of confidence at any time, undue time will not be consumed in debate. Hon. members will be given within a certain period of time, a chance to show where they stand and that will be a period of time which the people of this country will deem reasonable and sufficient for the purpose. I hope that is clear so that the country and hon. members will see there are not any delays whatsoever. Once the decision of the government is reached the government is going to proceed immediately and rapidly with the question of confidence and in carrying out to the full the intent and purpose of its decision."

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W.L.M.K.
23.7.42.

C244751

Hanson's request

How met - not because similarly placed.

How acted upon by him -

personal attack on self.

Pretext to read prepared speech

Introduction of new matter might have appealed to speakers.

His speech - old matter.

Attack on self.

Effort to undermine confidence in Government and myself in particular.

See phrases used.

Preserve political position.

Consolidation of " "

Procrastination
Appeasement
Casuistry
Contortion - twisting - turning

A pledge from ever putting this pledge into effect.

What leadership! and What spectacle!

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C244752

Re: Leadership.

23 years sat opposite several (3 men) different leaders.

Over 15 years in office - rest in opposition.

Hanson's leadership

not a bed of roses

nor a conspicuous ~~principle.~~ achievements

Skelton 2-leaders

One inside House - other out.

Spectacle - two leaders.

Party not wholly prepared to follow either.

Re: New Formula.

Read statement from Hansard

2 paragraphs

make clear distinction.

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What would be said if different course taken.

My position re.

Responsibility of Executive to Parliament.

Preserve the substance, not the shadow of responsibility to Parliament -

Supremacy of Parliament.

Need for taking this course.

See Hansard statements.

Press.

Hanson's speech fullest justification.

Say I have not confidence, then condemned for offering to give a chance to express confidence. NOW

Time needed for debate.

Conscription put through under closure.

Churchill's course:

Follow and for same reasons.

Detraction, etc., destruction of war effort.

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~~4~~ 4920

W.L. Course. (Above)

New responsibilities,

Need ~~leading~~ working of Parliament.

Colleagues know position.

Country knows "

Mrs Andrew Brown

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"In the matter of putting conscription for service overseas into force, should that become necessary, there will be no delay in conscripting or training men. Exactly the same number will be called up by exactly the same method, regardless of geographical sphere of service. If the supply of volunteers fails there will be no question of starting a new system; all that will be required will be to extend the scope of service of men already called up and trained. That is the answer to the question as to the effect of delay in putting this system into force."

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Unrevised Hansard
July 23, 1942
p. 4984

Revised Hansard
p. 4625

C244756

...."I do not wish to assume any obligation that hon. members of this house have not full faith in my carrying out to the letter. May I say this to my fellow-members of the House of Commons: I have shirked no responsibility of any kind since this war came on that I believed to be in the national interest. I have not hesitated to ask this House of Commons for any measure that I thought was essential in the national interest."

.....

"I was taking a very grave responsibility when I came into this chamber and asked this House of Commons to support a policy which would carry Canada into the war. I had taken the greatest responsibility that any human being on earth can take, that of bringing his own country into the war. I did not shirk that responsibility because I believed it was in the interest of our country that we should take that step. And after three years of war I ask my friends in this house tonight whether they think I was wrong in taking that step at that time.

I feel exactly the same about this matter of conscription for overseas service. Up to the present time I have not felt it necessary to conscript men for service overseas because our Canadians were doing honour to themselves and to their country by enlisting for training for service anywhere in larger numbers than we could prepare them. But I say tonight that, with the world situation what it is ..... I would be derelict to the responsibility which I bear to the country and to my fellow-members if I did not say to them that I believed it was absolutely in the interest of the country that the government should have power to take any step at any time that it deems necessary, so long as it takes that step in the light of its responsibility to parliament."

.....

"If I am persuaded that it is necessary and desirable to resort to conscription of men for overseas service, I am going to support that view. But the minute I support that view, if it is the view of the cabinet, I wish to be able to come to this House of Commons and say: The cabinet has reached this decision; the next step will be to enforce it. Before that next step is taken I want this House of Commons to declare whether it has confidence in me as the head of the administration that is to carry out this policy of conscription or whether hon. members prefer to have another government in the place of the administration now in office. That is my conception of carrying out my responsibility to parliament."

.....

."the people of this country will want to know two things: first, whether the head of the government that is carrying on this war has the confidence of the majority in this House of Commons, anc second, where the members of this House of Commons stand, each one of them, not by their words but by their vote, on the question of the course that may be thought necessary by the administration in the winning of the war. And I intend, if it lies in my power, to see that this House of Commons gets that opportunity, so that the people will know exactly where each and every one of us stands."

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Unrevised Hansard
July 23, 1942
p. 4986

Revised Hansard
July 23, 1942
p. 4627

C244758

.."when this bill passes both houses, as I believe it will pass, and is assented to, the government will have been given by parliament power to conscript men for service overseas. That power will rest in the government. It will be there. The policy of the government is to exercise that power when it believes it necessary to do so, when it is necessary to resort to conscription to make Canada's war effort more effective. When the decision is made by the government - if and when it is made - that settles the matter as far as conscription is concerned. Conscription will have been enacted; the government will have declared that it is necessary for the carrying on of the war. There will be no question of referring that matter to parliament at all. And may I add this, that if that should happen between now and the end of this year there could not be a debate on it, even if some hon members might wish to have one. .."

....

.."according to my policy already stated the decision will be settled by the administration under the power given to it by this legislation.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is a very different thing when a decision has been reached which places additional responsibilities on the ministry, responsibilities which must be viewed by any wise ministry in the light of all that has gone before; in the light of all that has taken place during this debate in this House of Commons; in the light, as my hon. friend the former minister said this afternoon, of what is going to be the result of the enforcement of that policy not only in the immediate future but for all time to come; I say when all that responsibility is added to the responsibility already on the shoulders of the ministry, I think it very desirable that this House of Commons should say whether it is prepared to give its support to the administration to carry on with that extra responsibility, or whether it is going to withhold its support just at the time it is most needed."

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C244759

National Resources Mobiliziation Act (1940)

Passed House of Commons June 20, 1940

Received Royal Assent June 21, 1940

National Resources Mobiliziation Act - Amendment (1942)

Passed House of Commons July 23, 1942

Re Received Royal Assent August 1, 1942

National Selective Service

Manpower and a Total War Effort
August 19, 1942

(printed copy attached)

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
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Extract from reprint of
Broadcast by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
"Manpower and a Total War Effort"
August 19, 1942

"The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three Defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the Department of National War Services. It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the Director of National Selective Service. In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the Department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service."

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44 years ago, at the time of the South African war -

"If there is anything to which I have devoted my political life, it is to try to promote unity, harmony and amity between the diverse elements of this country. My friends can desert me, they can remove their confidence from me, they can withdraw the trust they have placed in my hands, but never shall I deviate from that line of policy. Whatever may be the consequences, whether loss of prestige, loss of popularity, or loss of power, I feel that I am in the right, and I know that a time will come when every man will render me full justice on that score."

March 18, 1900.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier by Peter Macgregor
p.97

In conclusion,

Let me repeat these words as words of my own

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Extract from Revised Hansard - House of Commons
March 19, 1918, p. 20:

SIR WILFRID LAURIER:

.....On the other hand the Allied Nations are all united in proclaiming their devotion to the cause of freedom; and if any government among them should depart from that ideal, an ideal that still lives in the minds, in the hearts, and in the souls of the people, sooner or later when the greater danger which overshadows us has been conquered and overcome, the recusants will be called to severe account. But our first duty is to overcome the greater danger which threatens, and to that imperative duty we on this side of the House will give, with all our might, whatever it may be, and with our whole heart, we shall give it our undivided support."

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"Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier" by Oscard Douglas Skelton

First public address after election to the leadership, political picnic at Somerset, Megantic County, Que, Aug. 2, 1887:

"French Canadians, I ask you one thing, that, while remembering that I, a French-Canadian, have been elected leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, you will not lose sight of the fact that the limits of our common country are not confined to the province of Quebec, but that they extend to all the territory of Canada, and that our country is wherever the British flag waves in America. I ask you to remember this in order to remind you that your duty is simply and above all to be Canadians. To be Canadians! That was the object of Confederation in the intention of its authors; the aim and end of Confederation was to bring the different races closer together, to soften the asperities of their mutual relations and to connect the scattered groups of British subjects."

Vol.I,p.355

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"Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier" by Oscar Douglas Skelton

C244764

At Monument National in Montreal, on June 3, 1916:

"This, my compatriots, is what I ask - this is the entente cordiale I would have us achieve by service together. I have followed the ideal of conscience as prompted by my heart. Do not let us waver from the right line of conduct. I am older than most of you, and I am more than ever convinced that there is no real success but that which is based and has its foundations on right and justice and the generous instincts of the human heart. Let us unite to allay and, please God, to extinguish the prejudices that pull us apart, and do our utmost like real men and women to bring together the two elements in our country...

Come, my young compatriots, with these brave young men who offer their services - their lives - that France may live, that Britain may continue her noble and generous role and that heroic Belgium may be restored to her standing as a nation."

Vol. II p.468

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CANADA

C244765

Extract from John A.'s speech of the 6th of February, 1865, in the Canadian Parliament, when, on behalf of the Government of the day, he submitted the scheme for the confederation of all British North American Provinces.

He began by observing that the scheme had been received with general, if not universal, approbation in Canada. The subject, he said, was not new. For years it had more or less attracted the attention of every statesman and politician in these provinces and had been looked upon as being eventually the means of deciding and settling very many of the vexed questions which had retarded the prosperity of the colonies as a whole, and particularly the prosperity of Canada. The matter had first been introduced into the realm of practical politics by Mr. (later Sir) Alexander Galt in 1858. The subject did not begin to assume its present proportions until the summer of 1864.

"Then men of all parties and all shades of politics," Mr. Macdonald continued, "became alarmed at the aspect of affairs. They found that such was the opposition between the two sections of the province, such was the danger of impending anarchy, in consequence of the irreconcileable differences of opinion with respect to representation by population, between Upper and Lower Canada, that unless some solution of the difficulty was arrived at, we would suffer a succession of weak governments -- weak in numerical support, weak in force, and weak in power of doing good. All were alarmed at this state of affairs. We had election after election -- we had ministry after ministry, with the same result.....None were more impressed by this momentous state of affairs, and the grave apprehensions that existed of a state of anarchy destroying our credit, destroying our prosperity, destroying our progress, than were the members of this present House; and the leading statesmen on both sides seemed to have come to the common conclusion, that some step must be taken to relieve the country of the deadlock and impending anarchy that hung over us."

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C244706

Extract from John A.'s speech of the 6th of February, 1865, in the Canadian Parliament, when, on behalf of the Government of the day, he submitted the scheme for the confederation of all British North American Provinces.

Sir John began by observing that the scheme had been received with general, if not universal, approbation in Canada. The subject, he said, was not new. For years it had more or less attracted the attention of every statesman and politician in these provinces and had been looked upon as being eventually the means of deciding and settling very many of the vexed questions which had retarded the prosperity of the colonies as a whole, and particularly the prosperity of Canada.

The matter had first been introduced into the realm of practical politics by Mr. (later Sir) Alexander Galt in 1858. The subject did not begin to assume its present proportions until the summer of 1864.

"Then men of all parties and all shades of politics," Mr. Macdonald continued, "became alarmed at the aspect of affairs. They found that such was the opposition between the two sections of the province (Canada under Union Act) such was the danger of impending anarchy, in consequence of the irreconcileable differences of opinion with respect to representation by population, between Upper and Lower Canada, that unless some solution of the difficulty was arrived at, we would suffer a succession of weak governments -- weak in numerical support, weak in force, and weak in power of doing good. All were alarmed at this state of affairs. We had election after election -- we had ministry after ministry, and with the same result.....None were more impressed by this momentous state of affairs, and the grave apprehensions that existed of a state of anarchy destroying our credit, destroying our prosperity, destroying our progress, than were the members of this present House; and the leading statesmen on both sides seemed to have come to the common conclusion, that some step must be taken to relieve the country of the deadlock and impending anarchy that hung over us."

(Debates on Confederation of British North American Provinces, Legislature of Canada, 3rd Session, 8th Parliament, 1865; p.26.)

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SIR WILFRID LAURIER by Peter McArthur C244767

p. 197:

"If there is anything to which I have devoted my political life, it is to try to promote unity, harmony and amity between the diverse elements of this country. My friends can desert me, they can remove their confidence from me, they can withdraw the trust they have placed in my hands, but never shall I deviate from that line of policy. Whatever may be the consequences, whether loss of prestige, loss of popularity, or loss of power, I feel that I am in the right, and I know that a time will come when every man will render me full justice on that score." March 18, 1900.

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SIR WILFRID LAURIER by Peter McArthur

P. 106-7

(War Session 1914)

"This session has been called for the purpose of giving the authority of Parliament and the sanction of law to such measures as have already been taken by the Government, and any further measures that may be needed, to insure the defence of Canada and to give what aid may be in our power to the Mother Country in the stupendous struggle which now confronts us. Speaking for those who sit around me, speaking for the wide constituency which we represent in this House, I hasten to say that to all these measures we are prepared to give immediate assent. If in what has been done or in what remains to be done there may be anything which in our judgment should not be done or should be differently done, we raise no question, we take no exception, we offer no criticism, and we shall offer no criticism so long as there is danger at the front."

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House of Commons Debates
Revised Edition
September 9, 1939 pp.67-8

MR. LAPOINTE:

..... Much has been said about an expeditionary force. Let me say first that I agree with what the Prime Minister said yesterday. Applications are pouring in - and they are coming from Quebec also - from people who want to enlist. Far from urging people to do so, we have so far taken the position that it is better to act in an orderly way, to avoid confusion and consult with those whom we want to help. But if the need comes, does any member of the house think any Canadian government, whether this or any other, could stop the thousands of volunteers who would like to fight for Britain and France? Does my hon. friend from Beauharnois-Laprairie believe that a government, even if he were a member of it, could resist the pressure from all parts of Canada for an expeditionary force? Unfortunately, or according to my own view fortunately, this country has to be ruled by one government, and no government could stay in office if it refused to do what the large majority of Canadians wanted it to do.

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C244770

House of Commons Debates
Revised Edition
March 31, 1939, pp.2469-2471

MR. LAPOINTE:...Canada is part of the world, and this planet unfortunately cannot be considered today as an earthly paradise inhabited only by benevolent and rational beings of an altruistic turn of mind. It is not an oasis rich in natural resources used only to benefit mankind but never to excite the covetousness of predatory powers. The seven thousand mile flight from Egypt to Australia of three British service bombers is fresh in the memory of everyone. It is quite evident that Canada is now all within the possible sphere of action of any military power of the first rank, should that power deem the action worth while. In this troubled period of history Canadians cannot be mere spectators; they are vitally interested in the outcome of the tragedies enacted before their very eyes. Much of the bloodshed and misery that history records has been the direct result of honest, idealistic but impractical wishful thinking. There is no reason on earth why pious aspirations, unapported by anything more substantial, should be more effective protection for us than they proved to be for Abyssinia or China; and we must remember that even the excellent Czech army proved inadequate when left without support. So I say this, and I want my colleagues to hear and understand me: if there is one chance in a thousand that what our experts say could happen may occur, I should be a traitor to Canada, to my own people, if I would not help to provide against it.

.....

....."e should be ready to show the world upon which side this country stands in the international fight for freedom and liberty. I shall continue to try to impress upon my fellow countrymen the necessity of working for peace. I shall continue to try to see that our great country has those opportunities for development which she must have to fulfil her great destiny.

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C244771

Unrevised Hansard
July 23, 1942
p. 4986

.."when this bill passes both houses, as I believe it will pass, and is assented to, the government will have been given by parliament power to conscript men for service overseas. That power will rest in the government. It will be there. The policy of the government is to exercise that power when it believes it necessary to do so, when it is necessary to resort to conscription to make Canada's war effort more effective. When the decision is made by the government - if and when it is made - that settles the matter as far as conscription is concerned. Conscription will have been enacted; the government will have declared that it is necessary for the carrying on of the war. There will be no question of referring that matter to parliament at all. And may I add this, that if that should happen between now and the end of this year there could not be a debate on it, even if some hon members might wish to have one...."

....

.."according to my policy already stated the decision will be settled by the administration under the power given to it by this legislation.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is a very different thing when a decision has been reached which places additional responsibilities on the ministry, responsibilities which must be viewed by any wise ministry in the light of all that has gone before; in the light of all that has taken place during this debate in this House of Commons; in the light, as my hon. friend the former minister said this afternoon, of what is going to be the result of the enforcement of that policy not only in the immediate future but for all time to come; I say when all that responsibility is added to the responsibility already on the shoulders of the ministry, I think it very desirable that this House of Commons should say whether it is prepared to give its support to the administration to carry on with that extra responsibility, or whether it is going to withhold its support just at the time it is most needed."

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CONFIDENTIAL

C244772

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Method of conscription and responsibility to Parliament.

There are persistent rumours that the government is contemplating a change in the method of conscripting men under the National Resources Mobilization Act with a transfer of responsibility to the Department of Labour.

If any change of method is in contemplation, it is surely of the utmost importance that it be made before the adjournment of Parliament and announced to Parliament.

If a change of method were announced shortly after the adjournment, it would make a hollow pretence of the Prime Minister's statement that: "I am not talking about the shadow of responsibility; I am talking about the substance of responsibility."

-- Three Hansard extracts from the Prime Minister's statements are attached. There can be no question that they convey the impression that the present method of conscripting men is to be continued; that no "new system" is to be started.

In the case of price control there was a good defence of action on the eve of the meeting of Parliament; the problem was urgent and Parliament had an early opportunity of debating the policy.

In this case, if there is any substance in the rumours, it would look as though the government had waited until it had got rid of Parliament to take action on a matter which it will be impossible to claim is more urgent in August or September than in July.

W. L. M. K.

July 25, 1942.

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C244773

Unrevised Hansard
July 22nd, 1942,
Pages 4919-20.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: When the government decides that it is necessary and advisable to resort to conscription as a method of raising men for service overseas, an order in council will be passed dealing with members of the forces as a whole. It will not be a matter of passing a series of orders in council, but one order in council will cover the entire force. That, I think, answers my hon. friend's first question.

As to the second, what he proposes is further legislation at this session of parliament, the introduction of an act which will amount to a military service act or something equivalent to it. My hon. friend will realize that that would mean a second debate, which would resolve itself into going over, time and time again, very much the ground already covered, notwithstanding that at the present time we have the existing regulations in reference to the calling up of men under the mobilization act. Any regulations that will be passed with respect to service overseas, I should say, broadly speaking, would be similar if not wholly identical. I cannot see wherein it is necessary to embody all these regulations in the form of an act. To introduce further legislation at this session would help to defeat one of the main purposes of this legislation, namely to get into the hands of the government, as soon as possible, the power which it is desirable it should have at this particular time.

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C244774

Unrevised Hansard
July 22nd, 1942,
Page 4922.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There is this difference between the situation in 1917 and that to-day. In 1917 all the regulations had still to be framed. To-day we have regulations that have been in existence since the National Resources Mobilization Act was passed. The act has been on the statute books now for a couple of year; the regulations have been framed; action has been taken under them; they are known, and what is perhaps most important of all is that the years have brought experience in the framing of regulations, the benefit of which could not have been obtained in any other way. The regulations that will govern hereafter will be, as I said a moment ago, to all intents and purposes the same regulations, only made applicable over a wider area. Therefore the necessity for any legislative enactment setting out the regulations at this time is entirely different from what it was in 1917. It is correspondingly unnecessary.

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Unrevised Hansard
July 23rd, 1942,
Page 4984:

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In the matter of putting conscription for service overseas into force, should that become necessary there will be no delay in conscripting or training men. Exactly the same number will be called up by exactly the same method, regardless of geographical sphere of service. If the supply of volunteers fails there will be no question of starting a new system; all that will be required will be to extend the scope of service of men already called up and trained. That is the answer to the question as to the effect of delay in putting this system into force.

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mobilization

C244776

COPY

2. A few newspapers have commented on the work of the recent session of the House of Commons. The MANCHESTER (N.H.) UNION, in an editorial on August 6th entitled "Democracy Wins in Canada", praised the wise way in which the Canadian Government had handled the overseas conscription issue in Parliament and lauded Canada's war effort generally, pointing out that by next spring the Dominion would have the United States equivalent of eight million men in its armed forces. Similarly, the NEW YORK SUN on August 8th, in an editorial (attached herewith) entitled "Canada Fights and Pays", stated:

> "The session which has just arrived at its close was memorable for intelligent but unhurried action on various measures of taxation and finance but most of all on the Overseas Conscription Act."

From: Canadian Charge d'Affaires in Washington
No. 2063, August 17th, 1942

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August 19, 1942

"The enlistment of men for the navy, air force and active army will continue to be carried on directly by the three Defence departments. For the immediate present, the conscription of men for military service in Canada will remain the responsibility of the Department of National War Services. It is planned, in the near future, to transfer the task of calling up men for military service to the Director of National Selective Service. In anticipation of this transfer, there will be close co-ordination between the Department of National War Services and the National Selective Service administration. This will serve to avoid undue dislocation of war industry resulting from the calling of men for military service."

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conscription

C244778

Report of Speech by Field Marshal Smuts

February 4, 1943

Official rendering of Prime Minister's speech will not be available until publication of Hansard in about two weeks. In the meantime unofficial version as reported in the local press is as follows:-

In debate on motion regarding service of South African troops outside this continent - an Opposition member asked the Prime Minister why he did not follow Mr. King's example and appeal to the country. General Smuts replied: "In Canada the situation was different. There the Government had to deal with conscription. Canada had raised an army of volunteers which had been sent overseas from the beginning of the war. The question arose if further steps should be taken to increase the size of the army and if conscription was necessary to do so. At the last general election Mr. King gave an undertaking that he would carry on without conscription. It appeared later, however, that conscription might be necessary after all and Mr. King ordered a referendum and asked the people to release him from his undertaking. The referendum had nothing to do with volunteers for overseas service but with conscription".

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From radio address of November 14, 1943 - Thanks for response to Fifth Victory Loan:

" For my part, I believe that the only assumption on which it is right to proceed is that which Mr. Churchill recently expressed as the one on which he, himself, was proceeding; namely, that the campaign of 1944 in Europe, will be the most severe, and, to the Western Allies, the most costly in lives of any we have yet fought.

How long that campaign may last, no one can tell. It may be before, it may be beyond, another Remembrance Day. All that we know of a certainty is that every effective contribution we now make will speed the victory, and will save many lives. That is why the success of Canada's Fifth Victory Loan will continue to mean so much to our fighting men. "

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DEPARTMENT OF
PENSIONS AND NATIONAL HEALTH [1944]

MINISTER'S OFFICE

Memorandum: C244780

re Kobe Crew

Thanks very much

Will / Thanks & Mackenzie
re Commodore

With apologies
for late reply.

There may
be some words
I want to
change.

L. M. K.

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Top Secret. C244784

My dear Prime Minister

I am being subjected
importunate to send you some
suggestions with the request
that any merit in them may
be utilized - but the text
be destroyed.
First of all let us analyse the
issue. The case is

Is conscription imperative?

See Hansard debates.

The argument adduced that we
should support our boys on
the Scheldt - or the Adriatic.
is specious and spurious -
we all want to do
that as much as
any one Minister.

We all want to see our
forces adequately and completely
reinforced - but the question is

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How many forces can
we with a small population
of 11.927.000 — with our
manpower diversified into
so many activities — food
fisheries — munitions — forest
supply — factory — forge —
finance — how many front
line forces — can we re-inforce?

The General Staff
have told us.

1. That our Infantry
Casualties would be
48%.
They are 71%

2. They told us we are
to be 2350 short on
Dec. 31st - 1944.
I can find no basis
or reason for this -

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Secret

C244783

3. Crerar was completely satisfied until 2 months ago

4. On D. day we had a full pool for three months according to our General Staff

—

What then is the Situation to-day.

