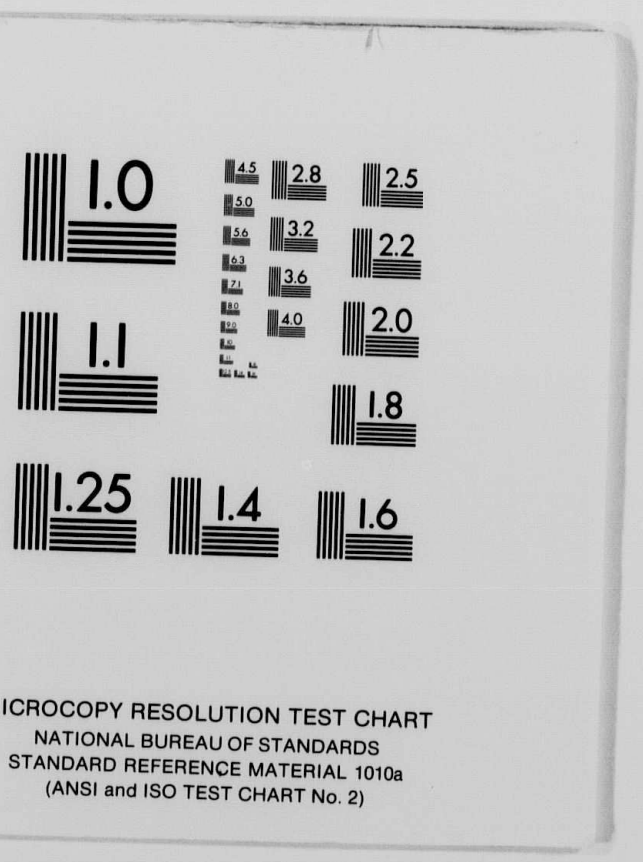

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



START

DÉBUT

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Data - Données MG26, J5

Canada

ARC 0178 (88/04)

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02
7-2061

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

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

Access is Restricted.

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

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

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

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

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

Public Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Personal Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Archives Section.

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

FILE BEGAN ON PREVIOUS REEL

LE DOSSIER A DEBUTE SUR LA BOBINE PRECEDENTE

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
74		Canadian Forces' First Week in Sicily. Speeches in Parliament	17 July 1943	D 46159 - D 46181	
74		Statement on War Progress. Speeches in Parliament	24 July 1943	D 46182 - D 46204	
75		Dinner at the Citadel, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1943	D 46205 - D 46210	
75		W.W. II Alaska and the Aleutians, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Aug. 1943	D 46211 - D 46276	
75		Welcome to President Roosevelt, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 46277 - D 46414	
75		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 46415 - D 46434	
75		Review of the War, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1943	D 46435 - D 46461	
75		Unconditional Surrender of Italy, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1943	D 46462 - D 46528	

D 46396

In the combined efforts of the military forces of the United States and the British Empire, joined with those of the heroic peoples of Russia and China, and of the other United Nations lies the certainty of ultimate victory over the forces of tyranny which have sought the domination of the world.

Canada counts it a high privilege to have the opportunity of drawing into relations of closer friendship, understanding, and good-will, the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth. We are firmly convinced that in the continued close association of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America lies the surest guarantee of international peace, and of the furtherance of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

Monsieur le Président,

De nouveau et me servant, cette fois, de l'autre langue officielle de notre pays, je désirerais vous souhaiter la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom du Canada tout entier

DRAFT - The President

D 46397

A

The people of Canada will Canadian people I am sure wish me expect me, on their behalf, to express to you, Mr. President, the admiration which they feel for you and felt by all our people for your great career. Your inflexible opposition to aggression and Fascism, in all their manifestations, and your unswerving devotion to free institutions and to human welfare, have captured the imagination of free peoples everywhere in the world. Your interest in the welfare of youth, your support of the rights of Labour, your championship of racial and social equality, your life-long interest in social welfare and your achievements in extending social security have marked you out as a tried and true friend of the common man. The good neighbour policy in external relations laid the foundations for your leadership in war of the cause of freedom for men and nations. We feel, too, a special affection for a life-long friend of our country.

We honour you as an Unstained Champion of the right, of free men, and of the Liberties, who by his own personal devotion has captured

one who has always shown a deep concern for the well-being of his fellow-men, whose services to the cause of freedom have long known that your [illegible] have excited the bounds of nationality, limits of race and

[illegible] which they acquire in you the champion of freedom for all mankind.