1. In certain categories of combat casualties have been heavier than anticipated or forecast —

2. Re-mustering has of course been made available. This is

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not a novel but a
industrial process of
re-alignment and of
re-adjustment both for
defence and attack.

3. Our battle strength within the areas assigned by the High Command and communicate with our available resources - based on the broadest consideration of National Policy - must be maintained.

4. These areas must not be unduly enlarged nor our strength unduly strained. Our battle potential is part of a great composite national effort.

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5. We have gained of our best - men and women - we have gained in materials - in production - in finance - in supplies of every kind

6. We have been sustained and encouraged by a commendable degree of unity within the nation and definitely consider that the extension of Empire issues on the Eve of victory would deteriorate our National Effort and would constitute an incalculable diminution of our contribution to the cause of the United Nations

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C244786

What would conscription do?

1. after four years of a noble war effort it would disrupt the Country.

2. It is not justified on the basis of relative populations — European nations have many men — but lack the Equipment for war.

3 National Unity is more important — than a meagre contribution by conscription of men to Safety Army pulic-

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4 Conscription Now
would be an admission
of the failure of
Government policy for
five years.

5. Conscription now
would be a triumph
for Drew - McCullagh
and their ilk - who
desire the defeat of
King more than they
desire the defeat of
Hitler

6. Conscription now
would mean the destruction
of the present Administration
- not only here but
in this country

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7. consumption now

caused mean the
destruction of the Liberal
Party as an effective
National Factor for
Social Reform and Social
Progress

And so. The Issue

1. It is crystal clear

2. The threat to me
may be short of
reinforcements by January 1

3. That may or may
not be true

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4. We are abundantly supplied with equipments in all other units of the services

5. The Remedy then should be

(A) Divert your training stream from other services to Infantry with Specialized training in an intensified training Campaign

(B) Lessen your battle potential - Equip other nations who have been in custody - whom we have helped to restore to freedom

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10

They leave the men
We leave the materials

(c) Issue a direct personal appeal as Prime Minister to all soldiers called up under N.R.M.A.

1. To volunteer at once and help our Infantry Effort overseas

2. Warn those who do not volunteer now for Infantry Service - they will be held liable on Armistice Day for Police Duty overseas

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3. It is our hope and intention that the ships that bring them to Europe would bring our volunteers with the longest service from Canada - for demobilization - or leave - as they may freely choose.

4. That long and anxious period of waiting and watching in England - so exacting and so difficult to endure - has been followed by brilliant campaigns

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4 in which our troops have covered themselves with glory - in Sicily - Italy - France - Belgium and Holland.

It is now considered that the time to reunite our forces has arrived. That will entail regrouping and re-alignment. It will mean a Canadian army with ample supports - ample reserves - ample reinforcements - striking as a co-ordinated Canadian force. A Canadian food - Canadian reinforced

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5. I have asked
to take the position
of Minister of National
Defence and to
assume the responsibilities
attendant upon the
regrouping of our forces
and of re-uniting them
as a great Battle
Army

6 This re-grouping will
be carried out with
the complete concurrence
of the High Command

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7. Certain Moves
of the General Staff
who failed to keep
the Govement advised
of Commitments made
and of their consequences
will be transferred
to other duties

8. The Army must and
will be supported
in the most effective
way and under the
most effective direction

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9. It is my earnest and truly sincere desire to assure the people of Canada that we regard the fullest and most complete support of our fighting forces as our most sacred trust - and most sacred obligation.

10. The Infantry line will never be left thin - but neither will it be left too long or too long drawn-out.

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11. We have done a magnificent job together in the last five years

Give me your continuing confidence — and together we will finish the job

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Speech 27 Nov 27 ? 1944

Re: Ralston's resignation.

Ralston repeatedly mentions intention to resign if his recommendation not accepted (see same).

Finally made clear this was getting to be a matter of

Was I justified in seeing how situation should be met if he did resign?

Look at the position as I faced Ralston's resignation:

(I) No Minister of Defence;

(2) The Associate Minister of Defence had been absent -

No Minister for Air same time, on account of illness - undergoing operation;

(3) Possible, yes probable further resignations if no Minister of Defence.

This, at a time of war.

This, with no Parliament in session -

there might possibly have been no government.

I had offered to step aside and let other colleagues assume the responsibility.

How would this help to get the men required?

Would probably mean general election in middle of war.

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In these circumstances I sought out General McNaughton.

We had great faith in voluntary system.

Believed his presence would give assurance to men overseas and to parents and relatives at home..

McNaughton coming in saved that situation at that time.

Where would we have been today?

in Canada,

men overseas, etc.

Government in Canada would have crashed.

To war overseas, there would have been added

civil strife in all parts of Canada.

Would that have helped men overseas?

Would that have helped Quebec?

Only unparalleled dissension.

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Public appeal for voluntary enlistments:

General McNaughton at Arnprior

" " in Ottawa

My own appeal over radio (copy attached)

Continued sifting re General Service men available.

Officers called in.

Cabinet Committee formed (I) get out facts,

(2) work out means of individual approach to draftees.

Appeal by other Ministers - e.g. LaFleche.

Note - clearing up of numbers,

" " " situation re French-Canadians.

Appeal frustrated by counter measures of section of press and some other organizations.

Situation growing more serious.

Parliament summoned.

In all this one favourable factor - Ministry maintained intact.

Time gained and given for people to understand the issue.

Opportunity given peoples representatives in Parliament to decide.

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Situation at moment Parliament assembled.

Those in Cabinet who believed resort should be had to conscription under Bill 80.

Those who believed means could still be found to avoid resort to conscription.

See Power's reasons for resignation.

It was clear that if a considerable number of Ministers on either side were to resign, it would be necessary for me to tender my resignation to the Governor General. This I was quite prepared to do. But, I owed it to the country to be sure that before so doing I could find for His Excellency some one who was willing and able to form a ministry to carry the government of the country either under a policy of out and out conscription or under a policy of voluntary enlistment for overseas, - I could think of none, either among my own colleagues or others - and that in so doing there would be the slighest hope of meeting the real objective - namely, securing the necessary reinforcements for overseas.

Again, there was danger of the whole structure of government crashing to the ground, Canada being left without a government at a time of war, and no prospect that I could see of one being formed that would be able to carry on.

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"Not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary"

"Necessary and advisable"

This brings me to the govt's policy as set forth in June 1942 and which has been defined as

"Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary" - and I might add the words "to the extent necessary".

See statement re

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Use for 1940 or 1942?

(C.A.CURTIS TO WLMK) 1944.

MEMORANDUM RE: CONSCRIPTION ISSUE

C244802

The present crisis, if it can be called that, has developed over a reported need for infantry reinforcements, not necessarily now but in the near future. The core of the problem is - does the situation call for conscription for overseas service and the abandonment of the so-called voluntary system. This raises the question, why did Canada start with the voluntary system rather than the draft, as in Britain and the United States?

The answer to this question is that roughly one-third of the Canadian population is French and Catholic mostly centred in the province of Quebec where it has developed a culture which it regards with pride and jealousy. It has certain privileges and rights which, in the main, were initiated by the British Government to provide a counterweight to the American colonies, later the United States. The French, as a minority, have something of an inferiority complex and have a profound suspicion that the rest of Canada intends to abridge these "rights and privileges". One of the significant symbols to the French of this aggressive attitude of other Canadians is conscription for overseas service. It has come to have a weight out of all proportion to its real significance. But as a fact it has to be accepted and that is what all parties did in the election of 1940 when they all pledged themselves against conscription in order to gain the maximum of national unity.

The events of 1940 and 1941 brought forth a demand

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for conscription from most parts of Canada and the Government took a plebiscite on the use, if the situation required it, of conscription for overseas service. The country generally voted yes, -- that is, everywhere but in Quebec for whom the pledge was meant. To what extent in principle such an ambiguous vote removed the pledge from the Government, remains for political philosophers to settle; it settled very little. The fact is that the French are as opposed as ever to conscription and its imposition, which is regarded as a betrayal, will be as injurious to the long run unity of this country as it would have been at any time.

Now the question is, what condition has arisen which required this country to be split again by the imposition of conscription. The answer is the need for trained infantry reinforcements such as the Home Defense Force could supply. This need arises because the voluntary system is not providing sufficient replacements. But it will be noted that Col. Ralston's statement indicated that the over-all picture was satisfactory; it was the failure to make a correct allocation among the different fields of service, that was the trouble. This in turn raises some questions:

1. Who is responsible for the size of the present overseas establishment? (which must have been undertaken on the assumption that it could be kept up on a voluntary system)

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2. Why was the shift in the nature of the casualties not perceived earlier by the Army Command?
3. Where are all the Army Personnel?
4. Was the great expansion of the Navy and Airforce contemplated and planned for, as well as the Army establishment?
5. If the Army command was wrong or slow in these matters, why should its judgment now be made the basis for a radical departure in Canadian policy?

While the answers to these and similar questions would be of interest, they do not touch the fundamental considerations involved in changing the Canadian policy of voluntary service.

The world situation in 1940 - 41 and part of '42 was pretty grim, and it might well have developed to where national unity would take second place to national survival. But 1943 and 1944 have ended that crisis,and to call any need for infantry reinforcements now a national need to compare the possible situation in 1940-2 is to have no sense of proportion. The war is now nearing an end - whether it goes slow or fast. It seems folly to impose conscription now, and again divide the French and English in this country for years to come, all for the sake of a few men whose presence in France will have not the least effect on the ultimate outcome of the war. A little reflection - and this is what most people lack now - would convince any reasonable person that any alternative is preferable. Canada reduced its field forces in the last war,

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when the situation was far more critical; Australia is now demobilizing some of its forces and its honor is untarnished. So if reducing the field establishment is the only alternative to conscription, it can be again done.

Turning to the more political aspects, it must be realized that there are all kinds of sincere people who are, and who have been, in favour of conscription in Canada. But the drive for it now is a political drive sparked by the same group that for ten years have been hounding Mr. King and the Liberal party. They have sought issues in everything: Bren gun contracts, shoe contracts, everywhere and anywhere. Their main aim is to crush Mr. King and gain control of the Government; for many others, the main aim is to crack the French. Now, if the group were successful in ousting Mr. King, they would, if possession of power depended on it, have not the least reluctance to side-track the conscription, and join the Quebec nationalists. This in effect was done in 1911; it can be done again.

The Liberal Government and party and its members might as well realize that it will have to finish the war - barring terrific reverses - on the same policy as it started it: voluntary enlistment. It will gain no votes by changing, it will be branded for a death-bed repentance, and it will be inhibited by its own sense of failure. It will lose Quebec - the cornerstone of its structure - and as in 1917, it will be torn and rent. The policy adopted in 1939 was wise in its tolerance, and one that the Liberal party need

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C244806

never regret.

It is also probable that it is the only policy which will save party government as we have known it. After a second break on this issue, Quebec may no more trust the Liberal party than it has trusted the Conservative party since 1917. It would be strongly tempted to form a solid bloc to protect its own interests. The retort to a Quebec party would be an Ontario Protestant party and probably still other divisions into petty factions. Despite the unifying effect of two national parties, provincial factionalism is already too strong. A break-up of the party system would have consequences no-one can care to contemplate.

The present crisis is an emotional and artificial one. From the long run, or viewpoint, of the unity of Canada and the good of the Liberal party, the policy of every Liberal should be to support Mr. King, sit tight, and do nothing to add to the difficulty of governing an already difficult country. The coming election will give every individual an opportunity to pass judgment, and if the policy of the Government is not satisfactory, others will take over; they can finish the war and make the peace.

After all, it should never be forgotten that the Army is only one of Canada's war efforts. There are the other armed forces, the Navy and the Airforce. In addition, there is the production of machines, armaments and supplies, which has been a magnificant job. All this has been possible on

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such a tremendous scale, because in part, Quebec has been pulled along by a non-conscription policy and that province has gone farther than any one would have guessed in 1939. All these great accomplishments will go down in the wreck, and be condemned with the rest.

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C244808

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Oct 15-16 44

Feb 14.44

MEMORANDUM

Against Conscription { against US
S. Africa US
my hands

5 years of war + enormous effort

a second war + carry on against Japan
1 year + 6 mos. before larger army, air and naval contribution

Have begun demobilizations

Have underestimated difficulties of reconstruction, Veterans affairs etc.

Financial Elucidation pending

Have morning clear

Area of conflict narrowing Belgium France Italy, Holland + Norway, Denmark Yugoslavia Rumania, Greece Hungary Slovakia

Germany unbeaten.

If needed + have considerable Navy + Air do eastern part

Reduce siege of Germany (convoy + contribute convoy vessels)

Bring back men from outlying ports Australia, Bermuda, West Indies

After 5 years of war. do not have heart war

refuse all the wrongs Borden requires

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2/ C244809

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

On Bordeaux selection – Jews of Bordeaux
Kashi election

Brock Canada from Empire

New Army agreed to at present size
here assured conscription not
used in army.

Other forces based on this assumption

All Finnish aid by Dec – 5th
silence of moment Dead hearing
Effort

MEMORANDUM
Privy Council Office C244810

Ottawa, March 7th, 1944.

The Prime Minister

For information.

A.D.P.H.

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C244811

W 319-3
1944

CANADA

WARTIME INFORMATION BOARD

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL MANAGER

Ottawa,
March 6, 1944.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM to Members of the Cabinet

The following observations on Canadian public opinion have been reported to WIB during the past week. While open to possible later correction, they come from sources which we have found reliable in the past.

1. The war - The general picture this week is of something like apathy. Reports from Victoria, Fort William, Toronto, Montreal and Saint John stress the numbing effect of four years of war, the "listless" way in which news is discussed and the tendency to think mainly about other things. One observer recalls with surprise how optimistic everyone was only a few months ago. Disappointment with the static position in Italy appears to be one factor in the present lack of interest in the war; another is the inevitable strain of waiting for the next major move; some observers link it up with disillusionment as to the spirit in which Allied leaders are approaching the problems of world reconstruction.

2. Home Defence Forces - Colonel Ralston's reference to N.R.M.A. troops as potential reinforcements continues to bring unfavourable comments from Quebec. The tone of these, however, is possibly significant; it is less one of angry resistance than one of cynical resignation to something long feared and predicted. The predominant attitute in English-speaking areas appears to be that these men should either be sent overseas or else released for essential civilian service.

3. Rationing changes - The cut in butter rations seems to have been expected and to have aroused little discussion or complaint except in Quebec, where its imposition at the beginning of Lent is felt as an additional hardship. Quebec observers also report some grumbling at reducing our rations "to feed England". - The suspension of meat rationing aroused little enthusiasm among consumers in general, many of whom had previously expressed themselves as opposed to tinkering with controls that are working well. Tradesmen and restaurant and hotel keepers are, of course, pleased. Farmers are reported as doubtful whether it will relieve the situation much, and there are demands for the opening of the American market.

PLEASE TURN OVER

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C244811A

4. Information gaps - This week's reports suggest three points on which further explanatory information appears to be needed: a) Western people do not yet understand why Eastern Canada should import American coal while Alberta mines are partially shut down; b) the figures on export of Canadian beer to the United States are tending to increase criticism of the restrictions here; c) a Quebec observer notes that more information on the present size of the British butter ration would lessen criticism of the reduced ration here.

5. Health insurance - Early comments on the new proposals reflect general approval, observers noting that the principle of such schemes is now widely accepted. Some misgivings are reported as to costs and their distribution.

6. Montreal tramways strike - Comments from Quebec are almost unanimous in condemning strikes of this character and demanding stricter enforcement of the law. The only exceptions are from strongly unionized centres such as Noranda.

7. Doukhobors - Growing irritation at the lawless activities of the Doukhobors is reported from Alberta and British Columbia. The recent conviction of Peter Verigin Jr. is said to have been received with satisfaction.

A. D. Dunton.

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Mexico

MacD:EEB
April 18, 1944.

C244812

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

An Agreement governing the reciprocal application of compulsory military service to Canadians in Mexico and Mexicans in Canada has been concluded by an exchange of notes between Canada and Mexico under date of February 29, 1944.

2. Following the passing of a decree in Mexico under which compulsory military service was required of aliens there, consideration was given to the desirability of concluding an agreement with the Mexican Government. The United Kingdom reached an agreement with Mexico providing for the exemption of United Kingdom persons in Mexico from conscription, in return for a reciprocal exemption of Mexicans in the United Kingdom. It was not considered possible for us to enter into a similar agreement, partly because it would open the way for other nations to ask exemption from compulsory military service for their nationals in Canada, and partly because it was not thought desirable to enable Canadians in Mexico to escape military service altogether. Accordingly, an agreement was negotiated with Mexico by which Canadians in Mexico and Mexicans in Canada may exercise the option of serving with their home forces rather than with those of the country in which they happen to be residing -- Mexico or Canada, as the case may be.

3. When tabling the exchange of notes, you may wish to make a statement along the following lines:-

" Mexicans in Canada and Canadians in Mexico are, by the Selective Service Mobilization laws of both countries, subject to call for military service. In order that Mexicans and Canadians subject to such call might have the opportunity of electing to serve with the forces of their own country, the Agreement concluded by the exchange of notes provides that two months' notice will be given to Mexicans in Canada and Canadians in Mexico before compulsory military service is applied to them. If such election is made, an exit permit will be granted in order to enable the person involved to proceed to his own country. If this option is not exercised within the two months' period, compulsory military service will be required according to the law of Canada or Mexico, as the case may be."

Read

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Jab file

April 20, 1944

C244813

Statement on Agreement with Mexico (Conscription)

Mexicans in Canada and Canadians in Mexico are, by the Selective Service Mobilization laws of both countries, subject to call for military service. In order that Mexicans and Canadians subject to such call might have the opportunity of electing to serve with the forces of their own country, the Agreement concluded by the exchange of notes provides that two months' notice will be given to Mexicans in Canada and Canadians in Mexico before compulsory military service is applied to them. If such election is made, an exit permit will be granted in order to enable the person involved to proceed to his own country. If this option is not exercised within the two months' period, compulsory military service will be required according to the law of Canada or Mexico, as the case may be.

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1944

August 4 - War Committee meeting with Chiefs of Staff re increasing numbers of men in Italy.

September 10 to 17 inclusive - Quebec Conference

October 13 (Friday) - Colonel Ralston cables from England.

" 18 (Wednesday) - Col. Ralston arrives 18
" 19 (Thursday) - War Cabinet Committee with Ralston present.

" 31 (Tuesday) - See McNaughton first time

November 1 (Wednesday) - See McNaughton second time - Ralston resigns.

" 2 (Thursday) - Ralston's resignation accepted. McNaughton sworn in.

" 7 (Tuesday) - U.S. Elections.

" 12 (Sunday) - Col. Ralston issued statement to press.

" 13 (Monday) - Decision to have H. of C. reconvened. End of Victory Loan.

" 15 (Wednesday) - House of Commons reconvened by Speaker.

" 22 (Wednesday) - House of Commons reconvened.

" 23 (Thursday) - P.C. 8891 passed. Power resigns.

" 27 (Monday) - Power's resignation accepted.

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C244815

C244816

CANADA

WARTIME INFORMATION BOARD

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL MANAGER

O t t a w a,
October 2, 1944.

Confidential

Memorandum to Members of the Cabinet

The following observations on Canadian public opinion have been reported to WIB during the past week. While open to possible later correction, they come from sources which we have found reliable in the past.

1. The war - As might be expected, the withdrawal from Arnhem and the strong German resistance on other sectors have had a definitely sobering effect on public opinion; people are now feeling that they had been too optimistic in expecting a continuance of our sweeping advances. But, while optimism is dampened, confidence is as high as ever; the date for final victory has merely been set forward. Several observers stress that this general confidence has brought no relaxation of effort on the home front.

2. Post-war fears - "All optimism about the war is tempered by reflections that when the war ends incomes will stop and depression will come. People fear that more than the war" (Moncton). The foregoing is typical of recent comments from many parts of the country and highlights the only real morale problem at present existing.

3. Economic controls - The few comments on the reduced butter ration report an almost complete lack of any grumbling. General satisfaction with the handling of commodities is reflected in all this week's reports: "There is a feeling that the Government has made many improvements in distribution" (Halifax); "General feeling that we are lucky and that the food situation in Canada has been well handled" (Winnipeg). Most Canadians are said to be counting on the continuance of many economic controls, though a Maritime observer suggests that more advance education is needed. The only anxiety reported in this field is fear that controls will not be maintained long enough to prevent post-war inflation.

(please turn over)

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C244817

4. **Reinforcement problem ranked low** - Figures have just been received on an August poll question in which Canadians were asked what was likely to give the Allies most trouble in finally beating Germany. "Keeping the United Nations working together" was checked by 44% of the public as the most difficult problem; "Setting up satisfactory governments in liberated countries" came second with 40%. Other problems checked by more than 20% were German attempts at a negotiated peace, German secret weapons, and over-confidence on the home front. On the other hand, "Finding enough fighting men for the various fronts" was checked by only 11%, and ranked next to last of the topics suggested. This study was made before the Smythe charges appeared, but comment on the latter has been extremely slight and does not suggest any serious public concern about the reinforcement situation.

A. D. Dunton,
General Manager.

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Top Secret C244818

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re N.R.M.A. personnel as overseas re-inforcements.

The public has been given an exaggerated and distorted view of the potentialities of the N.R.M.A. personnel as a source of trained re-inforcements, in the following ways:

1. The total is consistently given by the Opposition press and speakers as 80,000. It was never that high. At the peak last spring it reached about 73,000. At the middle of September the total was 68,000 which included 8,600 men on extended leave, so that the net strength was below 60,000.

2. The Opposition either through ignorance or deliberate mis-representation never refers to the fact that there are (as at middle of September) over 135,000 General Service (volunteers) in the army in Canada.

Obviously all G.S. men in Canada are not suitable as re-inforcements since the number includes a considerable proportion of low category men. Presumably, however, there is a proportion of low category men among the N.R.M.A. personnel as well.

As, at the middle of September, the 60,000 N.R.M.A. personnel were distributed as follows:

Operational units	30,000
Non-operational units	15,000
Training Stream	11,000
Appraisal, Placement and Rehabilitation wings	2,000

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Presumably the 30,000 men in operational units are fully trained and technically available as reinforcements. There were, at the same date, about 14,000 G.S. men in operational units in Canada who, of course, would be as fully trained.

How many of the 15,000 men in non-operational units are sufficiently trained and fit for reinforcements is a question. There are over 63,000 volunteers in non-operational units in Canada, which would suggest that they represent a larger pool of potential re-inforcements than the N.R.M.A. men in non-operational units.

As opposed to the 11,000 N.R.M.A. personnel in the training stream at the middle of September there were over 50,000 volunteers in the training stream.

From all these figures, it is obvious that the G.S. troops in Canada represent a far larger source of potential re-inforcements than the N.R.M.A. personnel although the public has no suspicion of this fact.

3. It is popularly supposed that the N.R.M.A. personnel are a static group. Nothing could be further from the truth. No doubt, like the pre-war unemployed, they include a "hard core". A far better analogy however is with a pool with an inlet and an outlet. The inlet takes in the men who have been called up and accepted, while from the outlet comes a steady stream of G.S. volunteers.

Although exact figures are not at hand, the army must have accepted (since the permanent N.R.M.A. service began in 1941) at least 160,000 conscripts. Making generous allowance for wastage it is therefore clear that almost 50% of those enrolled must subsequently have enlisted for General Service.

The process of enlistment for G.S. from N.R.M.A. personnel has been greatly accelerated in the past six months during which the outflow of volunteers from the pool has at least equalled the intake of conscripts accepted.

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If the real facts, as outlined above could be given to the public in simple, understandable language, a great deal of the present misunderstanding would disappear and some, at least, of the misrepresentation would fall on deaf ears.