[illegible] forces of freedom in a world at war.

D 46398

in Parliament, by His Excellency and Her Royal Highness, and by myself, ~~are~~ are being happily realized.

On behalf of all Canada, I extend to you today, Mr. President, the warmest of welcomes to the Capital of our country. I thank you for having honoured our Capital city by your presence at a time which is without parallel in the history of human affairs.

This is the first occasion on which a President of the United States has visited Canada's Capital. It is particularly pleasing to us that this visit should have its association with your momentous meeting in the ancient capital of Canada with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Over the past two years, your meetings with Mr. Churchill have been the signal for great events. The ~~meeting~~ conference at Quebec just concluded will, ~~I am~~ we are confident, mark ~~the beginning of another~~ a further advance ~~of the forces of freedom~~ towards final victory. The City of Quebec is the birth-place of Canada. Beneath its cliffs, in 1608, Champlain founded a settlement, and established a seat of government; upon its height is erected a ~~single~~ monument commemorating in a single shaft the chivalry of Wolfe and Montcalm in the decisive battle of 1759. It is the city in which, in 1864, ~~at an earlier conference~~, the fathers of the Canadian

D 46399

Monsieur le Président,
je voudrais bien, encore une
fois et dans l'autre langue
officielle de ~~notre~~ pays, ~~tout~~
~~saluer et~~ au nom du Canada
entier
vous saluer la bienvenue la
plus chaleureuse.

Monsieur le Président encore
une fois, et dans l'autre langue
officielle du ~~notre~~ pays, je
voudrais bien au nom du Canada
~~tout entier~~, vous saluer la bienvenue
la plus ~~chaleureuse~~
cordiale

D 16400

Confederation ~~met~~. We were indeed delighted when we learned that Quebec had been selected for a meeting between Mr. Churchill and yourself - a meeting which ~~will become historic, influencing, as it will,~~ upon the destiny of men and nations.

We rejoice, Mr. President, that your visit to Canada's Capital comes at a moment when for the first time in our long history as close neighbours, soldiers of Canada and the United States have fought side by side. Combined British, United States and Canadian forces have just completed the occupation of Sicily as a first step in the liberation of Europe. Combined United States and Canadian forces have just occupied the last Japanese outpost in the Western Hemisphere. In the combined efforts of the military forces of the United States and the British Empire, joined with those of the heroic peoples of Russia and China, and of the other United Nations, lies the certainty of ultimate victory over the forces of tyranny which have sought the domination of the world.

Canada counts it a high privilege to have the opportunity of drawing into relations of closer friendship, understanding, and good-will the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth. We are firmly convinced that in the continued close association of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America lies the surest guarantee of international peace, and of the furtherance of the

DRAFT BROADCAST

Copy for VAS

D 46401

Introduction of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain are here in the ancient city of Quebec. They are residing in its historic Citadel as guests of the government and people of Canada. I am speaking, I know, for all Canada when I express our pride that our country should be the scene of this momentous meeting. We welcome the opportunity to act in our traditional role as a link between our closest neighbour, the United States, and the association of free nations to which we belong, known as the British Commonwealth.

Canada's greatest interest and the first aim of our external policy is the maintenance of harmony and co-operation between the British Commonwealth and the United States. We have witnessed the fruits of that co-operation in the North Atlantic and in North Africa. We are watching its steady progress towards military success in the Southwest Pacific. Our Canadian troops were at the point of junction of British and United States forces in the triumphant occupation of Sicily. By its effectiveness, that co-operation has brought us the assurance of victory in war. We, in Canada, are unanimous in our belief that harmony and co-operation between the British and American peoples will be mutually beneficial in the days of peace.

D 46402

Our first objective is the halting of Axis aggression and the destruction of Fascist domination everywhere in the world. A year has passed since the United Nations seized the initiative. In that year, the cause of freedom has made great advances. But the two strongholds of Fascist power, Germany and Japan are still intact and still strong. In the past, the brunt of resistance has been borne by our allies, particularly the Soviet Union and China. For the forces of the British Commonwealth and the United States, the most intense fighting is yet to come. Total victory demands unrelaxing efforts and the utmost courage and determination. Military success, moreover, requires the most careful and detailed planning of future operations.

The present conference at Quebec is planning and concerting coming operations. When the time comes, these plans will be revealed not by words, but by the deeds of the fighting men of the United Nations.

As we approach the climax of this world-encircling struggle, the people of Canada will, I am confident, meet the coming ordeal with renewed vigour. We are proud of the position Canada has assumed among the nations of the world. It is particularly fitting that Quebec city should have been chosen for this meeting. Quebec is the birth place of the Canadian nation. It will, in the future, be looked upon as well as the scene of

D 46403

a meeting which marks a turning point in our national history. We rejoice at the presence in our country of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. Their visit is a recognition of the fact that, in this war, Canada has assumed the stature -- and the responsibilities -- of a great power. The people of Canada welcome our two distinguished visitors not only as leaders of the great coalition of free and United Nations, but more intimately as long-standing friends of Canada.

My fellow Canadians:

I have the honour now to introduce the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, who will speak to you in turn.

D 46404

SECRET

Introduction of the President of the United States
by
The Prime Minister

On behalf of the government and people of Canada I have the honour of welcoming the President of the United States to the capital city of Canada. Mr. Roosevelt's visit to Ottawa is a compliment to Canada which will be deeply appreciated by our people. Mr. Roosevelt is fresh from the momentous conferences at Quebec with the Prime Minister of Great Britain and thdr military advisers. The people of Canada were proud to be the hosts at that historic meeting. We welcomed the opportunity to serve in our traditional role as the link between our closest neighbour, the United States, and the Commonwealth of free British nations. Canada occupies a unique position. Our country is at once a nation of the new world and a member of the British Commonwealth. No people has a deeper interest in the maintenance of harmony and co-operation between the Commonwealth and the United States. Mr. Roosevelt would, I am sure, be the first to agree that our co-operation has been promoted and our mutual understanding deepened by the conferences which have just concluded at Quebec City.

Since the last official visit of President Roosevelt to our country, the bonds between our two countries have been

D46405

strengthened by the establishment of the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence, by the Hyde Park Agreement, which instituted a joint programme of war production for our two countries, and by our common partnership in war.

In recent weeks in Sicily, soldiers of Canada and the United States have fought shoulder to shoulder for the first time in our long history as close neighbours. The armed forces of our two countries are at present engaged in a combined operation against the Japanese at Kiska in the Aleutians. That operation recalls vividly to all our minds the origins of the joint defence of North America by Canada and the United States. Our joint defence had its beginnings in the historic statement made by President Roosevelt at Queen's University in Kingston on his last official visit to Canada, and in the reply I made, in the name of the Canadian people, at Woodbridge two days later. Out of those reciprocal assurances came the Ogdensburg Agreement in the dark days of 1940. When Japan made her treacherous attack in December, 1941 our joint plans went into effect without a moment's delay. It is a happy co-incidence which brings the President to Ottawa at the very moment we are witnessing the climax of our joint defence in the operation against the last Japanese outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

D 46406

In extending a welcome to our capital on behalf of the Canadian people, I wish, Mr. President, to assure you that our country will stand with yours, that our fighting men will fight beside yours, and that the hearts of our people will beat in unison with yours until the complete military destruction of the Axis powers in Europe and in Asia has been accomplished. The Canadian people are united in their desire to perpetuate, in the days of peace, that equal and fruitful partnership between our two nations which is unique in international relationships. It is our earnest hope that the bounds of our mutual friendship and co-operation, in peace as in war, may be extended to embrace all the free nations of the world.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I welcome you as the President and Commander in Chief of the United States, as one of the leaders of the United Nations, as a tried and unswerving champion of democracy, and, speaking particularly for Canada, as a true and life-long friend of our country.

My fellow Canadians, I have now the honour to introduce the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Joint Draft by Pickersgill and Gibson

DR
22:8:43

D 46407

Welcome of the President of the United States

On behalf of the government and people Canada

I have the honour of welcoming the President of the United States to the capital city of Canada. The first visit of a President in office to our capital is an historic occasion. The honour is the greater for coming at a critical stage in the war. Although the Parliament of Canada is not in session, members of the Senate and the House of Commons have come from all the provinces from Atlantic to Pacific to do honour to our distinguished guest on Parliament Hill.

We are especially proud to welcome President Roosevelt to Ottawa today because of his long and most friendly interest in our country. Our people, without distinction of race or class or creed, are filled with admiration, and I believe it is no exaggeration to add, with affection for a great statesman and a true friend of the common man.