Even more important is the question as to whether the rate of enlistment from the N.R.M.A. pool could not be further accelerated by the following means, among others:

1. Immediate creation of the labour pools for essential national work projects, as proposed by the Dept. of Labour. Undoubtedly much of the labour involved will prove distasteful to many of the men and they should have open at all times a ready means of escape through the road of enlistment for General Service.

2. Organization of recruiting campaigns along new lines in consultation with first rate experts in salesmanship who would use modern opinion sampling techniques to discover what would appeal to the men and make the appeal along those lines. It may well be that many of the lines of appeal now being used create resistance rather than response.

3. Possible amendment of the War Service Grants Act to permit all N.R.M.A. personnel who enlist or have already enlisted for General Service to count half the time they spent in the army as conscripts as though they had been volunteers for purpose of gratuities and re-establishment grants. This would not involve any real discrimination against volunteers who would still have an advantage and it would offer a substantial, tangible inducement which would be greatest for those who had been in the army longest and were, therefore, most fully trained.

In any event, the most careful explanation should be given of the War Service Grants Act and other advantages offered to volunteers.

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It is suggested that an explanation to the public of the real facts would improve the attitude towards the so-called "zombies" by showing that a high proportion of them do in fact volunteer for overseas service, and that the application of the suggestions for accelerating enlistments might produce fruitful results.

J. Just.

19th October, 1944.

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C244821

It is suggested that an explanation to the public of the real facts would improve the attitude towards the so-called "zombies" by showing that a high proportion of them do in fact volunteer for overseas service, and that the application of the suggestions for accelerating enlistments might produce fruitful results.

19th October, 1944.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C244822

For the Prime Minister:

Re Army Re-inforcement problem

Attached are separate notes I have prepared on the following points:

1. Reasons for refusal to send conscripts overseas.

2. Memo re disposal of N.R.M.A. personnel.

3. Suggested procedure in case of a resignation.

4. A tabulation of statistical questions which should be answered in order to get a proper picture of the problem and to investigate possibilities of meeting it. (No doubt the answers to most of these questions have already been made available to the War Committee, but most of the figures I do not know. I shall, however, go over this with General Pope tomorrow and see what blanks there are which cannot be filled.)

J. W.

October 29th, 1944.

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From JWP Very Important.

C244823

Suggested Outline of Procedure in case of a resignation

1. Parliament should be called immediately for the earliest possible day.

2. Announcement should be withheld, and possibly resignation not accepted during a reasonable period to which Prime Minister is entitled to consider succession. (Preferably announcement should be held for Parliament but this may not be possible.

3. Letter of resignation and reply should be made public with announcement. (Prime Minister should, if possible, broadcast on the same day, if announcement comes before Parliament meets).

4. As soon as Parliament meets Prime Minister should make announcement and ask for a vote of confidence.

5. If vote of confidence is forthcoming, nothing further is required. But if government is defeated <u>either</u>:

   1. the government goes to the country and, if defeated in the election, three months effectively will have elapsed before action now sought could begin to be taken.

no election in war time

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or:

2. the government resigns, and those who have defeated it are asked to combine in forming a government.

Either of these courses will involve disunity, bitterness and, probably, a serious weakening of Canada's war effort generally.

N.B.: The grave responsibility of creating a Cabinet split before the U.S. election on November 7th and its possible effect upon the outcome of that election can hardly be disregarded.

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from J W P

C244825

Memorandum re DISPOSAL OF NRMA PERSONNEL

I. N.R.M.A. Personnel should not be demobilized for the following reasons:

1. It would create such general indigration both in the army overseas and in certain sections of the community as to endanger national unity no less gravely than their compulsory employment overseas.

2. It would make the "call-up" absurd and dry up two sources of voluntary enlistment i.e. present NRMA pool and men reaching call-up age who enlist "to beat the call-up".

3. It would involve a repudiation of the government's frequently re-iterated policy of using compulsion where necessary to secure national service.

II. N.R.M.A. personnel in excess of requirements for essential military tasks in Canada, Newfoundland, etc. should be employed as a national service force at essential wartime work, but should be free and encouraged at all times to enlist as G.S. personnel in the Army.

This policy would satisfy most moderate people as fair and would probably produce a considerable number of volunteers among those who found they preferred army life to the new forms of National Service.

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III. N.R.M.A. personnel who did not enlist for G.S. but remained in the National Service Force should be retained in the force and usefully employed until demobilization of G.S. troops is completed at the close of hostilities. This policy should be announced at once.

IV. N.R.M.A. personnel should be given an additional financial incentive to enlist by being allowed to count all or part of their compulsory service for benefits under the War Service Grants Act.

Consideration should also be given to providing "overseas pay" or "combat pay" or some financial advantage to "other ranks" who serve abroad, comparable with the advantage given to officers who serve overseas by exemption from income tax.

From both a political and a practical standpoint it is vital that, except for those who are physically or otherwise unfit for useful employment, the N.R.M.A. personnel should neither be demobilized while hostilities continue in Europe nor until the bulk of the Army is demobilized. It is no less important to see that measures are taken to employ them usefully and, above all, to convince the public that they are being usefully employed.

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C244827

It would probably be unwise to close the door finally on their compulsory employment overseas, although the "conscription if necessary" of 1942 might now be defined as "conscription only in case of a disaster".

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from J.W.P.

Top Secret

C244828

Reasons for refusal to send conscripts overseas

1. Would not effectively solve the immediate problem -- might tide over one or two months, but would risk future position if war lasted longer than early spring of 1945.

2. Would have no important influence on the outcome of the war, at this late stage, when preponderance of allied power is so great.

3. Would cause grave disunity at home and consequent weakening of every aspect of our total effort.

4. Would probably weaken rather than strengthen the army through lowering morale in mixed units -- (contempt for conscripts, etc.)

5. Alternatives have not been exhausted

   e.g. intensified recruiting;
   improved pay and benefits;
   compulsory work as alternative to enlistment.

6. Even if militarily effective, would jeopardize Canada's national future.

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N.B. The question is not one between a greater and a smaller war effort but rather between <u>two views</u> as to the course which will enable Canada to sustain to the end the greatest possible effective war effort.

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C244830

Trained Infantry Re-inforcements

Statistics Required for Appraisal of Problem.

1. Number of infantry in the line to be re-inforced?

2. Number of infantry re-inforcements estimated to be required monthly?

3. Number of full trained infantry re-inforcements available overseas or in transit?

4. Number of "re-mustered" re-inforcements for infantry who will be trained and available overseas on
   (a) December 1st?
   (b) January 1st?
   (c) February 1st?

5. Additional numbers of fully trained re-inforcements for infantry who can be available from G.S. troops in training stream or "re-mustered" in Canada on
   (a) December 1st?
   (b) January 1st?
   (c) February 1st?

6. Total fully trained infantry re-inforcements at present available in N.R.M.A. after proper allowance for shrinkage?

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7. Earliest date N.R.M.A. personnel could be ready for use as re-inforcements?

8. Additional numbers of N.R.M.A. personnel who could be fully trained and available as infantry re-inforcements on

(a) December 1st?

(b) January 1st?

(c) February 1st?

(Making due/allowance for shrinkage)

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C244832

Additional Statistics Required re N.R.M.A. Personnel

1. Total number accepted by the Army to latest available date.

2. Total discharges and deaths to date.

3. Estimated enlistments in navy and air force.

4. Total enlistments as G.S. personnel by N.R.M.A.

5. Total N.R.M.A. enlistments as G.S. since "D" day.

6. Total N.R.M.A. personnel on strength as of present date.

7. Total N.R.M.A. personnel in medical categories fitting them for combat service.

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C244933

Additional Statistics Required re G.S. Personnel

1. Total in Canada and adjacent territories.

2. Total unfit for combat service because of age or category.

3. Break-down of present employment of G.S. personnel in age and medical categories suitable for combat service.

4. Total numbers in re-inforcement pool overseas with a break-down into various arms.

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Personal and
Confidential

JAG/C
30.10.44

C244834

Conscription is a military problem.

It ought to be dealt with as a military problem and not as a political problem.

It becomes a political problem only when what are properly military matters are thrown into political controversy.

Among the motives for throwing the question into political controversy may be noted

1) a desire to embarrass the government (by its enemies)

2) a kind of "army mentality" which feels it necessary that the army should be kept at "full strength" regardless of the overall strategic picture

3) the opinion that conscription represents the fairest way of raising men for military service (whether for at home or overseas was originally a secondary consideration: though at the present moment the important part is overseas service)

As to (1) the best answer still is, I think, that the winning of the war remains the first object of Canada's policy.

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The government must have power

(a) to decide how this can best be achieved, and

(b) subject to its responsibility to Parliament and to enjoyment of the confidence of Parliament, to take the necessary steps to implement this policy.

It follows that both the initiative and the responsibility at the political level must remain with the Government in office.

As to (2), it is again necessary to distinguish between military advice and political policy.

The military advisers of the government are not, either by their office or the nature of their employment, the people who can or who ought to claim to determine the policy in any matter for which the government is responsible to the Parliament of Canada, and through Parliament to the people as a whole.

Ordinary strategy would seem to require that a battle force, once committed to action, should be kept at fighting strength so long as it remains a fighting formation. In the case of Canada, it may be remembered that substantial forces have been mobilized, trained, equipped and transported across the Atlantic many months before they finally went into battle against the enemy. I interpret from this fact that the problem of reinforcements, once a combat role had been assumed, was a problem

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of much greater magnitude than reinforcements so long as the army remained in a holding or non-combat role.

If at this stage of the war it now appears that the limits of reinforcement reserves have been reached, one question which should be asked is whether it will contribute more to the winning of the war to try to keep existing formations up to strength (regardless of their battle role), or whether the present available fighting men should be used to make the most effective battle formation which is numerically possible in the circumstances.

So long as the war continues there also continues the fundamental necessity of keeping the war effort of Canada a balanced effort. It would seem to be a hard-won victory to divert from essential industries, on a compulsory basis, men whose immediate service would be greater in industrial occupation than in a combat role.

A further consideration is that any large-scale diversion of men, even those who have had military training in N.R.M.A. in Canada, will require a measure of further training before they can go into front-line action. — also transportation & take over

As to (3), it may be questioned whether, after the war has already lasted 62 months, and where there is reasonable probability of hostilities in Europe terminating within 6 months,

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an issue should now be raised which could

divide opinion at home on a scale never reached in wartime,

and on an issue which until this moment may be said

never to have had a military justification;

create doubt and confusion among Canada's allies, and at a

critical moment in the war - in the sense of the last

effort required for speedy victory in Europe - suggest

that the Government of Canada were interested in

something other than an utmost effort.

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CxR

BUREAU DU
SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT

C244838

MEMORANDUM

It does appear to me that this might meet the inhibitions of Quebec & the requirements of the army & be acceptable to the rest of Canada & it too would accord ~~with~~ or at least not do violence to liberal principles.

W.L.M.K.

Ottawa, 193

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C244839

THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF CANADA

Ottawa, October 31st, 1944

SECRET

Dear Mr. King:

I trust this memorandum may be worth considering. If not, you must have a large wastepaper basket.

Yours sincerely,

Norman McLarty

The Right Honourable
W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a.

Enc.

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I - THE PRESENT CONDITIONS ARE -

1 - Military authorities advise reinforcements required.

2 - It will be strongly suggested that these requirements will be more pressing by reason of Mr. Churchill's statement to-day that the war may not be over until early summer.

3 - Boats for transport must be ordered by November 4th.

4 - The reinforcements must be trained men.

5 - An announcement re reinforcement situation must be made at once.

6 - The Government has committed itself to no conscription unless proven that necessity requires it.

____ x ____

II - SUGGESTED PLAN TO MEET CONDITIONS

1 - Commencing November 1st Government conduct vigorous campaign among draftees of the N.R.M.A. to secure numbers required for reinforcements.

2 - Consideration be given to making certain conditions re gratuity etc to those enlisting.

3 - Orders be given for transport boats immediately.

4 - Government announce that if sufficient recruits are not forthcoming by November 25th, that sufficient recruits be selected from the N.R.M.A. to meet requirements by December 1st.

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5 - Such selection be made by the Selective Draft similar to that adopted in the United States. This would involve considerations as to age, whether married or single, etc.

6 - That while recruiting campaign is proceeding, the necessary draft machinery to be used, if necessary, be set up.

7 - That every Member of the Government assume responsibility for the success of the recruiting campaign.

8 - It might be useful if heads of churches be requested to make a statement helpful in the campaign.

9 - That the Government make immediate announcement of its programme to meet the situation accordingly.

10 - That if it is deemed necessary to summon Parliament, it will be known by November 15th as to the success of the campaign and Parliament could be immediately summoned.

____ x ____

III - THE ADVANTAGES OF PLAN

1 - It meets the reinforcement requirements.

2 - It keeps faith with every pledge made re conscription by the Liberal Party.

3 - It carries the draft no further than is absolutely necessary.

4 - It affords a reason for the existence of the N.R.M.A. and provides a good argument against its present demobilization.

5 - It justifies the existence - somewhat widely criticized - involved in the training of the N.R.M.A.

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6 - It affords a complete answer to the reinforcement situation.

7 - It should be satisfactory to those presently serving Overseas.

8 - It should not be unhelpful to the success of the present Victory Loan.

9 - It is the fairest possible method of selection.

10 - If we shorten our front line at a time when there are 50,000 fully trained men in the N.R.M.A., it will evoke a considerable volume of criticism.

11 - It should, if such is deemed necessary, enable a vote of confidence by Parliament without any difficulty.

____ x ____

IV

The only criticism that could possibly come is from those who do not believe in a draft for Overseas under any possible circumstances. Generally speaking, I believe these constitute a very great minority of our population.

No attempt has been made to discuss details. For example, one point that might bear consideration is this: General Pearkes stated to me that the French Canadians served better as a Unit rather than by being broken up. Perhaps some of their Regiments who took part in the Kiska show could be persuaded to join up as a Unit in view of a statement of policy such as outlined above.

However, all the details would require to be worked out.

____ x ____

October 31/44

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C x R / Private

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

C244843

TOP SECRET

Memorandum to the Prime Minister

The resignation of four and possibly seven members of the Government will of course split the country and the Party with a good possibility that ~~that~~ a vote in the House would be adverse to you. If Ralston is asked to form a Government he will not be able to enforce conscription in Quebec and in turn will not be able to apply it elsewhere. Voluntary recruiting will largely stop. The country will be an aching sore for a generation. He would have to have an early election and it might result in the return of the Unionist Coalition or of the C.C.F.

It seemed to me yesterday that Ralston and the others were anxious to leave the door open to avoid a split if it could be done. They struck me as sincerely and conscientiously trying to find an escape from a position they had placed themselves in by their previous commitments as well as by their desire not to let the troops down.

Even if there is little possibility of avoiding a split, I do most earnestly urge that it be explored completely. The best way it seemed to me would be to get them discussing a statement as on Monday. In case you agreed, I worked last night with Mr. Pickersgill to revise the draft you read Monday. I hope you will find it possible to look it over and let me have a word before Council.

Brooke Claxton

BC:EMM.

Brooke Claxton.

November 1st, 1944.

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CANADA

WARTIME INFORMATION BOARD

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL MANAGER

Ottawa,
November 6, 1944.

Confidential

Memorandum to Members of the Cabinet

The following observations on Canadian public opinion have been reported to WIB during the past week. While open to possible later correction, they come from sources which we have found reliable in the past.

1. The war - This week's reports continue to stress a decline in optimism and several observers say that "next spring" is the date specifically set for Germany's collapse. The "Stalingrad" defence put up by the Germans, and the fact that they still hold a number of French ports, are mentioned as discouraging factors. At the same time, one observer says that most people are still over-optimistic and that women are showing less interest in Red Cross work; it is reported also that the volume of blood donations, which dropped sharply in September, is still relatively low.

2. China - The recall of General Stillwell has brought a number of expressions of concern and bewilderment about the situation in China, with suggestions that current reports will reduce Canadian enthusiasm for China's war effort.

3. Recognition of French government - Comments, mainly from Quebec, express the opinion that this action was long overdue, while suggesting at the same time only qualified enthusiasm for General de Gaulle and his administration.

4. U. S. elections - There have been a number of comments, all from the West, and all expressing the hope that President Roosevelt will be re-elected.

5. Cabinet changes and conscription - Public reaction to the Smythe and Drew charges was slow in appearing but increased during the week preceding the cabinet changes; it was largely focussed on the so-called "Zombies" and the desirability of their use as reinforcements. The resignation of Col.

(Please turn over)

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Ralston and the appointment of General McNaughton put the subject in the forefront of attention and have already brought a considerable volume of comment. Reports from Quebec have not yet come in, but those from other areas, urban and rural, are predominantly favorable to Col. Ralston on the assumption that he planned to send the "Zombies" overseas. Support for such a move is reported in almost all letters, with several suggestions that relatives of servicemen are seriously worried about the prospect of adequate reinforcements. There are also familiar references to government "subservience to Quebec" and regrets that conscription was not introduced early in the war. Shots of Col. Ralston in news-reels are reported to have been cheered in movie theatres over the week-end.

Reactions to General McNaughton's appointment are so far mixed. There are some expressions of satisfaction, with references to his known ability and sincerity, and confidence that he will not let "politics" stand in the way of support for the army. Some people are reported as unable to understand how General McNaughton could accept the post under the circumstances, while others express admiration for the "political shrewdness" of the Prime Minister in securing him. Some letters are more critical, reporting comments that Col. Ralston must know the facts of the situation better than his successor, that the latter did not "get on well" with other army leaders in Britain, and that his prestige will suffer through his acceptance of the cabinet post.

A. D. Dunton,
General Manager.

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Top Secret

Urgent

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

C244845

Attached is a thoroughly revised statement of policy, together with a new draft of the closing appeal and a suggested reference to Mr. Ralston and General McNaughton which might be inserted at the bottom of page 6.

The following points should be mentioned:

1. The experts are agreed that there should be no word or hint of apology.

2. They stress the desirability of avoiding any reference to the preservation of national unity as a reason for not sending draftees overseas.

3. They argue that the more facts given the better (Incidentally some of the figures are subject to final check.)

4. It is recognized that all the statements of policy have not yet been agreed to by the government, but they have been put in tentative form to make a complete draft.

Mr. Claxton has gone over the statement (but not the appeal) very carefully in the light of his discussions with the army and concurs in its general content.

A rough table of contents is attached for convenience in considering points.

J.W.P

6th November, 1944.

(This was not seen or read by Mr. until after 6 Nov. 8 - after 6 Nov. when finally finishing formal revision for broadcast.

O.D.S.

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C244846

Second Revise.

ARMY REINFORCEMENTS

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Second Revise - Secret

C244847

ARMY RE-INFORCEMENTS

I am going to speak to you about re-inforcements for the Canadian army overseas. The government is aware of the public concern about the question of re-inforcements. It is the government's duty to provide full support for the army. That is a heavy responsibility. At the risk of increasing temporary anxiety, we have avoided hasty and ill-considered statements which might have been made without looking at all the facts. In wartime the facts can change very rapidly. Five years' experience has taught all of us that nothing is more uncertain than war.

For the past three weeks, the government has given constant attention to a review of all the facts and an examination of the probabilities of the unknown future course of the war. The review has now been completed. I am going to give you the facts and conclusions as fully as I can.

The question of army re-inforcements has to be placed in its proper perspective in the picture of Canada's total military effort. Since 1939, nearly a million men have served in Canada's three armed forces. The present strength of the three services is some 750,000, of whom about 700,000 are volunteers. Those figures represent a stupendous achievement in raising fighting men for a nation of less than twelve millions, parti-

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cularly when we take account of the manpower required for our war production and vital services.

The problem of re-inforcements itself directly affects only one of the three services. The navy and the air force have no problem. The navy, with 85,000 men in the service, has reached the peak of its manpower needs. From now on, the small numbers of recruits needed as replacements will be secured without difficulty.

The air force, with 190,000 men in its ranks, has passed the peak of its manpower requirements, and is above the strength now needed. When we stop to think of the reason, we should all be thankful. The reason is that casualties, though costly, have been very much lighter than anticipated.

The present strength of the army is about 460,000 men. Of this number, almost 400,000 are volunteers. There have been over 45,000 volunteers enlist for general service since January 1st of the present year. But most of the men now in the army have been in its ranks for one, two, three or four years. All but the recent recruits have received long, rigorous and varied training.

This is the background against which we should examine the charge that re-imforcements without adequate training are being sent into action. The Canadian army is [redacted] a huge organization. More than 600,000 men have been in its ranks

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during this war. Of that great number, a few may have failed to receive all the training prescribed. Competent officers have made the most careful review. They find that the number of these exceptional cases is very small. The highest military advisers of the Government are satisfied that re-inforcements sent into action have been well trained.

The record of the army in Italy, France, Belgium and Holland is not the record of an army of which any part lacked adequate training. On the contrary, the military achievements of the Canadian army are the best possible evidence of the efficiency of its training. Since D-Day the army has received a steady stream of reinforcements to replace casualties. The recent victories on the Scheldt are the answer to those who imply that, because of re-inforcements, the quality of the army is deteriorating.

The need for re-inforcements is, of course, based upon the number of casualties. These have to be estimated in advance. Before D-Day no one could possibly know how great the casualties would be. The military experts of all the forces which landed in France made the most careful estimates of probably casualties. These estimates were based on experience in other theatres, on the nature of the operation in France and the Low Countries, and on the most careful appreciation of the strength of enemy resistance.

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In the actual fighting, the total casualties in our army have not been as great as the number estimated and provided for. Infantry casualties were lower than expected in the actual landings and higher than estimated in the heavy fighting since the beachheads were established in June. In all other arms except the infantry, casualties have been considerably lighter than were expected. The army has accordingly been obliged to transfer some of the men originally trained as re-inforcements for other arms into the pool of infantry re-inforcements. Such transfers are bound to be a disappointment for men who have been highly trained in a particular arm of the service and find themselves obliged by the circumstances of war to transfer to another arm. But such troops are not untrained. All "re-mustered" troops have had basic infantry training. In addition to basic training and the training they have received in their particular arm, they are given further specialized infantry training before being sent into combat.

I now come to the question: Is there an adequate reserve of re-inforcements for the army? In the opinion of the military authorities, no difficulty is likely to arise except in relation to re-inforcements for the infantry. Infantry re-inforcements have been adequate to meet requirements to date. But, during this recent visit to the army overseas, Colonel Ralston learned that to provide replacements for future casualties at present rates,

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the flow of infantry re-inforcements from Canada should be accelerated. One fact needs to be emphasized. There is not an overall shortage of potential re-inforcements. Many thousands of men are in training now and enlistments are continuing at an encouraging rate. But recent recruits and those who enlist from now on will not be available until they are trained. And because we cannot tell how long the war will last we must continue to recruit men for the army to keep up re-inforcements as long as the need exists.

B ut Colonel Ralston's report to the government disclosed an immediate problem which had to be faced. That problem is to find the means of speeding up the flow of fully trained infantry re-inforcements to meet, not an actual shortage of re-inforcements now, but a possible shortage in the next few months.

The question many of you will ask at once is why not send overseas some of the draftees who are fully trained in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

That will seem to many of you the easiest way of meeting the problem. But it is not in accord with the policy of keeping our army overseas a 100% voluntary army if we possibly can. The voluntary system of raising our overseas forces has produced splendid results during five years of war. We have always believed that Canada's forces, having begun as voluntary forces, would be more effective and that the country would be more united in their

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support if we continued to rely upon the voluntary system for reinforcements as long as the voluntary system continued to be effective.

Colonel Ralston had grave doubts of our ability to keep up the flow of re-inforcements in the next few months by voluntary means. He therefore recommended that the limitation upon the service of the draftees should be removed and that some of them should be sent overseas. I do not need to stress the gravity of the decision the government was then obliged to make. Many hours and days of anxious deliberation were devoted to an exploration of every conceivable alternative.

I felt it was my duty to seek the most expert advice available, and, accordingly, consulted General McNaughton. As the builder and first Commander of the Canadian Army, I knew there was no man who had the interests of the army and the men overseas closer to his heart. General McNaughton expressed the belief that the possibilities of securing the required re-inforcements by voluntary means had not been exhausted and, in this belief, indicated his willingness to assume the responsibilities of Minister of National Defence.

In these circumstances, Colonel Ralston's recommendation was not accepted and the government decided to make the utmost effort by intensified action to speed up the flow of volunteer infantry re-inforcements to the army overseas.

See insert immediately below → The people have a right to know the facts and figures

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Suggested Insert (possibly at bottom of page 6.)

I regret deeply the difference which led Colonel Ralston to leave the government. In this difference, he has followed the dictates of his conscience. I wish to say publicly that there is no man in Canada in whom the fires of patriotism burn more ardently and none who has given more selfless and devoted service to his country.

There is no need for me to give assurances of General McNaughton's devotion to his country or of his determination to see that full support is given to the army.

Let us not forget that the former Minister of National Defence and the present Minister have precisely the same objective in view: they differ only as to the means of reaching that goal.

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which were before us in reaching our decision. There is a widespread impression that 60 or 70 or even 80 thousand draftees have been sitting around in military camps in Canada since 1941 or 1942 drawing good pay and doing little or nothing to help win the war. That picture is almost totally incorrect.

The facts are quite different. We began in March 1941, to call men up for compulsory service for the duration of the war. Up to September 30, 1944, the army had accepted about 150,000 draftees. The present total strength of draftees is about 68,000. Of these about 9,000 are on extended leave. The effective total strength, therefore, is under 60,000. You will ask what has happened to the other 82,000 draftees accepted by the Army since 1941. There has been a wastage of about 33,000, including men discharged for medical or other reasons which unfitted them to be soldiers, and a number who have died in the service. Of the remainder, about 6,000 have enlisted as volunteers in the Navy or the Air Force after serving for a period as draftees. But the largest group, about 43,000 of the draftees, have enlisted as volunteers for General Service. Many thousands of men who were once draftees are in the army overseas fighting today.

The so-called "home defence" army is not a static force at all. Its composition is constantly changing. This year, over 12,500 men have been called up and enrolled as draftees and over 12,500 draftees have volunteered for General Service. Since D-Day

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in June the number of voluntary enlistments from the draftees has exceeded the number of new draftees enrolled by ~~25,000~~ 3,500. In addition, many thousands of young men volunteer at once for general service, before or as soon as they are called up, without ever becoming draftees.

The draftees are encouraged to volunteer and, as the figures show, the voluntary response has been increasingly good throughout the present year. From a purely military standpoint, there is no argument that it is preferable to reinforce a voluntary army with volunteers. Colonel Ralston himself told Parliament last July that he knew from reports he had received that enlisting gave the draftees "a new outlook, new self-respect, a determination that comes from having made a great decision. And," he added, "all that is bound to make them better soldiers."

That point is very important, because we must be as much concerned with the quality as with the numbers of men sent overseas as reinforcements.

We have to remember that if the draftees were sent overseas before they had volunteered, they would not be going to reinforce an army of drafted men. It has been said over and over again that the draftees would be received without enthusiasm by the volunteers they were sent to join. It is also said that their presence would constitute a source of division and possible dissension in the fighting units. That is nevertheless a risk the government would

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probably have to take if it were necessary to win the war and if all possibility of finding the required volunteers had been exhausted.

But that is not the situation. There are some thousands of trained volunteers already overseas or about to be despatched overseas as reinforcements. Others are being re-mustered. In numbers our reserves compare not unfavourably with those of most of our allies. There are, in addition, some 40,000 volunteers in training in the army in Canada. And, finally, the draftees themselves are continuing to volunteer every day for overseas service. By placing before these men the need and the opportunity for service, we believe that number can be increased.

But there is still another factor. The figures I have given show that the total number of draftees is not as great as is generally stated. The next question is: How many additional men would actually be available if compulsion was used to send the draftees overseas. The effective total of draftees in the Army is under 60,000. Of that number only about 42,000 are considered suitable material for infantry reinforcements. Of these 16,000 almost are now fully trained. It is only from these 16,000 that any assistance might be found in meeting the possible shortage in the period when it is likely to arise. Obviously the whole of these 16,000 men would never arrive overseas if it were decided to send them. All military experience shows that there is a considerable wastage in the employment of manpower. For one reason or another, decline in physical condition, lack of

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military qualities, and a host of others, many of them would not, in fact, be sent. The number which would ~~in fact~~ arrive would certainly be well below 16,000. Without any compulsion or any intensification of present methods a considerable number of these draftees will volunteer. We believe many more can be secured by a special appeal. The actual difference in numbers secured by the two methods might be very small indeed. And if we can meet the problem of the period immediately ahead, we know from the number of volunteers now in training that the situation will be much easier a few months hence.

The problem, in other words, is a temporary problem. The voluntary system has not broken down. It is, as the figures show, producing the results planned for and expected. At the moment, it is subject to an added strain which calls for an intensified effort at home.

We do not know how great the difficulties would be in substituting the compulsory for the voluntary system, but everyone who is honest with himself knows there would be difficulties and that they might be very grave. That is why we are not prepared, because of a serious temporary situation, to abandon a system which is still working well after five years of war for a plunge into the unknown.

Instead, we are going to redouble our efforts to make the present method work. And, in those efforts, I appeal for the patriotic co-operation of all Canadians.

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Many of you will ask why the draftees are not disbanded if they are not to be sent overseas. There are several reasons. The most important I have already given. It is because many of them will go overseas -- as volunteers. They have been enlisting and going overseas in thousands ever since early in 1942. But, there is another reason which is almost equally important. The government is not yet in a position to announce the details of its policy for the demobilization of the army at the end of hostilities. But the general principle is very clear. As far as is practicable, the men who have given the longest and the hardest service will be demobilized first. Obviously that means a first preference in discharge and in employment opportunities for those with overseas service. It would be wholly contrary to that principle to demobilize the draftees before the volunteers have returned to civil life.

That does not mean that the draftees will be maintained in idleness. As long as we have an army overseas, Canada remains the ultimate base of its operations. We must maintain a considerable military establishment for the training of reinforcements, the provision of supply and other non-operational duties. Military garrisons in Newfoundland and on the coasts cannot be entirely abandoned. Many of these duties can be and are performed by volunteers who are not fit for combat service. Some of them will continue to be discharged by draftees.

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There is another reason why the ~~conscripts~~ draftees, except those who for physical or other reasons have ceased to be useful as soldiers, should not be disbanded. So long as they are in being and adequately trained, they will continue to serve as a potential ultimate reserve of reinforcements whose compulsory employment in any theatre may have to be reconsidered in the light of developing circumstances.

Moreover, , while we prefer the voluntary system for overseas service, we are prepared to use whatever compulsion is necessary to ensure that all fit men of military age perform national service which contributes in some direct fashion to the war effort. Draftees have already been employed for essential labour service on the farms, on the railways and in other ways. Without their labour, the western wheat crop, for example, might have been partially lost both last year and this. The use of draftees for labour service of national importance can be extended as the available military employment declines. Draftees so employed will remain in the army under discipline. From time to time they will be given refresher courses. The value of their training will not be lost in case they should be needed for military duties at a later date. By keeping the draftees mobilized and engaged in essential national service, whether military or otherwise, we shall reduce the numbers seeking employment at the close of the war and help to ensure a preference in employment for the fighting men.

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You will also want to know what positive action ~~xxxx~~ we propose to take to encourage the recruitment and maintain the flow of infantry reinforcements for the army.

We shall maintain the policies which have produced a steady flow of volunteers during five years of war, by continuing to encourage voluntary enlistment and to draft men reaching military age for compulsory training and service. The existing establishment of the army in Canada and in England will be reviewed with the object of freeing every possible volunteer who is fit for combat duty for overseas service. We shall make every effort to have each draftee told individually of the need for his services and of the practical benefits to his own future of becoming a volunteer and enjoying the full opportunities for successful re-establishment in civil life.

(Appeal to follow here)

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C244861

TOP SECRET

TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND MEMBERS OF THE CABINET:

Attached is a copy of a report of the Cabinet Committee, appointed at the meeting of the Cabinet held on November 3rd, to review the position with respect to N.R.M.A. personnel and consider methods of increasing to the maximum extent the flow of available enlistments for General Service.

This report, which has been gone over and revised in certain particulars after consultation with the Army Staff, includes a summary of N.R.M.A. statistics.

It was understood that members of the Cabinet Committee may make verbal additions to the proposals set out therein when the report is laid before the Cabinet at a meeting to be held on Tuesday, November 7th, 1944.

A.D.P. Heeney,
Secretary to the Cabinet.

6th November 1944.
Privy Council Office.

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TOP SECRET

Report of Cabinet Committee

on

Army enlistments for General Service

General A.G.L. McNaughton, Chairman
Mr. Ian A. Mackenzie
Mr. J.G. Gardiner
Mr. W. P. Mulock
Mr. Colin Gibson
General L.R. LaFleche
Mr. Brooke Claxton

Mr. A.D.P. Heeney, Secretary.

6th November 1944.

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TOP SECRET

Copy No. 30

Introduction

1. The Army have supplied figures showing the composition and distribution of the N.R.M.A. This is summarized below.

2. Since March 1941, 150,000 men have been enrolled in the N.R.M.A. Of these, 42,000 have gone active, 6,000 have joined the Navy or Air Force, 33,500 have been discharged, etc., and 8,676 are on extended leave from depots.

3. Of the balance of 59,679, 6,000 joined in 1941, 25,000 in 1942, 17,000 in 1943 and 10,000 in 1944.

4. The figures show that of a total of about 60,000, there are 26,000 in operational units, 8,000 in non-operational units and 8,000 in the training stream or a total of 42,000 considered as suitable for infantry. Of these, 15,700 are in British Columbia. The 42,000, suitable for infantry, originate as follows: Ontario 10,250, Quebec 16,300, the Maritimes 2,600, the Prairies 10,000 and British Columbia 2,850.

5. Of the 60,000 (which excludes those on extended leave), 17,000 speak English only, 12,000 speak French only, 14,000 speak English and French and 15,000 are of other races. It appears that not more than 37% are of French origin.

6. The Army have also supplied a note on the attitude of N.R.M.A. personnel towards enlistment for General Service. It appears that they have a group loyalty to their N.R.M.A. comrades. They do not see the need of going overseas. They are subject to pressure from home and similar influences. They have a sense of importance, even martyrdom. Their attitude has been encouraged by the financial benefits and other amenities which have accrued to the N.R.M.A.

General lines to be followed as regards the nation

7. The people of Canada are deeply disturbed at what has taken place. Everything possible should be done to allay their alarm and obtain their confidence and their co-operation. This can't be done by skating around the problem. The first step is to state the facts as soon and as frankly as possible and then to indicate positive lines of policy and action. It must be demonstrated that the situation should and can be met by the voluntary co-operation of the Canadian people. We want reinforcements and unity.

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8. The sights of the nation should be raised to show the vision of a progressive Canada going into the peace as a united nation. The aim should be to lower the national temperature by raising the sights.

9. The place of the N.R.M.A. in the total war effort should be put in its proper perspective.

General lines to be followed as regards N.R.M.A.

10. It should be emphasized that the requirement for home defence has largely passed and the need is now for reinforcements overseas. N.R.M.A. no longer have this justification for not volunteering. The present situation should be explained in terms which provide the N.R.M.A. with a face-saving opportunity of conversion against the background of a fresh situation requiring reappraisal of his own responsibilities.

11. Everything possible should be done to break down the sense of apartness of the N.R.M.A. They should be led to identify themselves with the man overseas. The positive superiority of the volunteer should be played up. Canada has chosen to fight the war in the best possible way, that is by volunteers, and the volunteers are the best people to do it. We need the kind of men who volunteer.

12. Canadians overseas have a sense of national unity and a feeling of national pride. N.R.M.A. personnel should be made to project themselves and their position into the post-war period. The comradeship which all men in the army feel for each other as volunteers will continue after the war. In the greatest event in his lifetime, a man will either have taken a man's part or not. There is a finality about this comradeship. You either belong to it or you don't. The bond of union possessed by Canada's fighting men is part of Canada's post-war capital.

13. Naturally Canada will recognize in equivalent degree, the contribution that has been made in the Canadian voluntary spirit. When demobilization becomes possible, first preference in discharge and employment opportunities will be given to those with overseas service.

14. Not only do we want to avoid division into volunteers and non-volunteers, we also want to avoid division into racial groups. The present unity of Canada and the future unity of Canada will be strengthened if these men volunteer. The R.C.N. and R.C.A.F. have been built up and achieved their notable records on a voluntary basis. The Canadian Army in Italy and Northwestern Europe have achieved an equally high record - all on a voluntary basis. Some 900,000 men have volunteered; only 68,000 remain in the army who have not. The winning of

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the war, the future of the country and the welfare of those who have volunteered and of those who have not volunteered all depend on the remainder deciding to take part in the great comradeship.

15. Similarly, it would not be fair to allow N.R.M.A. personnel preferential treatment by giving them civilian work at civilian rates of pay.

Civilian action recommended

16. The people are anxiously looking for a statement of the position. On Sunday, November 5th, General McNaughton will speak at Arnprior and on Monday, November 6th, to the Legion Branch at Ottawa. On Monday, it should be announced that the Prime Minister will give a radio speech on Wednesday, the 8th.

17. On Wednesday, the 8th, the Prime Minister should give a speech over a national network. This should review the facts as frankly as possible, admit a possible future shortage of infantry reinforcements to be guarded against. The speech should indicate the policy of the government and the action it is taking.

18. It should mention Col. Ralston's service in the highest terms and frankly admit the difference of opinion, then state that Gen. McNaughton, like the government, believes that the need can and should be met by voluntary means.

19. The speech should minimize the importance of the N.R.M.A. by lifting people's sights beyond the N.R.M.A. People are shirking their duty if they do not take a long view.

20. Without referring particularly to the N.R.M.A. situation, the speech should say that while the war is not yet advanced to the stage where the government can announce a detailed plan of demobilization, it had been decided as far as possible, to follow the principle that those who have made the greatest sacrifices should first be demobilized. It is obvious that those who have served in an actual theatre of operations have made the greatest sacrifice and should be released in advance of any N.R.M.A. personnel remaining.

21. The speech should not contrast the provision of reinforcements with national unity. It should put forth the voluntary effort as the best method to do the job in the light of all the circumstances.

22. It should contain an appeal to young men to volunteer and to the general public to do what they can to encourage volunteers among N.R.M.A. personnel and others.

23. The speech should avoid any political note and should also be given in French.

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15. Similarly, it would not be fair to allow N.R.M.A. personnel preferential treatment by giving them civilian work at civilian rates of pay.

Civilian action recommended

16. The people are anxiously looking for a statement of the position. On Sunday, November 5th, General McNaughton will speak at Arnprior and on Monday, November 6th, to the Legion Branch at Ottawa. On Monday, it should be announced that the Prime Minister will give a radio speech on Wednesday, the 8th.

17. On Wednesday, the 8th, the Prime Minister should give a speech over a national network. This should review the facts as frankly as possible, admit a possible future shortage of infantry reinforcements to be guarded against. The speech should indicate the policy of the government and the action it is taking.

18. It should mention Col. Ralston's service in the highest terms and frankly admit the difference of opinion, then state that Gen. McNaughton, like the government, believes that the need can and should be met by voluntary means.

19. The speech should minimize the importance of the N.R.M.A. by lifting people's sights beyond the N.R.M.A. People are shirking their duty if they do not take a long view.

20. Without referring particularly to the N.R.M.A. situation, the speech should say that while the war is not yet advanced to the stage where the government can announce a detailed plan of demobilization, it had been decided as far as possible, to follow the principle that those who have made the greatest sacrifices should first be demobilized. It is obvious that those who have served in an actual theatre of operations have made the greatest sacrifice and should be released in advance of any N.R.M.A. personnel remaining.

21. The speech should not contrast the provision of reinforcements with national unity. It should put forth the voluntary effort as the best method to do the job in the light of all the circumstances.

22. It should contain an appeal to young men to volunteer and to the general public to do what they can to encourage volunteers among N.R.M.A. personnel and others.

23. The speech should avoid any political note and should also be given in French.

...../4

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24. The speech should immediately be given nation-wide distribution to the armed forces and to the civilian population.

25. The heads of churches should be requested to assist by asking parents to urge their sons to volunteer. Those who have served overseas should be asked to visit the soldiers in Canada.

26. The owners and editors of newspapers should be invited to Ottawa to meet Gen. McNaughton and the Army Staff. At this meeting, special attention should be paid to the publishers and editors whose circulation extends to the different racial groups.

27. Also, on a different occasion, representatives of all the Veterans' organizations should be asked to meet Gen. McNaughton at Ottawa.

28. The assistance of various individuals should later be sought, e.g., L.W. Brockington, who is doing a weekly series over the CBC and who might slant his talks so as to help in this.

29. A nation-wide publicity campaign in the press and over the radio is recommended against at this time because:

(a) it would not reach the people for whom it was intended;
(b) it would arouse opposition; and
(c) it would over-emphasize the importance of the N.R.M.A.

30. In short, our effort on the civilian side should be designed:

(a) to create a favourable atmosphere for the government's policy; and,
(b) to persuade people to do their utmost to urge others to volunteer.

31. In this connection, a card should later be obtained from the army for each N.R.M.A. man. This should give information about him and give the name of his next of kin. A civilian organization should canvass each next of kin.

Army action recommended

32. Since the N.R.M.A. are in the army, personal approach to secure their conversion must be regarded as primarily an army job. The steps recommended here are intended to build on existing army practices, not replace them.

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33. The army should be told that this has top priority and should be asked to submit a program for Cabinet backing.

34. The reputation of Gen. McNaughton is the biggest weapon we have to induce a favourable attitude on the N.R.M.A. To make the most of this, there should, if possible, be something in the nature of a "new deal" for N.R.M.A. personnel and others so as to create the most favourable attitudes. For example,

(a) there should be no discriminatory treatment of N.R.M.A. personnel;

(b) N.R.M.A. personnel should not be treated as separate problems or as a separate force, but should be treated exactly like General Service personnel;

(c) officers with the best records in securing recruits should, where possible, be transferred to positions where they can be most useful;

(d) every effort should be made to prevent training becoming a matter or routine so that men feel that they are soldiers who are trained to do a soldier's job. For this purpose, new officers from overseas might be attached to units and camps to stimulate training and produce other action along the lines indicated. These officers might conceivably be found at the staff college at Kingston;

(e) auxiliary services, canteens, movies, etc., should be maintained on the best scale possible and staffed with the best personnel available; and,

(f) in short, everything possible should be done to create a feeling on the part of the N.R.M.A. that they are soldiers who are well treated and who are being well trained to take part in overseas action.

35. The men should not be talked to in large formations, but should be canvassed individually or in small groups. A card should be prepared for each man and the result of each interview entered and reported to the person holding the next of kin card. If the man says "I would go if my mother agrees", the man canvassing the mother should know this.

36. No doubt many officers believe that the N.R.M.A. should be sent overseas. Their loyal sympathetic support should be sought. The regimental officers responsible for interviewing the men should themselves be instructed on how best to proceed. Army examiners should advise though they should not act as recruiting officers.

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...../6

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37. Gen. McNaughton should make an inspection tour of the formations in the west and visit the N.R.M.A. camps. During such visits, he might speak to the men.

38. Later, Gen. McNaughton should make a radio speech in which he mentions the results of some of his own findings and experience.. In part of this he might address himself to the men with whom he served in two wars.

39. Civilians like Corbett and Westwater, who have visited the troops overseas and been very successful in conducting group discussions with them, might visit N.R.M.A. formations to engage in discussions with them.

40. Gen. McNaughton should issue messages to the army overseas and in Canada.

41. The employment of soldiers on civilian jobs should be re-examined. N.R.M.A. personnel suitable for use as infantry, should be called back for training unless immediately engaged on work of prime essentiality. N.R.M.A. troops working at essential civilian jobs, should only receive soldiers' pay. Consideration should be given to mustering, in pioneer battalions, the N.R.M.A. personnel who are unlikely to become efficient soldiers.

42. Consideration should be given at a later date to providing N.R.M.A. personnel who convert, with war service grants and credits on the basis of service not exceeding, say, six months prior to conversion, conditional, upon this taking place before, say, January 1st. Under no circumstances should this form part of a recruting campaign.

Possible action by Council

43. Direct that the recruiting, training and transportation of reinforcements overseas and the conversion of N.R.M.A. personnel is to have top priority.

44. Direct that procedure is to be along the lines suggested in this memorandum.

45. Appoint Major General Pope, Messrs. Heeney and Dunton and others to assist the army.

46. Set up machinery for the canvassing of next of kin, including the appointment of someone in each province and in each constituency to direct this work.

6th November 1944.

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(J.W. PICKERSGILL TO W.L.M.K.)

P-100 "C"
1944

JWP/JMC C244869

Memorandum regarding meeting between members of the Government and a delegation from the Dominion Executive of the Canadian Legion, held in the Prime Minister's Office, East Block, November 8th, 1944, at 3 p.m.

Ministers present:

The Prime Minister	
Minister of National Defence	- Gen. McNaughton
Minister of Veterans Affairs	- Hon. Ian Mackenzie
Minister of Reconstruction	- Hon. C.D. Howe
Minister of National Health and Welfare	- Hon. Brooke Claxton.

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Representing the Legion were:

Mr. Alex Walker - Calgary.	Dominion President
Mr. W.H. Walker - Canora.	Vice-President
Mr. E. Struthers - Ottawa	
Mr. A.E. Moore - Winnipeg	
Mr. A. Lockhart - New Brunswick	
Mr. J. Boyd - Montreal	
Mr. J. Baldwin - Ottawa	
Mr. D. Anderson - Ottawa	
Mr. J. Hundevod - Ottawa	
Mr. J.G. Herwig - Ottawa	Secretary.

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Mr. Alex. Walker, Dominion President, commended the government's legislation for veterans and pointed out that there was no politics in the Canadian Legion. He then called upon Mr. W. H. Walker, the Vice President, to read the submission.

Mr. Alex. Walker then pointed out that he had travelled in all the provinces and had found widespread bitterness at the failure of the government to impose conscription. He said that the Provincial Command of the Legion in Quebec supported the stand of the Legion, and that many others in Quebec would support the government. He also said that the Legion tried to put the Quebec side of the case in other parts of the country. He said the post-war legislation was sufficient, but what was wanted was support for the men overseas now.

Mr. W. H. Walker then pointed out that the Legion was concerned with the problem of unity not only during the war but in the future. He said the fighting men would return bitter if the Home Defence men were not sent overseas.

Mr. A. E. Moore reiterated the statement that the Legion was non-political and had rejected partisan action. He referred to letters he had received regarding re-mustering, and said he did not believe them until they were confirmed by the Prime Minister in his broadcast. He felt that re-mustering was weakening the infantry, and that 14 days at a stretch in the line was too long.

Mr. A. Lockhart pointed out that people in the Maritimes were worried that Mr. Ralston should have resigned so soon after being on the ground, that everyone knew of his strong personal interest in all the troops. He added that there was no French problem in the Maritimes, despite a large French population, and that the Quebec problem should be solved in the same way the problem had been solved in the Maritimes.

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Mr. J. Boyd spoke for the English-speaking population in Quebec. He said they were bitter too. He said that he appreciated the Prime Minister's and General McNaughton's difficulties.

Mr. Alex. Walker then read a telegram from the Quebec Command of the Legion supporting the request for adequate and well trained reinforcements.

The Prime Minister pointed out that the government shared the feelings of all at the loss of Colonel Ralston from the Ministry. Mr. King referred to the difference between compulsion and persuasion, and said he had expected commendation of General McNaughton from the Legion, that no one knew and cared more for the army, and that no one could question the patriotism or capacity of the Minister of National Defence. Mr. King expressed the hope that the Legion would help to build confidence.