For me, personally, today's visit to Ottawa by Mr. Roosevelt is a happy culmination of a long-cherished wish, and a pleasant testimony of a friendship which extends back through more than 40 years. It is a pleasure to have

D 4640

this opportunity in our capital city of returning the President's hospitality extended to me as Prime Minister at Washington, at Warm Springs, at Ogdensburg, and at Hyde Park.

President Roosevelt has come to Ottawa direct from his meeting at Quebec with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. The President and Mr. Churchill have been engaged in another of their momentous conferences with their military advisers. Over the past two years, their conferences have been the signal for great events. The Conference at Quebec will, I am confident, mark the beginning of another significant advance of the forces of freedom. The government of Canada was pleased to provide a meeting place for this historic meeting.

History and geography alike have made Canada a natural meeting place for the British and American peoples. Our country occupies a unique position in the world. It is at once a nation of the new world and a member of the British Commonwealth. The Canadian people have a deep and abiding interest in the maintenance of harmony and co-operation between the nations of the Commonwealth and the United States. Mr. Roosevelt, I am sure, would be the first to agree that co-operation and understanding has been strengthened by the conferences just concluded at Quebec City.

D 4640 8

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 46409

The President's official visits to Canada have all been occasions for the strengthening of the bonds of friendship between our two countries. Since Mr. Roosevelt's visit in 1938, the area of co-operation between the United States and Canada has been vastly enlarged. The establishment, three years ago, of the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence gave us machinery for the planning of unified defences for the whole continent. The Hyde Park Declaration marked the beginning of a joint programme of war production which has made North America a single arsenal of freedom. The partnership of our two countries in war has made possible the closest co-ordination of our military action in concert with our other partners in the common struggle.

In Sicily, for the first time in our long history as close neighbours, soldiers of Canada and the United States fought shoulder to shoulder. A combined United States and Canadian armed force has just occupied Kiska in the Aleutians. That operation recalls vividly to all our minds the origins of the joint defence of North America by Canada and the United States. Our joint defence had its beginnings in the historic statement made by President Roosevelt at Queen's University in Kingston on his last official visit to Canada, and in the reply I made, in the

D 46410

name of the Canadian people, at Woodbridge two days later. It is a happy coincidence which brings the President to Ottawa at the moment the climax of our joint defence has been reached with the occupation of the last Japanese outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

No welcome of the President of the United States would be complete did it not include an expression of the fraternal feelings of the people of Canada for the people of the United States. Although Canada is a relatively small nation and the United States is very powerful, the policy of the good neighbour has removed from our minds any thought of domination. At the same time, it has promoted the closest co-operation.

In war, the Canadian people will fight shoulder to shoulder with their American neighbours until the complete military destruction of the Axis powers in Europe and Asia has been accomplished. The Canadian people are united in their desire to perpetuate, in the days of peace, the equal and fruitful partnership between our two nations which is unique in international relationships. It is our earnest hope that the bounds of our mutual friendship and co-operation, in peace as in war, may be extended to embrace all the free nations of the world.

D 46410

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 46411

Mr. Roosevelt, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that Divine Providence may give you health and strength to bear the heavy burdens which rest upon you until victory has been won and freedom and peace restored to a war-torn world. I speak for all the people of Canada in expressing our appreciation of your outstanding contribution to the cause of human well-being alike in peace and war.

Introduction

Churchill

Mme Chiang

Mrs Roosevelt at Montreal

Pres R at Q 1936
(at the Citadel)
speech at Queens University 1938
earlier visits to Canada

D 46412

thanking for long-standing
promise now fulfilled

D 46413

with GG & Pr Alc
also for PM on 6½ of ppl of Canada

hospitality in U.S.A.

Reference to ppl of U.S.
& war effort of U.S.

Benediction at end

First visit to Capital of Canada
by any Pres of U.S.A.