Mr. W. H. Walker stated that Colonel Ralston had been given the support of the Legion, and that the Prime Minister was now asking for support for a policy which the Legion believes cannot be carried out successfully.

The Prime Minister pointed out that Mr. Ralston could find no evidence of lack of training of reinforcements during his visit overseas. Mr. King added that if the reports were true they were a reflection on Col. Ralston's administration.

Mr. Lockhart stated that re-mustering was evidence of a shortage, to which Mr. King replied that remustered troops were trained, according to Colonel Ralston's report. Mr. King pointed out that nothing had been said so far about the trained G.S. troops in Britain and Canada, nor had the figures been given as to the numbers available. Mr. King also stated that the plebiscite of 1942 had relieved members of Parliament of their pledges, but had not given the government a mandate for conscription. He said that if conscription had been adopted in 1942, the war effort would not be as great as it is today. He stressed the fact that the government was as anxious to support the men overseas as any other body of men, but also stressed the practical political difficulties of imposing conscription.

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Mr. W. H. Walker stated that he was satisfied that Parliament would have supported a united government, to which the Prime Minister replied that the government could not agree to impose conscription, and that the difficulties were not party considerations but solely national.

Mr. Alex. Walker pointed out that the Legion had done everything to help with the war, but that they could not do anything effective in face of the bitter feeling toward the Home Defence troops; that he personally believed they were simply waiting to be told to go overseas.

The Prime Minister indicated that the government was prepared to resort to conscription if necessary as it had stated in 1942.

The meeting concluded about 4 p.m.

JWP/MP

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

C244873 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date November 11 1944

Subject

Ottawa Nov 11 44

Laurier's Better Way

Sir Wilfrid Laurier opposed conscription in 1917, as everyone knows. But, in so doing, he suggested a method of resolving the difficulties which he raised. It was to hold a plebiscite or referendum. He pledged himself to abide by such an appeal to the people. More, he said he and his compatriots would loyally observe the law if it were enacted, plebiscite or no plebiscite.

Prime Minister King opposes conscription. But if the situation in Canada today had faced Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1917, he would, on his own word, have given the weight of his approval to a conscription measure. For a plebiscite has already been held in Canada and the people by about 2,700,000 votes to 1,600,000 voted to release the government from obligation as a result of any past commitments to restrict the method of raising men for military service.

Laurier in 1917 said that no one regretted more than he Quebec's slowness in recruiting, but he felt the only way out was to appeal to the whole country. He believed that when the country had spoken, the question would be settled and all must submit to the law.

The present government leader has in many respects followed in Sir Wilfrid's footsteps. He could still do a supreme service to Canada by taking Sir Wilfrid Laurier's position as guidance in the present crisis. Sir Wilfrid would have carried out the will of the people as expressed by plebiscite.

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Secret

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re Recruiting.

It will be much easier to maintain support for the government in the other provinces if the supporters of the government in Quebec:

1. do not show too much satisfaction in public over the fact that conscription has not been adopted

2. do show some obvious zeal about stimulating volunteering.

It is suggested that some of the private members be asked to come to Ottawa at once to help map out and organize and participate in the canvass of next-of-kin of the draftees.

It might be emphasized to them how vital it is that they get results if the government is to weather the present storm.

A list is attached of members thought most suitable.

13th November, 1944.

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List of Quebec M.Ps.

Authier
Blanchette
Brunelle
Dupuis
Fauteux
Halle
Jean
Lalonde
A.J.Lapointe
Leduc
Picard
Sylvestre
Tremblay

Other French Canadian M.Ps. who might help -

Bertrand (Prescott)
Bradette
Chevrier
Veniot

N.B. It has been suggested to me that A.J.Lapointe might be sent out to British Columbia and used in the camps.

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November 14, 1944

C244876

FACTS ABOUT N.R.M.A. SOLDIERS

All members of Canada's navy and air force and of its army overseas are volunteers. Of the more than 450,000 men on service with the army, either overseas or in Canada, more than 390,000 have volunteered for general service anywhere in the world. The remaining 60,000 are men who have been enrolled under the National Resources Mobilization Act for compulsory military training and service in Canada and in certain adjacent territories such as Newfoundland and Jamaica, which have been designated by order-in-council. Such men may be despatched to other areas only by further orders-in-council. In addition to this 60,000, there are about 8,500 N.R.M.A. soldiers who, although on army strength, are on extended leave or duty from depots.

The total number of men enrolled under the N.R.M.A. between March, 1941, and October, 1944, was 150,000. This compares with 345,000 men who volunteered for service in the same period. Of the total of 150,000 enrolled men, 42,000 enlisted for general service after their enrolment, and 6,000 transferred as volunteers to the navy or air force. Discharges, etc., accounted for 33,500.

In 1944 to the end of September, nearly 15,000 men were enrolled under the N.R.M.A. In the same period 10,000 enrolled men volunteered for general service. Since the invasion of western Europe began on June 6, 1944, voluntary enlistments for overseas service on the part of N.R.M.A. men have been greater in number than the enrolments of compulsory service men during the same period, as shown in the following table:

Month	Enrolments Under N.R.M.A.	Voluntary Enlistments From N.R.M.A.	Excess of Voluntary Enlistments Over Enrolments
June	1,500	2,975	1,475
July	1,350	1,350	-
August	1,225	1,350	125
September	1,050	1,350	300
October	1,075	850	- 225
Total	6,200	7,875	1,675

Nearly 975,000 men have entered all three fighting services during the war. The number of N.R.M.A. men still on the strength of the army who have failed to volunteer for service anywhere in the world is about 7% of this total.

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C244877

Following is a summary of N.R.M.A. enrolments, conversions to general service, discharges, etc., from the time men were first enrolled for the duration of the war, which was March, 1941:

	Enrolments	Conversions To General Service	Conversions To Other Services	Discharges, etc.	Total	Strength at End of Year
1941 (commencing March.....	31,500	7,500	4,200	3,300	15,000	16,500
1942.....	69,500	18,000	1,500	8,200	27,500	
Total including 1942	101,000	25,500	5,500	11,500	42,500	58,500
1943.....	34,000	6,500	300	11,000	17,800	
Total including 1943.	135,000	32,000	5,800	22,500	60,300	74,700
1944 (to end of September.....	(nearly) 15,000	10,000	200	11,000	21,200	
Grand Total...	150,000	42,000	6,000	33,500	81,500	68,500 (at end of September)

On extended leave or duty from depots.....	8,500
Net effective strength (at end of September	60,000

Of these 60,000 it is estimated that 42,000 are of an age and medical category suitable for combat service in the infantry. (For a breakdown by districts and type of formation of N.R.M.A. men now on strength and of those suitable for infantry see page 4). Some 16,000 are already trained as infantry, about 8,000 of whom are sufficiently trained to be ready for combat at an early date.

The remaining 26,000, who are of an age and category suitable for infantry, are presently on the strength of the units of the other arms and services where they are undergoing training or engaged in duties related to the continuing but diminishing requirements for the defence of Canada and certain outlying territories for which Canada has assumed certain responsibilities.

The year of enrolment of those men still on strength as N.R.M.A. men at the end of September, 1944, was as follows by military districts:

Military Districts Where Enrolled	1941	1942	1943	1944	Total
No. 1, 2 and 3 (Ontario)....	900	6,800	4,900	2,400	15,000
No. 4 and 5 (Quebec).....	2,900	8,800	6,100	5,000	22,800
No. 6 and 7 (Maritimes).....	400	1,800	1,500	600	4,300
No. 10, 12 and 13 (Prairies)	1,700	6,200	4,200	1,700	13,800
Pacific Command (British Columbia.....	300	1,800	1,200	800	4,100
Total.....	6,200	25,400	17,900	10,500	60,000[x]

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x Figures not adjusted for part of Quebec included in M.D. 3 and part of Ontario included in M.D. 10.

The 42,000 suitable for employment as infantry are by district of enrolment as follows:

Military Districts Where Enrolled	Number
No. 1, 2 and 3 (Ontario)	10,250
No. 4 and 5 (Quebec)	16,300
No. 6 and 7 (Maritimes)	2,600
No. 10, 12 and 13 (Prairies)	10,000
Pacific Command (British Columbia)	2,850
Total	42,000[x]

x Figures not adjusted for part of Quebec included in M.D. 3 and part of Ontario included in M.D. 10.

The 8,500 on extended leave or duty from depots were engaged as follows:

Farm duty	200
Farm leave--	
Compassionate	5,400
Harvest	500
Industry	400
Logging	100
Mining	500
Other similar leaves	1,400
Total	8,500

Languages of the 60,000 N.R.M.A. men now on strength are as follows:

English only	17,800
French only	12,100
English and French	14,400
Foreign languages[x]	15,700
Total	60,000

x Generally able to speak either English or French also.

(In all tabulations figures are given in round numbers).

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N.R.M.A. MEN ON STRENGTH
AND
ESTIMATED NUMBER SUITABLE FOR INFANTRY x
At September 30, 1944

Military Districts where now Stationed	Operational Units		Non-operational Units		Training Stream		Depot Appraisal, Placement and Rehabilitation Wings	Total	
	Total On Strength	Suitable for Infantry Included	Total On Strength	Suitable for Infantry Included	Total On Strength	Suitable for Infantry Included	Total On Strength	Total On Strength	Suitable for Infantry Included
Military Districts No. 1, 2 and 3, including National Defence Headquarters, Camp Borden and Petawawa (Ontario)	1,500	1,300	4,400	2,300	5,500	3,900	300	11,700	7,500
Military Districts No. 4 and 5 (Quebec)	200	200	5,800	3,000	2,500	1,800	1,000	9,500	5,000
Military Districts No. 6 and 7 (Maritimes)	4,700	3,900	3,300	1,700	1,300	900	400	9,700	6,500
Military Districts No. 10, 12 and 13 (Prairies)	2,200	1,900	1,300	700	1,300	900	200	5,000	3,500
Pacific Command (British Columbia)	17,900	14,900	700	300	600	500	300	19,500	15,700
Total in Canada	26,500	22,200	15,500	8,000	11,200	8,000	2,200	55,400	38,200
Adjacent Territories	4,600	3,800	-	-	-	-	-	4,600	3,800
Total	31,100	26,000 xx	15,500	8,000	11,200	8,000	2,200	60,000	42,000

It should be noted that this table shows the districts where the men are now serving, not where they were enrolled.

x Excluding extended leaves from depots. Figures not adjusted for part of Quebec included in Military District No. 3 and part of Ontario included in Military District No. 10.

xx This group includes most of the 16,000 estimated as trained infantry, of whom 8,000 could be ready for combat at an early date.

C244879

W.L.M.K. - 14.xi.44

SECRET

C244880

RE: RE-ASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT
November 22, 1944

Notes for guidance in preparation of material:

1. Preparation of speech to be delivered in the Commons by Prime Minister.

2. Order of proceedings to be followed when the House re-assembles:

   (a) question of secret session first, with debate later;

   (b) how McNaughton's presence at secret session to be secured;

   (c) procedure at secret session, whether a debate with Speaker in chair, or House in committee of the whole.

   (d) Resolution to be presented to Parliament and by whom;

      (i) by Prime Minister at end of speech or

      (ii) by some other person or

      (iii) to be left to the Opposition.

   (Resolution to be carefully considered from the point of view of what it might be possible to have moved by way of amendment.)

3. The question of tabling of the correspondence,

   (a) whether it should be re-worded, or

   (b) parts given which do not expressly relate to Cabinet secrecy.

4. Question of whether Party caucus should be arranged in advance - this very doubtful; much depends on procedure to be followed in the House.

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No. 2 W.L.M.K. - 14.xi.44

SECRET

C244881

OUTLINE OF PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH

This should be prepared topically under the following, among other headings:

1. Historical - outlining the sequence of events.

   (a) as to Ralston's resignation;

   (b) appointment of McNaughton;

   (c) whether Ralston asked to resign.

2. What was understanding at time of passing of Bill 80 as to resort to conscription;

   (a) on Ralston's part and those who agreed with him;

   (b) on my part and those who agree with me.

3. Make clear that there is a larger question namely what the present situation demands - taking the line that we must agree to disagree on this.

   Go direct to the point which is how it is best to secure necessary reinforcements for the remainder of the war.

   (In connection with this part, there should be a summary of the changed situations - both as they were in 1942 and as they are today -
   (i) dealing particularly with total war effort versus consideration solely of position of Army,

   (ii) then dealing on basis of army alone,

   (iii) then here careful presentation of both courses - voluntary and compulsory - admit questionable results. Consider carefully which more likely to secure the required number of men.

There should be a carefully worked out statement of the exact military situation. In this connection, particularly the numbers of trained men available before Christmas;

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ships available for transporting troops,

and available space thereon.

4. Outline re <u>manpower situation</u> in Canada -

a statement on the appeal and the response thereto.

also re manpower situation in Britain.

5. The <u>conscription issue</u>;

what conscription would mean;

problems still to be met in connection with the war,
e.g. settling questions of demobilization;
solution of post-war problems;

effect on war against Japan,

bearing on work of reconstruction and possibly
government's programme of legislation.

6. A statement of the government's position re draftees,
as to employment, wages, return to industry, etc.

A similar statement regarding position of soldiers
overseas,

as to return to Canada,

as to being in Canada before going to Japan,

as to enlistment for Japan being voluntary
as respects army, air and navy.

7. Statement of my position re no election in war-time;

an election even on government policies bad enough
during war-time if it can be avoided,

an election on the conscription issue at this stage
of the war perfectly appalling. Would not be
an election that would decide anything.
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When this declaration first made; different occasions on which repeated;

why it should be held to at the present time.

Then a statement which will make clear necessity of maintaining national unity:

quote Churchill* in address to the French nation on Armistice Day.

Section re Legion's appeal for conscription:

Note: apart from Legion and conscriptionist press supporting them, there has been little evidence of desire of Canadian people to have conscription issue come to the fore at this time.

Speech should lead up to a peroration which will support the view that as to obtaining the necessary men for reinforcements and maintaining national unity which is the basis of all successful effort, it is advisable that methods at present employed should be continued or that there should not be a change at this time in the method of securing men for overseas.

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* "all the forces of the nation should be directed to the support of stability and authority".

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C244884

PROCEDURE

Monday, November 20 — Phone leaders - Council discuss

Tuesday, November 21 — See leaders of party

Re House meeting at 11 a.m. (copy of resolution re)

Lat day's Order Paper

Copy of resolution re proceedings

Wednesday, November 22

(see Friday re Notice of Motion)

Afternoon — Changes in Ministry on Motions

Exchange of correspondence - (look carefully over as to wording, table at end of speaking)

Word re McNaughton (secure Ralston's statement re McNaughton) (A)

Ralston to make statement (B)

P.M. to reply - why House called (Ralston's statement secure

- not new session - motion in Commons & Senate (C)

- read letter from Gen.McNaughton re military secrecy (D)

- adjourn House - informing House next day to hear Gen.McNaughton

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Wednesday, November 22

Afternoon contd. - (a) make no motion at that time;

(b) make motion - in which event would have to adjourn debate on P.M.'s motion, securing consent for secret session after general session; resume debate on P.M.'s motion before adjourning House;

(c) adjourn the House for a question of urgent importance (not advisable conclude at 11)

- adjourn H. of C. until 4 or later - then

secret session

- Table Orders in Council under War Measures Act = (secure)

Evening - Caucus of Party

continue discussions

prepare statement for

Thursday, November 23

Morning - Caucus

Afternoon - General McNaughton : as in England
address Houses in open session : Gen. Smuts & myself at W'minster
saying what can be said in : - as Churchill,
public (open to public : Eden, Curtin,
stating advisable to speak in : Fraser, MacChian
secret session

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THURSDAY, November 25

Afternoon contd. - "Parliament on anvil to hammer out an informed public opinion"

(E)

- House move into Secret Session (2 speakers - no speeches)
- secure presence of McNaughton (or proceedings in H.C., Speaker H.C. preside
- take in Senate
- Speaker in Chair - Procedure - Speaker to preside and announce House to have all rights of Committee of the Whole

(See instances in British Parlt. of secret sessions)

Evening - ditto (or continue)

Friday, November 24

- P.M. make statement on general situation
  concluding with Motion (ascertain when notice has to be given)
- debate to go on
  different leaders - possible amendments
  Division
- Readjournment - notice of motion - in words similar to that at present on Order Paper, adjourning till January 31st with right to reconvene in interval

(C)

alternative course, so as to avoid motion, not approved - Under motions P.M. to make statement and invite Ralston, & leaders to speak - ends automatically at 9;

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Resolution re adjournment - terms of

when to be placed on Order Paper

from p. 8

Motion to follow statement of P.M. (secure)

Attitude towards **Prorogation**:

If made now, everyone will expect immediate dissolution;

If not made now public will expect parliament will be continuing till end of war, or expiration of term;

If dissolution desired in interval can take place at any time

Best plan

On January 31st prorogue

(a) make no announcement about new session & call election when ready to do so;

(b) or announce there will be no session - date of election to be fixed later on

(c) or then announce date of election - which would have to be at least two months later - March 31st (or later, say March or April)

(d) Announce date of election some time in February, say 15th February, for April 17 - time of expiration of parlt - or early in May (good month for election - war pretty certain to be at end or nearing conclusion)

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Attitude towards dissolution - different courses

(1) Immediate dissolution - this not to be announced when House meets, or during sittings

Governor General would certainly grant, as near end of present parliament

Not advisable
(1) contrary to declared policy of no election while war on if possible to avoid and

reason for this;

add to horrors of war for men overseas and families at home;

bitterness between provinces - issue would be conscription, etc. no chance to discuss social legislation program

(2) If defeated on Motion

Not advisable

(1) for reasons applying to an immediate dissolution

(2) Party divided - conscription & anti-conscription must try to keep both groups united - if postponed conscriptionist issue will be out - govt. will have been shown to be right - can then discuss social program, who to represent Canada, etc.

(3) Very doubtful if Governor General would grant dissolution (or be willing to give promise to do so beforehand) Would be contrary to my policy repeatedly stated of no election in war time if possible to avoid

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Course to be taken if Motion does not carry:

(A) **Ask Governor General for dissolution**

Governor General would refuse

(in case of Lord Byng - I was P.M. still commanding majority in H. of C. and could advise - advice not accepted therefore resigned

if defeated in H. of C. would not have confidence and therefor could not advise - except as to who to be called on.)

(B) **Tender resignation and ask Governor General to call on some one to form a Ministry** - to put through conscription

1st difficult for those opposed to government:

(a) **who is to be called on**

1. **Liberals** - Ralston
   if he refuses, loses caste immediately
   any other also might oppose
   - Macdonald
   - Crerar
   - Ilsley (doubtful if he will oppose present motion) If he did accept would be a Maritime Govt. Would get no Minister from Quebec; Might get none from Prairies.
   - Doubt if C.C.F. would join with Conservatives or Liberals in a govt.

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2. Conservatives - Graydon
to enforce conscription
complexion of govt

- Breakmun- if brought in need by-elec'n

difficulties of enforcing conscription
would have to have genl. election
(a)during wartime, (b) by expiration
of parlt. or extend term
When election came would be beaten

3. Coldwell ? - to enfoforce conscription if accepted

weakness of govt. immediately
apparent

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Suggested Motion

That this House approves the continued efforts of the Goverrment to maintain the utmost war effort of which Canada is capable.

or..... approves the policy of His Majesty's government to maintain ~~the~~ its war effort.

or,

That this House will continue to aid the government (or His Majesty's government) in its administration of Canada's war effort.

or

That this House will aid His Majesty's government in the utmost in the vigorous prosecution of the war. (See Motion, Br. H.of C.Jan.28,1942 which had in addition the words after House: "has confidence in His Majesty's government and ....

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By-election

To be called off - under War Measures Act ?
Or fixed at date beyond that at which dissolution would be announced
say - April 17 or earlier
say - March 31st (so as to be in House for new fiscal year)

McNaughton

Re seat in Parliament
Might arrange - see list of vacancies
see papers re

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W.L.M.K. - 14.xi.44
C244893

SECRET

RE: RE-ASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT
November 22, 1944

Notes for guidance in preparation of material:

1. Preparation of speech to be delivered in the Commons by Prime Minister.

2. Order of proceedings to be followed when the House re-assembles: Orders in Council

(a) question of secret session first, with debate later;

(b) how McNaughton's presence at secret session to be secured;

(c) procedure at secret session, whether a debate with Speaker in chair, or House in Committee of the whole.

(d) Resolution to be presented to Parliament and by whom;

(i) by Prime Minister at end of speech or

(ii) by some other person or

(iii) to be left to the Opposition.

(Resolution to be carefully considered from the point of view of what it might be possible to have moved by way of amendment.)

3. The question of tabling of the correspondence,

(a) whether it should be re-worded, or

(b) parts given which do not expressly relate to Cabinet secrecy.

4. Question of whether Party caucus should be arranged in advance - this very doubtful; much depends on procedure to be followed in the House.

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No. 2 W.L.M.K. - 14.xi.44

SECRET

C244894

OUTLINE OF PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH

This should be prepared topically under the following, among other headings:

1. Historical - outlining the sequence of events.

   (a) as to Ralston's resignation;

   (b) appointment of McNaughton;

   (c) whether Ralston asked to resign.

2. What was understanding at time of passing of Bill 80 as to resort to conscription;

   (a) on Ralston's part and those who agreed with him;

   (b) on my part and those who agree with me.

3. Make clear that there is a larger question namely what the present situation demands - taking the line that we must agree to disagree on this.

   Go direct to the point which is how it is best to secure necessary reinforcements for the remainder of the war.

   (In connection with this part, there should be a summary of the changed situations - both as they were in 1942 and as they are today -
   (i) dealing particularly with total war effort versus consideration solely of position of Army,

   (ii) then dealing on basis of army alone,

   (iii) then here careful presentation of both courses - voluntary and compulsory - admit questionable results. Consider carefully which more likely to secure the required number of men.

There should be a carefully worked out statement of the exact military situation. In this connection, particularly the numbers of trained men available before Christmas;

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ships available for transporting troops,
and available space thereon.

4. Outline re <u>manpower situation</u> in Canada -

a statement on the appeal and the response thereto.

also re manpower situation in Britain.

5. The <u>conscription issue</u>;

what conscription would mean;

problems still to be met in connection with the war,
e.g. settling questions of demobilization;
solution of post-war problems;

effect on war against Japan,

bearing on work of reconstruction and possibly
government's programme of legislation.

6. A statement of the government's position re draftees,
as to employment, wages, return to industry, etc.

A similar statement regarding position of soldiers
overseas,

as to return to Canada,

as to being in Canada before going to Japan,

as to enlistment for Japan being voluntary
as respects army, air and navy.

7. Statement of my position re no election in war-time;

an election even on government policies bad enough
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an election on the conscription issue at this stage
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quote Churchill in address to the French nation on Armistice Day.

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PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

C244897

SECRET

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

Attached is a report which you may wish to have, noting various suggestions in connection with recruiting.

The point on which I would like to have your instructions is mentioned in paragraph #7 with reference to preparation for the Session. I have suggested getting a number of Members to be prepared to deal with different aspects of the subject that may arise in the debate. If you concur I would ask Walter Tucker, Walter Harris, J.A. Johnston, Maurice Halle, Hughes Cleaver, Geo. McLean, Roy Graham, Arthur Roebuck and others to be ready if called on to cover various topics on which they and we would prepare information.

Brooke Claxton.

BC:EMM.
November 16th, 1944.

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PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

C244898

SECRET

Report for the Prime Minister

1. Following the meeting of Council Tuesday I discussed the situation with a number of people including Colonel Fleming and Walter Harris, M.P. who were very sensible and helpful. We all felt that the time for meetings of committees had passed and that General McNaughton should deal with the military side of the problem and Mr. Gardiner with the civilian side, each calling for such aid as he wanted.

2. Further, I thought that Col. Fleming's suggestion that the distribution of N.R.M.A. personnel by counties and cities should be worked out so that if the result seemed suitable it might be publicised. He said Owen Sound would be shocked to learn that it had Zombies and public opinion in each locality would speedily deal with its own Zombie problem. As the campaign goes on Mr. Gardiner will each day get from General McNaughton the names of all N.R.M.A. going active. This information will be issued through the Press from time to time and where it is desirable he will see that civilian canvassers follow up with the next-of-kin.

3. W.I.B. ordered 100,000 copies of your speech in English, and 48,000 in French. The National Liberal Federation ordered 100,000. The Army ordered 45,000. I got the King's Printer to agree to work overtime on getting this out.

4. As a great deal depends on the handling of publicity and the build up of General McNaughton, I urged him again to get back Joe Clarke to handle his personal publicity and releases.

5. Various suggestions have been put forward by myself and others including

   (a) Preparation of answers to all questions that have been raised or that may be raised, to be done by the Army Public Relations and W.I.B. and released by General McNaughton personally. He should say he is out to give the Canadian people all the facts. Attached is a list of topics.

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(b) Cardinal Villeneuve should be invited by General McNaughton to address mass meetings of next-of-kin of overseas soldiers in Quebec and Montreal with bands, choirs, etc. Next-of-kin of N.R.M.A. personnel in the district should be invited. Cardinal Villeneuve could report to the relatives on the boys overseas, he might mention the need for men. His speeches reported in English Canada would improve relations there.

(c) Repatriated wounded men from regiments overseas should be sent to camps to canvass N.R.M.A. personnel and assure them (i) that they are needed, and (ii) that they will be welcome.

(d) A series of talks should be run on the C.B.C. on escapes from Germany and France by Canadian airmen and others. Stories like those of Larry Robillard are among the most thrilling of the war. Many of the best escapes are those of French Canadians. These stories should be serialized in MacLean's and published in book form. (I suggested this two years ago but the Army killed the idea for security reasons).

(e) Army Public Relations Officers should accompany all recruiting activities and see that every group of men going active is publicised at once in the widest possible way.

(f) If a large formation goes active it should be brought East with appropriate publicity.

(g) Officers who have not been getting good results among N.R.M.A. personnel should be shifted. Consideration should be given to re-grouping N.R.M.A. personnel in units which would be part of battalions overseas, wear the same badges, etc.

(h) N.R.M.A. personnel going active should be earmarked for the regiment they want and wear the badges. N.C.O's should keep their rank in Canada.

(i) Friendly press and others should be privately invited in to meet General McNaughton.

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(j) Further consideration should be given to having all daily and weekly press publishers and editors in to meet him. This would show them that he is on the job, that he is sincere, that he is physically fit, that he is hopeful.

(k) Further ideas and suggestion should be canalized through one centre to General McNaughton or Mr. Gardiner. Joe Clarke would be invaluable in this connection.

6. General McNaughton should have definite results from camps by the time the Members meet. Everything possible should be done to get as large a group to go active as possible before the 22nd. Mr. Gardiner's organization should have the breakdown by counties and towns and prepare full information and instructions for the use of canvassers. If the information in it is useful the breakdown should be issued next Tuesday and the instructions should be available for the Liberal members while they are here.

7. In preparation for the Session, a small group of Members should be ready to speak if needed, as was done effectively in the case of Family Allowances. In this connection I suggest the names of Walter Tucker, Walter Harris, J.A. Johnston, Maurice Halle, Hughes Cleaver, Geo. MacLean, Roy Graham, for consideration. If this is agreeable they should be long-distanced now. Arthur Roebuck and others should prepare speeches and basic material so that we have speeches ready to deal with every aspect. Attached is a list of topics.

8. Conceivably the Conservatives may be wise enough to say nothing. In this event the debate should be over very speedily. Speeches by French Canadian Liberals should be carefully worked out. We should have people ready but certainly have no hard and fast schedule as a great deal will depend on the key speeches and the attitude of the Conservatives. Possibly Mr. Power might be ready to deal with the figures.

9. May I suggest that if at all possible your own speech should give the estimated and actual figures of casualties and add, "Every one of these casualties has been replaced by a man physically fit and fully trained". General McNaughton should obtain information to corroborate this. If the figures justify it, it may be possible

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to go a good long way towards stating that the various measures adopted are meeting the need. If I judge the temper of English speaking Canada at this time, the only plea that may succeed with them is a plea for time with positive indications that the time is likely to be sufficient to enable the Government to do the job.

10. Following the session Liberal members should go out and fight for support.

Brooke Claxton

BC:EMM.

Brooke Claxton.

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Information to be prepared.

1. Composition of N.R.M.A.
2. Composition of the Army in Canada and overseas.
3. Leave to overseas personnel.
4. Training, length, remustering.
5. Description of Military organization as it pertains to reinforcements.
6. Gratuities and benefits.
7. Demobilization and order of discharge.
8. Participation in Japanese war.
9. Assurances as to treatment o/s of N.R.M.A. volunteering.
10. Convalescence of soldiers before returning to action.
11. Results of recruiting this year.
12. Figures on unfitness in various districts.
13. Actual casualties and flow of reinforcements.

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Points on which material should be prepared for debate.

1. Why not conscription since 1939?
2. Why not conscription in 1942?
3. List Members of the House and party leaders who have spoken in favour of conscription up to date with quotations and page references.
4. Success of the voluntary method in the total war effort.
5.

   e.g. the present war loan - Mr. Ilsley's speech on compulsory savings.

   Mr. Ilsley's speech on the plebiscite and to the Quebec meeting of the Trades and Labour Congress.

5. Mr. Ralston's various speeches in favour of the voluntary system.
6. Quotations indicating Conservative confusion.
7. Canada's total contribution - would it be greater if we had adopted conscription in 1942?
8. Advantages and disadvantages of adopting conscription "in the last days of the war".
9. Conscription in 1917.
10. Conscription in Australia.
11. Conscription in New Zealand.
12. Conscription in Northern Ireland - Quotation from Mr. Churchill.
13. French Canada's idea of conscription.
14. Quotes from Mr. Drew and other Conservatives on Quebec and its part in the war.
15. Comparison of Quebec's war effort in this war and last.
16. The attitude of the Tories to the Province of Quebec.
17. The concept of Quebec as a singler stumbling block.
18. The record of Quebec members and their families.
19. Answer to the charge of appeasing Quebec - what will work and what won't work.
20. If we get 95% response without causing dissension will that not add more to the war effort than what we could get if we caused dissension.
21. Answer to the charge that the Prime Minister is following the line of political expediency. His record. If the majority want conscription, the line of political expediency is for the Prime Minister to favour conscription.
22. It is one thing to have the draft at the beginning of the war and another to have it on the last lap when it is applied to a residual group after most have volunteered. At least 18,000 N.R.M.A. men are doing the same jobs as they would do if conscripted.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C244904

For the Prime Minister.

Mr. G. A. McLean, Member for East Simcoe, called at the office to suggest that General McNaughton, if he is to enter the House, might contest East Simcoe. He points out that when Drew became provincial leader he was given an acclamation in Simcoe and that it will be difficult for the Conservatives to oppose General McNaughton. In any event he says their candidate is a weak man and McLean is confident of victory.

As the attached reprint from the local paper indicates, Mr. McLean is not going to be a candidate at the next election. This decision was made long before the present controversy arose.

W. J. T.

November 16, 1944.

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From The Orillia Packet and Times, October 12, 1944

C244905

Mr. George McLean Not a Candidate For Re-election to Parliament.

Mr. George McLean has intimated to the executive of the East Simcoe Liberal Association that he does not wish to be considered as a possible candidate in the impending Federal election. He feels that, after serving for nine years in the House of Commons, the claims of business and of family life have a primary demand upon his time for the years that are ahead.

Widely as Mr. McLean's decision will be regretted, it can well be understood. Service as a member of Parliament involves much sacrifice from those who take their duties seriously, as Mr. McLean has done. This has been particularly the case during the war, when sessions have run into six months or more.

Mr. McLean steps out with the respect alike of his supporters and of his political opponents. While he has not cluttered the pages of Hansard with many speeches, when he did speak it was with effect, as when he called attention to the extravagance of Parliament itself, resulting in a considerable, if transitory, reform in this regard. But he has been most assiduous in his duties as a member of committees, where the chief part of the business of the House of Commons is transacted. And he has been awake to promoting the interests and welfare of his constituents, corporate and individual, without regard to their political affiliations. Moreover, he has been governed in the discharge of his duties by a high standard of political ethics, which has been reflected in the tone of the politics in East Simcoe. While an ardent admirer of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, and a loyal supporter of his party, he has not been a blind apologist for all the Government's actions. Throughout his career he has thrown his influence towards active co-operation within the British Commonwealth, in peace and war.

Locally, there will be one satisfaction, in the hope that Mr. McLean will find time to renew the active part in civic life which he took prior to his election to Parliament, in the Town Council, as Mayor, on the Board of Trade and in other organisations. In retiring from his political responsibilities, Mr. McLean will have the goodwill of his fellow citizens for a happy and prosperous future.

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W.I.B. SURVEY

NUMBER 50 --- NOVEMBER 18, 1944

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PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

THE CONSCRIPTION ISSUE

Probably a quarter of all editorials in daily papers during the past two weeks have been on this question. The larger metropolitan dailies have had at least one editorial -- and sometimes four -- every day dealing with it since the resignation of Mr Ralston.

French-language comment can be summed up briefly. With the exception of the weekly LE JOUR, which once advocated conscription but now feels that it is too late to introduce it, all French-language newspapers are opposed on principle to conscription. They therefore welcomed the appointment of General McNaughton and his subsequent statements, and appear to take it for granted that the present government will not introduce conscription for overseas service. This applies not only to Liberal papers, but also to papers like LE DROIT, which condemn the present system of what they call 'conscription indirecte'.

There are no English-language papers which oppose conscription on principle. The division is between those which believe that conscription is necessary now, and that the government is avoiding it in an unjustifiable attempt to placate Quebec, and those which believe that the government will introduce conscription when it becomes necessary. The first group comprises papers which generally support the Progressive Conservative party, and most of the papers which are not consistent party supporters. The second group is mainly composed of regular supporters of the Liberal party.

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During the first few days after the change in the Cabinet, Liberal supporters called for a suspension of judgment on the part of the public, and for a full statement from the government. These papers did not feel that compulsory service overseas had been definitely rejected, but rather that General McNaughton had been called in as an expert to investigate the reinforcement situation further. Opposition papers were equally loud in their demand for a statement, but were more inclined to demand it from the ex-minister. A few called for an election if the government continued the voluntary policy.

The reaction to the appointment of General McNaughton was at first one of astonishment more than anything else. It was considered an astute political move on the Prime Minister's part, and was also described as 'window-dressing'. While several papers appealed for fair treatment of the General, most opposition papers, at the beginning at least, took an attitude of courteous disapproval of his acceptance of the portfolio. Later, there were some charges that he was deliberately lending himself to a discreditable political manoeuvre, that he was ignorant of the present situation, and even that he was actuated by personal spite against Mr Ralston.

After General McNaughton's Arnprior and Ottawa speeches, opposition papers deduced that he was determined to carry through the voluntary policy at all costs; government supporters felt that he meant that, while he still had faith in voluntary recruiting, he was prepared to resort to conscription if necessary. Some of the opposition papers supported their argument by quoting Mr St Laurent's Quebec speech, which they felt proved that the government had no intention of invoking Bill 80. The WINNIPEG FREE PRESS also deplored this speech.

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Commenting on the Prime Minister's radio speech, the papers which support the government considered that he had reaffirmed the pledge to implement Bill 80 if necessary. Other papers felt that he had confirmed their charges but had offered no solution. Many papers asked why, after years of training, there were only 8,000 men immediately usable as reinforcements; in some cases this probably arose out of failure to understand that this applied to infantry only.

Mr Halston's statement made a strong impression. Opposition papers supported it, and welcomed it as clarifying the situation. The WINNIPEG FREE PRESS expressed itself as being gravely disturbed by it, gave the opinion that 'the present test of the voluntary principle' could not last much longer than the end of November, and asked the government as a whole to reaffirm the 1942 pledge. The FREE PRESS, like other English-language Liberal papers, considers the government committed.

In spite of occasional charges of 'evasion', it is safe to say that the decision to call the House of Commons is generally approved. Opposition papers call on individual members and dissenting ministers to assert their independence and the supremacy of Parliament by taking a firm stand for immediate conscription. The suggestion of a 'secret session' is strongly opposed.

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PUBLIC ATTITUDES

WAR NEWS IN PRESS AND RADIO

The Canadian public is fairly well satisfied with the relative amount of attention given by newspapers and radio to Canada's part in the fighting. If anything, they would like more Canadian news rather than less. Moreover, they want the bad news as well as the good, as and when it happens. Those who want casualty figures and news of reverses published quickly and accurately are nearly twice as numerous as those who prefer to have bad news toned down or delayed.

Summary

1. 55% to 60% of Canadians think that just about the right amount of coverage is given to news of Canadians on the fighting fronts. A further 22% want even more emphasis placed on Canada's part in the fighting. 11% complain that they get too much.

2. The above percentages are almost exactly the same for both press and radio. There is slightly more indecision about the radio, and slightly less satisfaction than with the press news, but these negligible differences may well be due to variations in reading and listening habits.

3. 59% of Canadians want news of reverses and casualties reported promptly and honestly. 32% think that there may be a case for toning such news down a little. These figures represent a fairly uniform division of opinion throughout the country, but the demand for accurate information is somewhat stronger among those groups usually better informed.

4. Reasons for preferring full disclosure of adverse news or for wanting it toned down are also presented. These disclose some disagreement as to the effect of bad news on civilian morale.

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Canada in the War News

From time to time the complaint is made that news of Canadian fighting achievements is not played up enough, or not as much as American doings. The following question was designed to get at the extent of such sentiment:

> WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE NEWSPAPERS IN CANADA ARE GIVING TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO CANADA'S PART IN THE FIGHTING, OR NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION? (National sample, August, 1944)

Exactly the same question was asked concerning radio news, in case people judged one medium more favorably than the other, but the results were so closely parallel throughout that there seems no point in quoting them in detail. Minor differences will be noted subsequently.

	Too Much	About Right	Not Enough	Undecided
National	10%	60%	22%	8%
Maritimes	4	59	23	14
Quebec	14	52	24	10
Ontario	9	62	23	6
Prairies	9	65	21	5
British Columbia	10	65	20	5
Men	11	61	23	5
Women	9	60	21	10
Age: 21 - 29	10	56	27	7
30 - 49	9	62	21	8
50 and over	10	59	23	8
College education	9	67	22	2
High School education	10	59	25	6
Public School education	10	59	21	10
Upper income	8	59	29	4
Middle income	10	66	20	4
Lower income	10	58	22	10
Executive and Professional	14	57	26	3
Small business	9	65	22	4
White collar	9	62	24	5
Labour	11	58	21	10
Farmers	7	65	19	9

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Coverage is about Right

The above figures disclose no serious criticism of our press or radio in respect to its handling of specifically Canadian war news. Most respondents think that the volume of news about Canadians in action overseas is about right, though still more would probably be read with interest. Only 10% think there is too much emphasis on Canada's role. Those who want more news outnumber by two to one those who are getting more than they want.

These figures are remarkably uniform for all groups and regions, and for both news media. There is a slightly greater demand for more news among young people, those in the higher income brackets, and the executive and professional group. The latter group, however, also includes a considerable number who say they are getting too much Canadian war news. Quebec figures divide rather similarly.

Press or Radio?

An earlier Survey (No. 12) showed that these two media easily led all others in the field of information. The present Survey shows very little difference in popular attitudes towards the quantity of Canadian war news provided by each, though there is a very slight tendency to be more critical of radio than of the press. Many people are probably aware that both media use the same news sources.

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There is slightly more indecision in dealing with the question about radio news. It is quite possible that this has to do with a disposition to retain somewhat less of what one listens to over the air than what one sees in large headlines. The listener may be more passive than the reader, so that forgetting takes place more easily.

In addition, American radio sources are probably more used in Canada than American newspapers. Uncertainty about Canadian radio sources as distinct from American ones might easily add to the indecision on this question. Indeed it is perhaps surprising in these circumstances that there is so very little difference between people's judgment of press and radio.

Should Bad News Be Toned Down?

59% of the Canadian public say they can take the bad news with the good. They would rather get news of reverses or casualties as they occur than have such news toned down or delayed. 32% of the people would prefer to have such news toned down a little.

Less than 5% of the whole sample advance security reasons for modifying or withholding the news. Most people's attitudes appear instead to be governed by what they think would be good for 'morale' on the home front, and here the great majority favour being told the whole truth promptly. Theirs is a realistic conception of 'morale' and they have little belief in a policy of tempering the wind to the shorn lamb. (It may be noted that these opinions were secured before Major Smythe's charges concerning poorly trained reinforcements were made.)

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WHEN SERIOUS REVERSES OR CASUALTIES OCCUR ON OUR SIDE IN THE FIGHTING, DO YOU THINK IT IS BETTER TO PUBLISH EXACTLY WHAT HAS HAPPENED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, OR DO YOU THINK IT IS BETTER TO TONE THE NEWS DOWN A LITTLE? (National sample, August, 1944)

	Publish News Exactly	Tone Down	Undecided
National	59%	32%	9%
Maritimes	55	33	12
Quebec	54	31	15
Ontario	61	33	6
Prairies	58	34	8
British Columbia	69	27	4
Men	63	30	7
Women	55	34	11
Age: 21 - 29	60	33	7
30 - 49	60	30	10
50 and over	55	36	9
College education	71	25	4
High School education	61	32	7
Public School education	53	34	13
Upper income	69	25	6
Middle income	63	31	6
Lower income	54	34	12
Executive and Professional	74	21	5
Small business	61	29	10
White collar	63	31	6
Labour	58	33	9
Farmers	52	35	13

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Group Differences

1. British Columbia is more insistent that bad news be given out quickly and accurately. Otherwise regional differences are not marked.

2. Men are somewhat more willing than women to take the bad news straight, though this difference is partly accounted for by greater indecision among women. Older people are slightly less anxious than younger people to be told the whole truth.

3. Higher schooling and income both make for a greater willingness to hear the whole story of reverses and casualties. Hence it is in the labour and farm groups that we find the largest minority (35%) asking that bad news be toned down a little.

Reasons Given

Respondents were asked to state their main reason for the preference just recorded. 90% of those who had opinions did so. While the actual wording varies considerably (samples are given below), only a few different types of reason emerge, many of them bearing in some way on civilian 'morale'.

Reasons for wanting undiluted news - 50% of those who wanted the news published exactly simply gave as their reason their desire to be told the truth. "We can take it" said the majority; a few said it was their 'right' as citizens of a democracy to know what was going on.

Another 20% felt that news would leak out anyway sooner or later, and that it was better to present the news frankly from the outset, thereby discouraging rumour. Holding bad news back would tend to undermine confidence in all news dispatches.

The remaining 20% thought that frank presentation of adverse news would serve as insurance against over-confidence on the home front, would spur people on to greater effort, would dispel uncertainty and prevent unnecessary suspense and worry. Throughout nearly all these answers seems to run the refrain: "We are not children; we can take it; we'd rather know the truth, even if it hurts."

The argument that "we have a right to be told" occurs a bit more frequently on French than on English ballots. French-speaking Canadians do not altogether share the English-speaking view that news of reverses may usefully counteract over-confidence at home.

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Reasons for wanting news toned down - 40% of those who wanted bad news toned down a little favored this policy in order to minimize the possibility of civilian panic, to allay or prevent shocks to public morale, or to prevent relatives of servicemen from worrying unnecessarily. (Exactly opposite methods of allaying anxiety are thus recommended: some think that people worry when they don't know, others that knowledge increases worry. Clearly if a person is worried about a relative, neither full news, partial news, nor absence of news concerning military happenings or casualty figures has much bearing one way or the other. Only the individual letter or telegram counts here.)

Another 25% felt that toning down the news when it was bad would serve to keep up public spirits or morale. The public, they seem to feel, is best kept on an even keel if sudden gusts of 'ill wind' are avoided. Moreover, a few of them add (3%) "it might discourage recruiting" (though again exactly the opposite opinion exists, that adverse news stimulates recruiting).

Less than 15% favored holding bad news back lest it give aid or information to the enemy. It may well be that people are generally convinced that security considerations will be so thoroughly heeded at the source that there is little need for stressing this factor.

French-speaking Canadians are relatively less apprehensive that disclosure of news might be of benefit to the enemy, and less concerned about 'shocking' the public with bad news. They show a little more concern about the adverse effect of bad news on recruiting.

Reasons - In Their Own Words

Publish the news exactly

a) "Why shouldn't we know? It's our war"; "Why not? We can take it"; "We don't need to be treated like kids"; "We don't want to be spoon-fed"; "Nous voulons savoir la vérité"; "On paye taxes, on a le droit de savoir"; "Ses sacrifices lui donnent droit à la vérité".

b) "People will find out sooner or later anyway"; "Unless this is done people will lose confidence in all news"; "If toned down, one would doubt the good news"; "Tôt ou tard on le saura"; "Garder notre confiance envers le gouvernement".

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c) "To prevent undue optimism"; "Then we wouldn't kid ourselves that the war is over"; "People will be guessing and worrying otherwise"; "Better to cut short the agony"; "Reverses would make us fight harder for victory"; "Forcer les jeunes à venger leur frères tombés"; "Pour calmer les inquiétudes".

Tone the news down

a) "Too big a shock to most people"; "Saves people a certain amount of grief"; "Keeps people from getting panicky"; "Le coup serait moin rude"; "Ça fait moins de peine"; "Afin que la surprise soit moins forte".

b) "Morale bad if told too much"; "We are not strong enough to face the truth, to keep morale up"; "It's better for the masses not to know"; "Bad news would prevent some from enlisting"; "Pour soutenir le moral du peuple"; "On est mieux de ne pas trop en savoir"; "Ne pas décourager l'enrollement volontaire"; "Afin de ne pas soulever de craintes chez les aspirants soldats".

c) "Might help the enemy"; "Enemy should not benefit"; "Pour ne pas en faire connaître trop à l'ennemi".

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W J TURNBULL TO WLMIC.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

WWII - Conscription

C244919

P-100-mc
1944

For the Prime Minister. W-300 R
1944

Mr. J. F. MacKay of Toronto called at the office to say that he had a message to you from Colonel R. Y. Eaton, who feels very strongly that the Government must be maintained and that you are the only person who can hold it together. He thinks that the tide of public opinion is running against you at the moment but that, if a suitable formula can be found, it will have a steadying influence.

Colonel Eaton suggests that the one thing needed is to fix a definite date for the raising of the needed men, after which some form of draft will be invoked.

W. J. T.

6 P.M.

November 21, 1944.

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✓ WW II - Conscription
✓ WW II - Voluntary Enlistment

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM C244920 D-320 off Forge

For the Prime Minister.

General McNaughton telephoned to say that on Tuesday next he plans to visit the Long Point Depot for inspection purposes and will then proceed to Valcartier to look over the re-inforcements. He will return to Ottawa at noon on Friday, the 5th. His office will know where he can be reached and code messages will reach him within the hour.

He is sorry to miss any Cabinet meetings but feels this trip is necessary.

W. J. T.

December 29, 1944.

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No. Conscription IAM

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1. The issue.

Conscription is becoming an issue in Canada.

Many resolutions -- especially in larger centres such as Toronto and Vancouver.

Arguments advanced: --

(a) Recruiting is falling off;

(b) Manpower should be allocated to most useful tasks;

(c) Most equitable way of apportioning responsibility

(d) Absence of conscription seems like failure to exert total effort;

(e) Conscription is true democracy in that all serve alike;

(f) Compulsory feature no more objection than compulsory taxes;

(g) Only way to compel slackers to do their duty.

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Conscription has not been an issue hitherto because of the declared policies of all leading political parties and groups.