D 46414

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
74		Canadian Forces' First Week in Sicily. Speeches in Parliament	17 July 1943	D 46159 - D 46181	
74		Statement on War Progress. Speeches in Parliament	24 July 1943	D 46182 - D 46204	
75		Dinner at the Citadel, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1943	D 46205 - D 46210	
75		W.W. II Alaska and the Aleutians, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Aug. 1943	D 46211 - D 46276	
75		Welcome to President Roosevelt, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 46277 - D 46414	
75		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 46415 - D 46434	
75		Review of the War, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1943	D 46435 - D 46461	
75		Unconditional Surrender of Italy, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1943	D 46462 - D 46528	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Times

Date Sep 9/43

Subject

D46415

ALLIES FIRST AIM ATTAINED

MR. MACKENZIE KING'S CALL

OTTAWA, Sept. 8.—Mr. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister, said in a broadcast talk to-night that the allies had attained the first of their three main objectives—the unconditional surrender in turn of each of the Axis Powers.

"Allied strategy for more than a year past," he said, "has aimed at driving Italy out of the war and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment, more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

"We in Canada may rejoice to-day that from the very beginning of the present world conflict our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny. Throughout four years of war the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the call of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contributions as a nation. We saw the issue clearly from the outset and our armed forces at sea, on land, and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered.

"We may rejoice that in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis Powers it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part. Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each that from now on as never before the mind, the will, and the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass in the quickest possible time the defeat of the remaining Axis Powers.

"As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land on the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure our men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Nazism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed."—*Reuter.*

Italy Surrender
43

This group 46416
shd all be kept
carefully pls

I/S43 D46417

D 46418

Section I

The Allied nations have attained the first of their three main objectives, the unconditional surrender in turn of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that this end might be achieved by this autumn. That end has now been achieved and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment more immediately is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. In fact, it is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

Section II

D

46420

We, in Canada, may rejoice today that from the very beginning, we, as a country, were in the present world conflict against the forces of aggressionx and tyranny; that throughout four years of war, we have put forth our utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contribution. It is, however, a moment in which to rejoice that, as a country, we saw the issue clearly from the outset and that, from the beginning, we have put forth our utmost effort in the air, at sea and on land wherever our highest service could be rendered. It is a time to rejoice that in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a conspicuous part.

D 46421

Section III

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let our rejoicing be accompanied by a resolution on the part of each that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the [redacted] defeat of the remaining Axis powers. As Canadians we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those which were at thespearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy.

D 16422

Section IV

It remains for us by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our men in so far as that may be possible, a like position of honour in the final break through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Nazism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will be definitely sealed.

FLASH

ITALIANS SURRENDER

GR1150AED

D 46423

8PN67

B U L L E T I N

ALGIERS -- ALLIED HEADQUARTERS HAS OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED THE CAPITULATION OF ITALY.

GR1150AED

Department of External Affairs D 46424

Ottawa, September 8, 1943.

Text of Statement Broadcast from
Algiers by General Dwight D. Eisenhower,
Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces

This is General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces. The Italian Government has surrendered its armed forces unconditionally. As the Allied Commander-in-Chief, I have granted a military armistice, the terms of which have been approved by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R.. I am acting in the interests of the United Nations. The Italian Government has bound itself to abide by these terms without reservation. The armistice was signed by my representative and representative of Marshal Badoglio and becomes effective this instant. Hostilities between the armed forces of the United Nations and those of Italy terminate at once. All Italians who now act to help eject the German aggressor from Italian soil will have the assistance and support of the United Nations."

NAR/SR
8.9.43

D46425

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

In talking to the press about the capitulation of Italy, you may wish to remind them of its more important consequences:

(1) To the extent that the Allied nations are able to wrest effective occupation of Italian territory from the Germans and establish air bases up the peninsula, they will be able to bombard from the air the areas in South Germany, austria and Czechoslovakia to which German war industries have been moved from North western Germany. Similarly Allied occupation of the Dodecanese would give them advanced air bases for carrying the war into the Balkans.

(2) The demobilization of Italian forces outside Italy, which have made up a very large part of the armies in Southern France and the Balkans, will put a new and heavy strain on German manpower and force withdrawals from the Eastern Front.

(3) The elimination of the Italian fleet will release large Allied naval forces which have been maintained in the Mediterranean so as to contain the Italian navy. These forces will become available for operations in the Pacific and Indian oceans against Japan.

(4) The elimination from the war of the chief German partner in Europe will encourage the forces of resistance to Germany in occupied territory and will especially facilitate resistance in the Balkans by the Yugoslav and Greek patriots.

(5) You may care to mention that, thought General Eisenhower's announcement refers to the terms of surrender as having been agreed between the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R., the Canadian Government was consulted about these terms in advance of their presentation.