Prime Minister at Special War Session, September 8th, 193
Hansard, page 36:

"The present government believe that conscription of men for overseas service will not be a necessary or an effective step. No such measure will be introduced by the present administration."

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Prime Minister's address to Vancouver Board of Trade, June 30, 1941:

> My colleagues and I expressing, as I believe, the will of the people of Canada, as expressed by themselves in a wartime election, have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the armed forces, at sea, on land and in the air -- service undertaken in the cause of freedom -- shall be freely undertaken. Before war came, the government gave a solemn pledge that in the event of war we would follow that policy. When war came the pledge was solemnly reaffirmed. At the general elections during the war itself that policy received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada....The present unhappy state of the world is in large part the result of broken pledges....That being so, I wish the more emphatically to affirm the Government's intention to keep the pledge repeatedly given to the people of Canada."

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The Honourable R.J. Manion, Leader of the Conservative Party, March 28th, 1939: --

"Because of the danger of attack upon Canada itself and because of the necessity of maintaining Canada as a united nation, I do not believe that Canadian youth should be conscripted to fight outside the borders of Canada."

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The Honourable R.J. Manion, Leader of the Conservative Party, opening election campaign at Brockville, on February 8, 1940:-

"No one knows better than Mr. King my position against conscription because he was present in the House of March 30th last when I made my position quite clear. In that speech I very frankly opposed conscription, as I do now, on the grounds among others that it is unnecessary under present-day conditions of warfare (it has proved true since this war began); that in the last war its chief result was national disunity and misunderstanding, while it raised very few men for our armies; and finally that the first duty of a public man is to hold this country together, to maintain national unity and understanding, not to disrupt the country and to cause serious disharmony and disunity, resulting in the impairment of our war effort at this very critical time in the life of our nation, when an enthusiastic war effort is so essential.

"While opposing conscription then, as I do now, I advocated complete co-operation, short of conscription beside Britain in case of war."

(Canadian Press despatch,
Ottawa Journal, Feb. 9, 1940)

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The Honourable R.B. Hanson, Acting Leader of the Conservative Party in an address at the Albany Club, the great Conservative Club of Toronto, evoked criticisms from supporters of conscription when, in October 1941, on the eve of the recent session of Parliament, he said that he would not make conscription a party issue.

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Prime Minister, November 12, 1941: Unrevised Hansard, page 4672.

"So far as conscription for overseas service is concerned in the armed forces of Canada, that question was submitted to the people of Canada at the last general election, a election which was held in wartime and in which the leaders of all political parties made their statements to the electorate, and the people of Canada decided against conscription for overseas service. So far as I am concerned, without any consultation of the people on that subject, I do not intend to take the responsibility of supporting any policy of conscription for service overseas."

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Prior to November 13, 1941, the only political party in Canada supporting conscription was the Social Credit Party. That party made its policy know through Mr. A.H. Mitchell, M.P., in the House of Commons at the Special War Session of 1939, Hansard, September 11th, 1939, page 96: -

"The Government have declared against universal conscription. The Conservative opposition have officially declared themselves as against universal conscription. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation have declared against universal conscription. This means that these parties are allied on a principle which means suicide for Canada.... Only on the basis of universal conscription can this country do its duty to itself, to the empire and to the cause of civilization and Christianity, now at stake."

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Thus, up to November 12th of this year, conscription was not a major political issue.

All Parties but the Social Credit Party were on record as opposed to conscription for overseas service.

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On November 13th, 1941, the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen accepted the leadership of the Conservative Party. In doing so, he said:

> "We must support our troops and see them through to Victory. We cannot leave this duty to individual caprice. Our present methods are illogical, cruelly unjust and tragically inefficient.
>
> I shall, therefore, urge with all the power I can bring to bear compulsory selective service over the whole field of war."

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Mr. Meighen's statement creates a new situation. Conscription is now officially raised as a National issue.

It must be debated calmly and dispassionately. The supreme task is Victory. To do so requires the maximum possible effort. Conscription has not been an issue hitherto because responsible leaders regarded it as a source of national disunity.

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Nobody has described this better than Dr. Manion, late leader of the Conservative Party. In his statement of March 27, 1939, he said:

> "Conscription in the last war led to violent racial antagonisms and much disharmony, and was of no real military value."

That is the judgment of an officer who served overseas and of a public man who, in 1917, believed so earnestly in conscription that he left his own Party and ran as a candidate for Parliament in support of conscription.

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Let us approach the issue logically and realistically, not emotionally.

Let us measure the task which confronts us.

Let us appraise the resources that are available.

Let us analyze what conscription would add to our strength, and let us consider to what extent it might weaken our effort. It is on that basis that the people of Canada should make their decision.

It is for the people to decide.

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A year and a half ago they decided overwhelmingly that national unity was of paramount importance.

The war situation has changed since then. We should consider to what extent these changes ought to affect the judgment exercised in March, 1940.

The importance of national unity cannot be over-estimated in the midst of war. We are told that raising the conscription issue may disturb the existing harmony. Let us consider the historical background upon which that assertion is based. Let us try, in considering this issue, to get as close together as possible by studying and analyzing the other fellow's point of view.

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Here in Vancouver sentiment seems to be strongly in favour of conscription. In Quebec, sentiment is strongly the other way.

It is important that those who derive from the British Isles should understand and sympathize with the point of view of our loyal fellow-citizens who derive from different stock who have different traditions. We are all fellow-citizens of the same country. Let us make a real effort to understand each other.

This we can do by reviewing some historical facts.

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Canada's task.

Of her own free will, by the declaration of her own Parliament, Canada undertook to enter this war at Britain's side.

Our purpose is the destruction of tyrannical forces which threaten the liberty of all mankind.

Canada is part of a mighty alliance; first, of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, secondly, of allied nations, - many of them partly or totally overrun by Hitler.

The common purpose of all is the defeat of the enemy.

In order to do this, each member of the alliance must --

First, defend its own territory to the uttermost;

Second, contribute to the striking power which will destroy the enemy.

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1. Home Defence.

Canada's first task is, therefore, to be strong in her own defence.

Under present conditions, this is no light responsibility.

In the war of 1914-18, there was a tendency to laugh at the Home Guards.

Actually, the risk to Canadian territory was so slight that the Militia was virtually disbanded, and Canada's whole military effort was concentrated upon an Expeditionary Force.

When we were preparing for the war which has now come upon us, the Government was advised -- in anticipation of just such a situation as exists today -- that this country should have for the defence of its own territory two mobile army divisions available for service on each Coast, and that we would require certain naval and air defences.

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The advice given to the Government at that time was on a basis of the minimum strength required.

In the case of the Navy and the Air Force -- we have today rather more than the absolute minimum which was recommended in the pre-war days, and few will dispute the necessity in view of the threats which exist, both to East and to West.

In the case of the army, perhaps the necessity is not so obvious.

In the event of war on the Pacific, however, little imagination is needed to envision a situation in which strong military forces would be required on the Pacific Coast.

On the Atlantic Coast, the necessity for trained effective land forces is best illustrated by imagining the situation that might exist if there were no such troops in existence.

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The enemy's most potent form of attack upon Britain is the sea attack, conducted by submarines, by aircraft and by surface vessels.

The Bismarck with her over-strength crew was in our waters and was heading towards Canada when she was overtaken by the Hood and the Prince of Wales.

Germany has many long-range submarines.

The establishment of a base on British North American territory for the supplying of Germany's commerce raiders would be a military objective of great value to the enemy.

The strongest defence is one which the enemy dare not attack.

We do not think that the Canadian Corps in Great Britain is serving no purpose because the enemy has not yet attempted invasion of the British Isles.

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Similarly, the existence of powerful defences on Canadian territory are serving a vital purpose in preventing the enemy from establishing a base on British North America from which it would double the effectiveness of its attack on Britain's life-line across the Atlantic.

In this war of great distances, Canadian territory has to be defended -- and that is Canada's first task.

2. Production -- (a) War Supplies.

Canada's next great task is production of all kinds of supplies.

Whereas in the war of 1914, Britain very largely equipped the Canadian army, in this war, Canada is helping to equip the British and allied forces.

True, in 1914, Canada provided her own forces with uniforms and basic equipment of that sort.

True also, that Canada supplied millions of shells.

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Nevertheless, the financial figures prove that Canada's industrial effort is vastly greater in the present war than in the last.

At the end of the last war, the credits and debits in our books with Great Britain approximately balanced.

In this war, we have already expended, over and above our own expenditures, a billion dollars on British account.

Forty percent of our war expenditures this year are on British account.

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According to Mr. Castell Hopkins, Editor of the authoritative "Canadian Annual Review," in his book "Canada at War," the number of persons employed in war industry in the last war was 275,000 persons, including 12,000 women. These figures he drew from the reports of the Department of Labour and of the Imperial Munitions Board.

According to the Department of Munitions and Supply, the number of persons engaged in war production in Canada today is 550,000 men and 75,000 women,-total 625,000.

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It is not easy to say how much of this is for Canada's direct war effort and how much is for Britain and her Allies, but the figures that have been taken out suggest that much more than half of the production of war materials taking place in Canada is for Britain and our other Allies.

It was realized from the outset that Canada's greatest contribution might well be in the form of industrial production.

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Dr. Manion's statement of March 27th, 1939, already quoted in part, contained the following:

"Canada can play her part in the Empire and in support of our democratic institutions by full cooperation with Britain through voluntary units, through supplying munitions, foods and other necessaries to our Allies, and by fully protecting Canada's own territory."

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At the outbreak of War, after consultation with the British Government, the Prime Minister announced that Canada's greatest field for assistance in the War Effort would be in the way of industrial production and in training personnel for the Air Force.

The reason for this is [illegible] obvious -- Canada's industries are relatively free from the menace of bomb attack.

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(b) Food Supplies

Another phase of our production effort is in the realm of agriculture.

Canada has approximately 630,000 men of military age engaged in farming, as farmers or farm workers.

Close estimates have been made indicating that our agricultural production would be seriously impaired if more than 160,000 of those persons were to leave the farm.

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Britain is depending upon Canada for food.

Food is the first essential in the defence of Britain.

The figures given are estimates, but they are estimates made by experts and they are probably very close to the truth.

When we undertake to estimate our man power resources, we must take into account the absolute necessity of maintaining our agricultural production. That is the most essential contribution to the defence of Britain that we are able to make.

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3. Air Training.

A third great task which Canada has assumed is that of training air personnel for the Empire's forces.

The strength of the Royal Canadian Air Force today is approximately 90,000.

What this means, in terms of manpower, is indicated by the fact that the number corresponds very closely with that of our army strength overseas, consisting of 4 Divisions, a tank brigade and ancillary troops.

That is a task and a responsibility for which we had no counterpart in the last war.

It is of vital important to the whole Empire and to the whole allied cause.

Canada has undertaken to be the centre of Air Training for the British Empire.

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Yet 80% of the air crew trained in Canada have been recruited in Canada.

It can be asserted confidently that the claims of the Air Force and the Air Training Plan for recruits in the coming year will be in the neighborhood of 100,000.

4. Navy.

Canada is utilizing approximately 25,000 men in her naval forces.

These are performing a vital task in protecting our coasts and in helping to keep open the sea-lane to Britain.

Canada's modest naval forces in the last war aggregated approximately 2,500.

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5. Expeditionary Force.

Canada has recruited for her army by voluntary enlistment for service anywhere no fewer than 230,000 men, according to the latest official estimate of November 1st.

Approximately 100,000 of these are now overseas.

The First and Second Divisions constitute undoubtedly the most effective mobile striking force in the British Isles today.

The Third Division and the Mechanized Division, which are in process of being transferred, give us four Divisions overseas, in addition to a tank brigade and ancillary troops.

We have also recently sent a contingent to Hong Kong, and Canadian forces are stationed in Newfoundland and the West Indies.

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The population of Canada today is approximately 43% greater than it was at the time of the last war.

Manpower surveys indicate, however, that the number of men of military age is not much greater than it was in 1914.

At that time, Canada had just had a tremendous influx of young immigrants from the British Isles, a majority of whom were unmarried and well within the age for military service.

Doubtless, however, there is some increase in Canada's manpower resources of military age.

In the last war, when war industry utilized less than half as many people as are engaged today, when we had no Air Training Plan -- and no Home Defence problem -- Canada supported in the field four Divisions.

Efforts to maintain a fifth Division were not successful and the Fifth Division was broken up to provide reinforcements for the other four.

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When Canada was preparing her defensive measures in pre-war years, the Government was advised by its military staff that the number of divisions which Canada could successfully hope to maintain in warfare was seven.

The army today is organised on a basis of eight divisions.

Fortunately, we have not had heavy casualties and the problem of reinforcements has not yet had to be faced in serious proportions.

It was the experience in the last war that the infantry and machine gun units required reinforcements at the rate of 10% a month.

Some military authorities say that, if casualties attained greater proportions than these, a unit would lose its military effectiveness and would have to be taken out of the line.

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There were other units in which the rate of reinforcements was much less than 10%. Some arms required 5%, and some as little as 3 and2%.

It would be reasonable to assume that, from a manpower standpoint, total reinforcements would need to be at least 8 percent a month, or approximately 100 percent a year.

Our First Division in the last war went into action approximately eight months after it was assembled at Valcartier.

Many units reached the front after six months' training.

In the present war, the training requirements of our highly mechanized forces are so much greater that it is considered doubtful that an efficient force can be created in less than a year.

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Hence, reinforcements have to be enlisted at least a year prior to the casualties which they are to replace.

Furthermore, a year's supply of reinforcements has to be at least equal to the number of men constituting the units on service in a theatre of actual warfare.

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THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE.

Financially, Canada has declared that there is no limit. Our Finance Minister has declared that what we have the capacity to do physically, we can and will finance.

Industrially, we have undertaken tasks of a kind and magnitude never attempted in Canada before.

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Prior to the outbreak of this War, Canada had never made manufactured weapons except rifles -- although the manufacture of machine guns had been begun.

We had made a small beginning in the production of modern service types of aircraft never made in Canada prior to 1937.

Today, Canada is turning out tanks, heavy and light artillery guns, twelve different types of service aircraft (now to be consolidated into seven types for greater efficiency). We have the greatest machine gun factory in the world.

Canada has actually delivered to Great Britain, according to recent United States statistics, two or three times as much war material as the United States has delivered, even under the Lease Lend Plan.

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In terms of man-power, in the last War Canada recruited into the C.E.F., by the voluntary system and conscription combined, 619,000 men in 4 1/2 years of war. She utilized 275,000 in war industry. Total - 894,000.

In a little more than two years of the present War, we have taken into the active strength of the armed forces 344,000 men; in addition, 15,000 trainees have been retained on full-time duty for the duration of the War, and the number of men continuously in training under the Mobilization Act is 3,000. The number of men on full-time defence today, therefore, is 362,000.

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In addition, we are utilizing 625,000 persons in war industry, of whom 5[illegible],000 are men.

Outside of agriculture, we have, therefore, harnessed to the war effort 91[illegible],000 men in the present war.

Thus, in two years, we have exceeded the total man-power effort of four and a half years in the last war.

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Canada's total male population between sixteen and forty is estimated to be 2,124,000. It is estimated that one-third of these would be found to be unfit for military service. That leaves 1,416,000. The claims of essential industry, both war industry and necessary civil production of the ordinary necessities of life, have been estimated to constitute another third, leaving available for military service 708,000.

This figure, taken from population statistics, is subject to some adjustment by reason of enlistment in the armed forces and discharges.

When this adjustment has been made, it is estimated that we are left with a net man-power presumably available for military service of 609,000.

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Having regard to the enlistment requirements to maintain necessary reinforcements for the existing military establishment, our surplus of man-power at the end of the next year would be reduced to less than 260,000.

The requirements of war industry have been estimated only up to the end of December, 1942, and these are expanding, if not as rapidly as the requirements of the armed forces, at least at a very rapid rate.

Competent authorities in the field of man-power statistics estimate that Canada's man-power reserve is fast approaching the point of exhaustion and that the maintenance of our war effort in the future depends upon our ability to divert individuals from less important to more important tasks. This includes, of course, the utilization of large numbers of women in industrial and commercial tasks, even to some extent in semi-military activities which would ordinarily be carried on by men.

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Extent to which Conscription exists.

In this connection, it must be remembered that Canada already has in operation very far-reaching conscription laws.

Our drastic taxation amounts to conscription of income.

Under the Natural Resources Mobilization Act, the Government has been given the power to take for war purposes the property of any individual or corporation, and this power has been exercised in a number of cases where it was deemed necessary.

Under the same Act, the Government has been empowered to take the services of every citizen of Canada and apply them to any purpose which will contribute to the prosecution of the War.

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In the same Act, the Government has been given power to call up and enroll in the Military Forces for service in Canada the entire male population of military age in the country. This provision has been exercised to the extent of calling up, in successive groups, young men of twenty-one for periods of four months training, after which they are require to remain in the Forces for the duration of the War to serve in the defence of Canada.

In actual experience many of them volunteered to join the Active Service Forces for service anywhere.

Some 15,000 are beingtrained for home defence duties in Canada, thus relieving Active Army troops for service abroad if need be.

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Such figures as have been given about our man-power resources are tentative estimates which are still under further study, in order that the Government may have the most accurate possible information.

This is the kind of factual information that any country must have in considering the problem of conscription.

Any conscription policy adopted must be based upon actual requirements and a knowledge of the resources available to meet those requirements. Only with that information can policy be intelligently determined.

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CONSCRIPTION VIEWED HISTORICALLY.

Conscription is alien to the spirit of the two great Canadian peoples -- French and English.

Conscription -- that is, a system of universal military service -- was not known in France until after the Revolution -- long after the ancestors of our French Canadian population had left the Old Country.

British people stoutly resisted conscription until the crisis of 1916.

Both countries had experienced compulsory service of a kind.

Britain had the notorious "press gang".

France had the "levée".

But, these were for the purpose of recruiting professional armies and had nothing in common with conscription as we know it today.

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In the early colonial days of Canada, different conditions were made by policies different from those which prevailed in the Old Land.

The infant colonies were in constant peril.

Consequently, probably the oldest law in Canada was the edict of the first Governor that every male person must be prepared to bear arms in defence of the colony.

That basic principle has been a part of the law of Canada ever since.

Similarly, in the first British colonies -- in what we now call the Maritime Provinces -- the law required every able-bodied man to be ready to bear arms.

In both French Canada and in the British colonies, there were "town companies" with the seigneur or the magistrate as captain, and every male citizen a member.

There is no evidence that the law was popular.

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Montcalm's despatches contained bitter complaints at the failure of the settlers to respond when the call to arms was issued for the defence of Quebec.

Even, in those days, it is apparent that the sturdy, independent French habitant looked upon the Military Service law as a home defence measure for the protection of his own village and not for the defence of any interest remote from what he conceived to be his own community.

Liability for universal service remained the law of Canada under the British régime right up to Confederation.

It was as late as the 1850's when a law was passed relieving the people of the necessity of providing their own weapons.

There was an annual muster at which the Commanding Officer inspected his men to see that they attended, properly armed and equipped for service.

The law was one thing -- the custom of the country was another.

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We all remember General Brock's dying command at the Battle of Queenston Heights :

"Forward, York Volunteers."

Thus early -- notwithstanding the law -- had the voluntary system made itself evident.

When Confederation was achieved, one of the first Bills brought in by the new government was the Militia Act -- introduced in 1868 by Canada's first Minister of Militia and Defence, Sir George Etienne Cartier.

This Bill was based on the traditional law of Canada in that it declared that the militia of Canada consisted of every able-bodied man in Canada from 16 to 60.

Every such man was liable to be called out for military service for the defence of Canada within the country's territorial limits and without.

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Debates of 1868 show that this broad legal principle was already honoured in the breach.

Mr. Dorion, of Quebec and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, of Ontario, moved an amending resolution asking the House to consider "the encouragement of the volunteer organizations."

These obviously existed or they would not have referred to them.

The amendment went on to say --

"The volunteer system is of proved efficiency and is specially adapted to the spirit and circumstances of the people, and is capable of supplying a more efficient and available force than that proposed to be substituted."

Mr. Dorion's amendment was defeated, of course, but it was the voluntary system that was carried out in practice.

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While every man was theoretically a member of the militia, only those who voluntarily joined the several regiments were actually trained.

The system put into practice was exactly the militia system as we have all known it in our own day.

Our very far-reaching Militia Act is one that no Government as ever cared to use.

Lawyers differ as to its effectiveness.

In 1914, when Canada decided to send a contingent overseas, the government exchanged despatches with the Imperial government, and on August 6, 1914, passed an Order-in-Council asking the Imperial Government to take over the Canadian contingents under the Army Act.

These documents expressly state that there was a doubt whether the Militia Act authorized the Canadian contingents for overseas.

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The government of the day doubted whether, in the circumstances, at the outbreak of the war of 1914, it could be said that these overseas contingents were fighting for the defence of Canada, within the meaning of the Militia Act.

Later, when they adopted compulsory service for overseas, they did not use the Militia Act, but brought in a new act -- the Military Service Act.

Whatever may have been the circumstances in 1914 -- it is certainly arguable today, in the circumstances of the present war, that service overseas is a part of the defence of Canada.

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THE MILITARY SERVICE ACT 1917.

The controversy over conscription reached its peak in connection with the Military Service Act of 1917.

The Debates on that Bill bring out the whole basis of the clash of opinions.

When Britain declared war on Germany in 1914, Canada promptly offered a contingent of 30,000 men and authority was given by Order-in-Council raising that number of men.

On November 7, 1914, the strength of the forces authorized was increased to 60,000.

On July 8, 1915, the authorized forces were increased to 150,000.

On October 30, 1915 -- they were increased to 250,000.

On January 1, 1916, Sir Robert Borden pledged Canada to raise 500,000 and this was duly authorized on January 12.

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All these men were to be raised by voluntary enlistment, and, as late as mid-January, 1917, Sir Robert Borden used the following language on the floor of the House of Commons:

> "In speaking in the first two or three months of this war, I made it clear to the people of Canada that we did not propose any conscription. I repeat that announcement today with emphasis."

Shortly after that, Parliament, with the unanimous consent of the opposition led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, extended its own life for a year -- and adjourned to enable the Prime Minister to attend a conference in London.

Upon his return, Sir Robert Borden gave a review of his activities overseas to the House on May 18, 1917.

After reviewing conditions as he found them in the Canadian Corps, he concluded with the announcement that the voluntary system had failed to provide the necessary reinforcements and that a compulsory system was to be substituted therefor.

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A few days later, the Military Service Act was introduced and was debated with unremitting intensity until the end of August, when it was finally adopted.

Almost simultaneously, the Government introduced the Wartimes Election Act -- which was the subject of even more bitter contention.

The Liberal Party of that day opposed these bills under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Honourable Frank Oliver, the Honourable E.M. MacDonald, the Honourable George P. Graham, and others whose names have always been held in the highest respect in this country.

It is of great value to review some of the arguments that were advanced in that debate on both sides -- but particularly here, in Vancouver, where we are so far removed from Quebec -- it is important to take note of the arguments of those who opposed the Act -- because that whole chapter in our history left an indelible impression upon the minds of the people of Quebec -- and aroused a resentment that has not yet died.

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Here is a summary of the argument against the Military Service Act as presented in 1917:

1. The parliament to which the conscription act was submitted had extended its own life beyond the normal life of parliament immediately following a declaration by the Prime Minister that conscription was not contemplated.

2. Parliament had forty vacant seats.

3. Such a moribund, rump parliament had no right to deal with the issue without a mandate.

4. The Bill was being introduced by the Conservative Party whose political alliance with the Nationalists of Quebec had given that faction the opportunity to conduct an intensive campaign and to win a following.

5. The Nationalist Party founded in 1903 by Mr. Bourassa had for its slogan --

"No participation in foreign wars."

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6. In the history by-election of Drummond-Arthabaska, during the time of the deabte on the Navy Bill, the Nationalist candidate was elected with Conservative support on a platform of "no Canadian participation in foreign wars."

7. In the general election of 1911, the Nationalist wing of the Conservative Party carried 27 seats on that same platform.

8. The Conservative Party had sowed the wind and was now reaping the whirlwind.

9. In the face of its political alliance in Quebec, the Conservative Party was breaking faith.

10. In the general election of 1911, the popular vote as between Liberals and Nationalists was about evenly divided.

11. Hence, conscription for service overseas was bound to create grave disunity.

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12. While it was admitted that recruiting in Quebec was not satisfactory, it was pointed out; --

(a) that recruiting among the English-speaking people of Canada in the first two years of the war consisted, to the extent of more than 50%, of persons born in the British Isles;

(b) the remainder of the English-speaking recruits would have much closer ties with the Motherland than the French people of Quebec;

(c) no real effort had been made at recruiting among French Canadians.

(d) on the contrary, government and army policy had been conducted in such a way as to be an affront to the French Canadians. The following facts were cited:

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i) Senior French Canadian Officers, including General Lessard the highest-ranking Officer in the Canadian army, had been retired;

ii) The Chief Recruiting Officer in Military District No. 4 (Montreal) was a Methodist Minister, who was known as an ardent orangeman.

iii) French Canadians were being asked to servce under English Officers.

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The Opposition formally moved for a referendum.

This was opposed on the ground that it would be impossible to take the soldiers' vote.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier very vigorously argued that the soldiers should have a right to vote and that there was no insuperable difficulty.

The referendum was defeated.

The Government then brought in the Wartime Elections Act which gave the soldiers the vote and also gave the vote to their wives and mothers, but to no other women.

This was very bitterly resented as giving, in effect, two or more votes to one section of the population and only one vote to another secion.

It was also contended that the provisions for taking the soldiers' vote were so loose as to permit undue influence and tampering with the secretying of the ballots, or worse.

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One interesting phase of this discussion, which has an indirect bearing on the present situation, is that Sir Robert Borden endeavoured to form a coalition government for the purpose of putting through the Conscription Act.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier declined because of the terms on which the offer was made. That is, the policy had already been decided upon, and he was asked, as he said, to rubber-stamp the decision.

It was argued vigorously by supporters of the Act that it could only be succesful if it was administered by a strong National Government.

A Union Government was formed, but the opposition remained, and the purpose of uniting the nation behind conscription completely failed.

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RESULTS OF MILITARY SERVICE ACT 1917

The total number of men taken on the strength of the C.E.F. during the four and a half years of the last war was 619636.

The number raised by voluntary enlistment was 536,281.

The number raised by the Military Service Act was 83,355.

The Act was riddled with exemptions and exemptions administered by local tribunals.

The demands of Agriculture — of the widowed mothers who were considered to be entitled to have one son left at home — the demands of war industry and other factors reduced the results of the Act to very small proportions.

At the time when the Military Service Act became law, the total number of voluntary recruits had been approximately 435,000.

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The number who joined the forces subsequent to that date was approximately 184,000.

Even during the time the Military Service Act was in force, the number of voluntary enlistments exceeded the number produced by the draft.

Examination of the curve of voluntary enlistments in the period during which the Act was under debate indicates that there was no rush to enlist in anticipation of the Act, nor was there any falling off.

The curve of voluntary enlistment remained fairly steady throughout the priod of the discussion and operation of the Military Service Act.

Only a small number of those recruited by the Act reached the front.

These, however, admittedly rendered splendid service.

The fact remains that more than five-sixths of the great Canadian army of 1914-18 was raised by voluntary enlistment, and less than one-sixth by the Military Service Act.

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Possible effect of Conscription today.

In the first place, we already have Conscription for every purpose for which we require our man-power within Canada.

There is no problem as between the rival claims of industry and the Services that cannot be settled by the exercise of the powers which the Government already has under the Natural Resources Mobilization Act.

The Government has full authority to determine whether or not any individual man is essential to war industry. If he is not essential to industry, he can be taken into the Armed Forces for service in the home defence of Canada, for service in the Air Training Plan or for any other work which falls to the lot of the military forces.

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We are utilizing in Canadian home defence substantial numbers of men who have volunteered for overseas. These can be replaced to the extent of 100%, if necessary, under the Mobilization Act.

It has already been ascertained that, when men are once in the Army and learn that they will be required to serve for the duration of the War, more than half of them will volunteer for active service.

There is, therefore, at the disposal of the Government a very powerful recruiting weapon which the Government is prepared to use just as rapidly as its military advisers say that it is needed.

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We have a recruiting programme for the coming year. After that recruiting programme has been met, the figures seem to indicate that our total reserve of manpower available for military service will be approximately 250,000.

If we call up, under the Mobilisation Act, these 250,000 men, we can completely replace every member of the Active Army now stationed on duty in Canada, and we should still have 120,000 men left over. Out of these 120,000 men, experience indicates one-half would volunteer for overseas service, thus giving us another 60,000 recruits and augmenting our home defence forces by 60,000.

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Our Canadian Forces have not yet been in action. We have had comparatively few casualties. In the last War, after every great battle and every announcement of heavy losses, the spirit of the people rose to the occasion and there was a rush to the Recruiting Offices.

In this War, we have not yet had this stimulus, but there is every reason to believe that, when the day comes, our people will react as they did twenty years ago.

The field for the operation of overseas conscription in Canada after the programme just described would be the 190,000 men raised under the Mobilization Act for home defence.

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If the military advice which was given prior to the War that we need four Divisions in Canada is still correct, then it would appear that we must have at least 100,000 of those men permanently in Canada. That would leave 90,000 to be conscripted for overseas.

Having regard to the size of the Forces that we are recruiting in the present War, that would be a smaller percentage than was obtained by the Military Service Act of 1917.

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The Disadvantages.

The chief disadvantages of introducing conscription for overseas are:

1. The risk of sacrificing the existing spirit of Nation-wide harmony and unity within the Dominion.

2. The possibility of stirring up racial feelings as between French and English.

3. The loss of time and efficiency involved in an appeal to the people.

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Up to this time, under the joint leadership of King and Lapointe, we have had the highest spirit of Nationalunity and of racial accord ever known in Canada.

It is necessary to remember the situation that existed in the midst of the last War to realize how great an achievement this is.

When Premier Duplessis raised an issue of non-participation or limited participation, the four Quebec Ministers in the Federal Government, in association with Mr. Godbout, accepted the challenge and, in the Provincial Election of the Fall of 1939, they won an overwhelming victory from the people of Quebec in favour of the Government's policy of full cooperation with Britain in the War.

This spirit of unity was possibly only because all parties were in agreement that there should be no conscription for overseas service.

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Quebec has pulled her weight admirably in the War Effort. She over-subscribed her quota for the Victory Loan.

In the early phases of mobilization, Military District No. 5 in Quebec was the first to complete her quota.

Whereas in the last War, at the time of the Conscription debate, Sir Wilfrid Laurier admitted that recruiting in Quebec had been unsatisfactory in that only approximately 20,000 French Canadians had enlisted, today the number of French Canadian recruits is many times that number.

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In the last War, there was only one strictly French-Canadian Battalion. In the present War, we have a French-Canadian Brigade overseas and many thousands of French-Canadians serving in other Regiments whose names would not suggest French Canada. We have Highland Battalions consisting almost entirely of French personnel.

Some of the highest executive positions in the Canadian Army, Navy and Air Force are held by French Officers.

All this is by voluntary enlistment.

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Some discussion arose about the smaller quotas set for Quebec Military District than those set for other Provinces. Such criticism fails to appreciate that social customs in Quebec are distinctive. The French Canadians marry very young and have large families. Undoubtedly, the proportion of the male population of military age includes a much smaller proportion of single men than would be found among a comparable number elsewhere in Canada.

At the present time, the French Canadian leaders are dissatisfied with the success of recruiting and are making valiant efforts to overcome the deficiency. That situation exists also in Vancouver.

Nevertheless, the people of French Canada, for the historic reasons that have already been stated, have a deep-rooted objection to conscription for service overseas.

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They are also acute students of political developments and they remember pledges that have been made. They resent anything savouring of political trickery or dishonesty.

If Conscription is to be raised as a political issue in Canada, the leaders of Quebec have indicated very definitely that they will argue against Conscription.

Since it appears that a majority of the leaders of public opinion in English Canada favour conscription, the controversy will take on a racial character from the outset.

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In Europe, the basic cause of the continual wars is the inability of the various races to get along together.

In Canada, for 175 years, the races have lived in peace and harmony. The nearest approach to a breach was in 1917.

There are many who believe that only the calm and wise leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier prevented violence.

By remaining out of Union Government, he retained the leadership of the anti-conscription sentiment and confined the opposition to democratic Parliamentary methods.

If we are to have Conscription for overseas service in Canada today, it cannot be done without a verdict of the people.

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Here is what Prime Minister King said in Vancouver on June 30, 1941:

"My colleagues and I, expressing as we believe, the will of the Canadian people, as expressed by themselves in a wartime election, have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the Armed Forces of Canada shall be freely undertaken.

Before War came, the Government gave a solemn pledge that, in the event of War, we should follow that policy. When War came, the pledge was solemnly reaffirmed.

At the General Elections during the War itself, that policy received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada.

.....

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"The present unhappy state of the world is, in a large part, the result of broken pledges. Bad faith, broken pledges and disregard to the popular will are the very forces against which Canada is fighting today.

That being so, I wish the more emphatically to affirm the Government's intention to keep the pledge repeatedly given to the people of Canada."

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The soundness of the Prime Minister's position is incontrovertible. To invoke conscription without consulting the people would be indecent and dishohourable and disruptive of every ideal for which we are fighting.

If you do have an appeal by the people it must be an election or a referendum. In either event, it will be a campaign of two months' duration. The machinery for taking a vote cannot be organized in less than that.

In the course of that campaign, in the heat of argument bitter things would be said. The time and attention of our people would be diverted from the conflict against our common enemy to a conflict within our own country. Bitter feelings engendered in such a campaign would not subside quickly.

There is every prospect that the result might be very close. If that were so and the majority were in favour of conscription it is doubtful whether that would constitute a mandate for a measure which interferes with the liberty of the subject in so vital a manner.

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There is another disadvantage to conscription. One of the greatest soldiers in Canada in a personal communication explained himself as follows:-

" I would far rather have a hundred volunteers than five hundred conscripts. In military operations, spirit is more than fifty per cent of the valuable components of an armed force and it is from volunteers that you get spirit in the highest degree. "

Such are the advantages and disadvantages that have been suggested.

Apparently, the issue is going to be debated. The ultimate decision rests with the people.

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Secret

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

R/B

C244999

21.XI.44

Dear Prime Minister

Attached is a memorandum on the plan you were good enough to allow me to outline this morning. As it may be the only possible course by which reinforcements may be provided and government carried on, I feel that I should if necessary put it forward

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to commit this afternoon

yours sincerely

Mackenzie King

TOP SECRET C245001

MEMORANDUM ON INFANTRY REINFORCEMENTS

The Reinforcement Situation

1. The estimates show a surplus of 700 infantry at the end of December after providing for 14,000 casualties in November and December. This provision should be more than adequate as the infantry casualties for October were 6,030.

2. Assuming that (a) these 14,000 casualties occurred, and (b) that 6,000 occur in January, and (c) that there is no improvement in the flow of reinforcements from conversions or otherwise, we may expect infantry units to go below their establishments some time about the middle of February.

3. Apart from providing a pool of reserves, the maximum need we can reasonably anticipate is 4,000 about the middle of February. If we have less than 20,000 casualties in November, December and January, the need will be by so much less.

4. Since it takes two months to board, give leave to, outfit, ship and give a month's training to reinforcements proceeding from Canada, 4,000 trained and fit men should be ready on 15th December so as to make them available for reinforcements not later than 15th February.

5. We need a minimum of 4,000 men by 15th December. That is the "necessity".

Political Situation

6. If the Government splits now and does not introduce conscription, it may have no substantial representation or support from English-speaking Canada.

7. If the Government introduces conscription, it will have no substantial support from Quebec or French-speaking Canada.

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8. In either case it will probably become impossible for Government to carry on under Mr. King, Mr. Bracken, or any other leader without a dissolution. If conscription is introduced against the united vote of the French-speaking members of the Government and of the House, there will almost certainly be civil disorder. Certainly the Liberal party will lose all French-speaking support and between sixty and seventy seats will elect representatives of extreme nationalist tendencies both political and economic. Canadian unity (which is fundamentally a much more real thing than is often supposed) will be set back for a generation. No party - Progressive Conservative, C.C.F., Liberal, or Nationalist - will have a substantial following in both French-speaking Canada and English-speaking Canada. We will have Government by blocs. We will have national animosity at a new high.

9. If the Government splits on the issue of conscription, either by introducing conscription or not introducing conscription the result would inevitably be disunity approaching chaos and almost certainly will require steps to be taken either by way of an immediate election or to preserve order which would result in our getting less reinforcements than we are now making available through the voluntary system.

10. For these reasons it might be possible and desirable not to impose conscription at all. How much of a loss it would cause in English-speaking Canada will depend on the casualties, the number of volunteers, the duration of the war and so on. Assuming heavy losses of seats in English-speaking Canada, it would still be possible to carry on a Government and the Liberals would remain the only national party. Almost certainly they would recover all their losses at the general election following the next. A Government which stood together to do everything short of conscription might be able to carry the support of a great majority of English-speaking Liberals today, provide Canada with continuing government and offer the country the only hope of a thoroughly national party during the years ahead. For such reasons it might be desirable if it were possible for the Government to take a united stand to do everything short of conscription.

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11. More important, however, is it for the Government to stay united. As indicated above, a split will cause nothing but disunity and chaos and will not produce reinforcements. If English-speaking members of the Government feel that reinforcements must be provided now and that this is a matter of conscience with them weighing more heavily than the considerations of national interest mentioned above, then unity in the Government, and relative unity in the country, can only be preserved if policies are now decided on which will guarantee the provision of the necessary minimum of 4,000 men by the 15th of December and such other men as may later prove to be necessary. It is submitted that any such policy must be subject to (a) a full trial of the voluntary system and (b) bear a strict relationship to the magnitude of the need. Everyone admits that conscription is not necessary either to win the war or to defend the country. Everyone must admit the possibility that conscription will be necessary to fill the gaps in our ranks and give our men overseas adequate support. In this sense conscription "is necessary", but only in this sense and the amount of compulsion applied should be only sufficient to meet that need.

Suggested Policy

12. Every possible alternative seems to have been explored. The only policy which seems to meet the requirements expressed above is one whereby we try to raise the men by 15th December and now provide that any deficiency will be supplied out of N.R.M.A. personnel on that date. It is also desirable that the need should be related to the different sections of the country and broken down as far as possible so as to bring home community responsibility. In this way, each community in a sense will be responsible for any compulsion that lands on itself.

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13. Accordingly the 4,000 men originally required should be divided among the military districts in proportion to the number of N.R.M.A. coming from each district.

14. This will give a quota for each district which can be met by volunteer means by 15th December. On 15th December any deficiencies will be met by lot among the men who are fit and trained coming from each district. For example, assuming that 4,000 men are required on 15th December, out of the 60,000 N.R.M.A. personnel of whom 5,700 came from Military District #5 (Quebec), Quebec district's quota would be 5,700/60,000 of 4,000 or something under 400. If 400 physically fit and trained men from this district volunteered by the 15th December, Quebec's quota would be filled. If they didn't, then the quota would be filled by lot, among the physically fit and trained men from that district.

15. Simultaneously with the announcement of this policy, the number of N.R.M.A. personnel in each county, city and town should be announced in the press and the campaign among the N.R.M.A. and civilians should be vigorously pressed.

Advantages of this policy

16. It is submitted that this arrangement would

i. Guarantee the necessary reinforcements;
ii. Provide for a full and adequate trial to get the men by means short of conscription so that conscription might never be necessary;
iii. Conscription would only be introduced because it was "necessary" and only to the extent necessary;
iv. It would make the people of each military district responsible for providing volunteers and responsible for any conscription they got;

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v. It would not discriminate: the number ultimately conscripted would be proportionate, not to the population or to the number of reinforcements or to the number of volunteers from any district, but to the number of non-volunteers;

vi. In dividing up the total it would bring home to the country, the relative smallness of the need as well as bring home to the community its responsibility for meeting its quota of a need everyone must consider as just.

17. The arrangement would be responsive to the need. If we had no casualties between now and December 15th we would then have a pool of something like 14,000 reinforcements and there would be no need. If on the other hand we needed more than 4,000 men a quota could be arrived at and the procedure followed as it was necessary. As training progressed and procedure became more streamlined it should be possible to cut the time it takes to get men into action to something under two months. What we would have to see would be that enough men were available or converted in Canada to meet every need that could reasonably be foreseen two months ahead.

18. As a matter of justice and equitable treatment, volunteers should be allowed to count actual service up to their effective training period (say 9 months) for gratuities, but men drafted for overseas would only count service from the date of the draft.

Political consequences of the arrangement

19. There could be no doubt but that, backed by a united Government the arrangement could be put into effect throughout Canada.

20. The arrangement should enable the Government to hold substantially all its following in English-speaking seats.

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21. The arrangement would cause some loss in French-speaking seats. Even if this loss was quite considerable it would still leave the Liberal party with a substantial following of French-speaking members and would leave it the only party having support from all parts of Canada, the only national party. It should go all out for a campaign for national unity on the basis of a better understanding of Canada's position and responsibilities.

22. If this policy, with such modifications as may be desirable, is acceptable to the Government, the Government should meet the members of the Party and go all out to make this policy work and make it acceptable. We should take the aggressive in the House and throughout the country. If this is kept confidential until announced by the Prime Minister and then is supported by every possible means, we should be able to capture the initiative and produce a wave of relief throughout the country at avoiding an issue the seriousness of which many people consciously or unconsciously recognized.

23. It is again emphasized that this policy should be kept strictly secret until announced by the Prime Minister in a speech which should follow the tabling of the correspondence, subject only to this, that during the morning before the speech was made, the Prime Minister should meet the Quebec members alone or with the members and explain to them the issues and the alternative.

Norman McLarty

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C245007

Progressive Conservative Motions

(1)

Wednesday, November 22nd/44 Unrevised Hansard p.6668

MR. GRAYDON:

I take the position I do, Mr. Speaker, largely because the issue is so important, so vital, and carries such a tremendous weight of judgment of the Canadian people as a whole. We feel that immediately—and I call upon the Prime Minister to take this action—we should begin the debate which will bring before this parliament the real issue that the Canadian people want brought before it. In my opinion that issue is that the full provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act should be put into effect at once and that all trained troops in the Canadian home defence army should immediately be dispatched for reinforcements overseas. That is the issue that faces this parliament. All other issues are fads and frills and will be so regarded by a boiled-up public opinion throughout Canada which is so conscious of the issues which face this house.

Therefore in view of the fact that I understand the Prime Minister is not going to bring before this house to-day a confidence motion or any other kind of government motion with respect to this matter, I ask you, Mr. Speaker, to allow me to move, seconded by the hon. member for Lake Centre (Mr. Diefenbaker):

That this house is of the opinion that the full provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act should be put into effect forthwith;

And that all trained troops in the Canadian home defence army should immediately be dispatched for reinforcements overseas.

Mr. SPEAKER: The leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon) understands, I think, that there is nothing before the house at the moment.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): He is trying to get something there.

Mr. SPEAKER: Did I understand the hon. member for York-Sunbury to say, "He is trying to get something there"? There are certain rules which must be observed before that can be done. No notice has been given of this motion.

Mr. GRAYDON: No notice could have been given.

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot decide that. All I can decide is that 'forty-eight hours' notice must be given and the rules so provide. Under the rules I have no authority to submit this motion to the house and therefore I must rule it out of order.

Mr. GRAYDON: I understand Your Honour has ruled that this motion may not be debated at this time.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is no point of order. I am only stating what the rule is. There is no point of order involved.

Mr. GRAYDON: May I ask you, Mr. Speaker, to obtain the unanimous consent of the house to permit me to introduce this motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am vested with the authority to interpret the rules of the house. I have already stated the rule and the leader of the opposition is well aware of the rule. There must be at least forty-eight hours' notice before a motion such as this can be presented to the house. If there had been any intention—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot allow a discussion on my ruling. If there had been a desire or an intention to have such a motion presented there has been time since the last adjournment of the house to the present moment whereby the orders of the day could have been printed and brought before the house; but in the meantime I am discussing only the power of the chair to accept the motion that is now submitted. In interpreting the rules may I say that I cannot accept the motion because it is not in conformity with the rule. The hon. member for—

Mr. GRAYDON: May I be allowed to appeal Your Honour's ruling?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. This is a matter that has already been discussed in the house. There is no appeal. I am not dealing with a point of order. I am dealing only with the interpretation of a rule. There is no point of order and therefore no appeal.

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Progressive Conservative Motions

(1A)

Votes and Proceedings No. 124
of the House of Commons
Wednesday, Nov. 22, 1944

A.D. 1944 WEDNESDAY, 22ND NOVEMBER, 1944 923

Mr. Graydon, seconded by Mr. Diefenbaker, moved,—That this House is of the opinion that the full provisions of the National Resources Mobilisation Act should be put into effect forthwith;

And that all trained troops in the Canadian Home Defence Army should immediately be despatched for reinforcements overseas.

Mr. Speaker ruled the motion out of order on the ground that no notice had been given as required under Standing Order 45.

Surprise has not since appeared
in Votes & Proceedings

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 354, pages C244354-C245096

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C245008

Progressive Conservative Motions

(1A)

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Progressive Conservative Motions C245009

(2)

Thursday, November 23rd Unrevised Hansard p.6673

CANADIAN FORCES

PETITIONS WITH RESPECT TO APPLICATION OF N.R.M.A. ACT

Hon. H. A. BRUCE (Parkdale): I desire to present a petition to this House of Commons from my constituency of Parkdale:

The undersigned citizens of the Dominion of Canada—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. Did I understand the hon. gentleman to say that the petition was presented to him?

Mr. BRUCE: No, Mr. Speaker; this is a petition to parliament, signed by 139 men and women of my constituency.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it addressed to the houses of parliament?

Mr. BRUCE: It is addressed to the houses of parliament. I think it is perfectly in order.

That whereas the Prime Minister of Canada has pledged on behalf of his government to the House of Commons that if "circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative, such for example as the maintenance of the necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas", the compulsory provisions of Bill 80 would become effective by order in council;

And whereas such circumstances have arisen;

And whereas your humble petitioners are of the belief that a grave emergency—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member may read the prayer of the petition, but not the whole petition.

Mr. BRUCE:

It is, therefore, the earnest prayer of your humble petitioners that this force shall be at once dispatched overseas to the aid of our men now fighting at the front;

And it is their further prayer that, since speedy victory can be gained at least cost of life only by a steady and adequate flow of reinforcements, and without such reinforcements lives must be needlessly lost, the policy of total conscription of man-power for overseas service to ensure support to our fighting forces now, and until victory is won, be made effective forthwith as provided by Bill 80, and approved by the great majority of the people of Canada recording their vote in the plebiscite of 1942.

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MEMORANDUM C245010
Privy Council Office TOP SECRET

Ottawa November 22nd, 1944.

For the Prime Minister:

Attached, for consideration, is a draft Order in Council.

A.D.P.H.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 354, pages C244354-C245096

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C245011

TOP Secret
and Personal

Ottawa, November 22nd, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Attached for your consideration is a draft Order in Council to give effect to the decision taken tonight by the Cabinet. It has been drafted precisely on the model of the "Kiska" Order in Council and has been approved by General McNaughton.

It will be gone over first thing tomorrow morning by the legal officers of National Defence and immediately be drafted into a submission to Council.

General McNaughton is most anxious to have the Order passed tomorrow morning; in any event, before he makes his statement in the House. I am preparing an Order in accordance with the attached draft. If you have any directions as to change, please let me know as soon as possible.

A.D.P.H.

A.D.P.H.

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