(6) It is hoped that the capitulation of Italy will result in the speedy release of the small number of Canadian prisoners of war in Italian hands and every effort will be made to bring about their return as soon as possible.

D 46426

(7) Canadians of Italian origin will especially rejoice to see their country rid of an evil alliance and freed from Fascism.

D 46427

8PN85

OTTAWA -- PRIME MINISTER KING ISSUED A FORMAL STATEMENT TODAY ON THE CAPITULATION OF ITALY. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE ATTAINED THE FIRST OF THEIR THREE MAIN OBJECTIVES -- THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER IN TURN OF EACH OF THE AXIS NATIONS.

HE SAID THE ALLIED STRATEGY FOR MORE THAN A YEAR HAS BEEN AIMED AT KNOCKING ITALY OUT OF THE WAR. THUS THEY WOULD CLEAR THE WAY FOR A CONCENTRATED ATTACK UPON GERMANY. MR. KING SAID IT WAS HOPED AND EXPECTED BY THE ALLIES THAT ITALY WOULD BE DRIVEN OUT OF THE WAR THIS FALL.

IN HIS STATEMENT TODAY THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER ASKED THE CITIZENS OF CANADA TO JOIN IN THE REJOICING BY THE ALLIED NATIONS IN THE SURRENDER OF ITA

Y. HE SAID THE REJOICING SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE RESOLVE ON THE PART OF EVERY CANADIAN TO BEND ALL ENERGY TO THE DEFEAT OF THE REMAINING AXIS POWERS.

PRIME MINISTER KING SAID THAT CANADA HAS REASON FOR PRIDE IN THE FACT THAT CANADIAN TROOPS WERE THE SPEARHEAD OF THE ATTACK ON SICILY AND LATER WERE AMONG THE FIRST TO LAND ON ITALIAN SOIL. HE SAID HE END HAS NOW BEEN ACHIEVED AND ACHIEVED ACCORDING TO PLAN. HE ADDED THAT CANADIANS MAY REJOICE TODAY THAT CANADA TOOK UP ARMS FROM THE VERY START OF THE CONFLICT AND HAVE PUT FORTH THEIR BEST EFFORT IN THE FOUR YEARS OF WAR.

GR1PED

8PN86

ITALIAN

NEW YORK -- HERE IS THE TEXT OF THE ALLIED COMMUNIQUE ON THE SURRENDER OF ITA

Y (AS RECORDED BY CBS):

"HERE IS ANIMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE COMMANDE

8PN86

ITALIAN

NEW YORK -- HERE IS THE TEXT OF THE ALLIED COMMUNIQUE ON THE SURRENDER OF ITALY (AS RECORDED BY CBS):

"HERE IS ANIMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF, "THIS IS GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ALLIED FORCE. THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SURRENDERED ITS ARMED FORCES UNCONDITIONALLY. AS ALLIED COMMANDER IN CHIEF, I HAVE GRANTED A MILITARY ARMISTICE.

THE TERMS OF WHICH HAVE BEEN APPROVED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. THUS, I AM ACTING IN THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BOUND ITSELF TO ABIDE BY THESE TERMS WITHOUT RESERVATION. THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED BY MY REPRESENTATIVE AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF MARSHAL BADOGLIO, AND IT BECOMES EFFECTIVE THIS INSTANT.

"HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THOSE OF ITALY TERMINATE AT ONCE. ALL ITALIANS WHO NOW ACT TO HELP EJECT THE GERMAN AGGRESSORS FROM ITALIAN SOIL WILL HAVE THE ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS."

AFTER GENERAL EISENHOWER'S BROADCAST, ALLIED HEADQUARTERS ISSUED A SPECIAL RELEASE WHICH READ AS FOLLOWS:

"SOME WEEKS AGO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT MADE AN APPROACH TO THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WITH A VIEW TO CONCLUDING AN ARMISTICE. A MEETING WAS ARRANGED AND TOOK PLACE IN NEUTRAL TERRITORY. IT WAS AT ONCE EXPLAINED TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT THAT THEY MUST SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY.

"ON THIS UNDERSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALLIED COMMANDER IN CHIEF WERE EMPOWERED TO COMMUNICATE TO THEM THE MILITARY CONDITIONS WHICH THEY WOULD HAVE TO FULFILL.

"ONE CLAUSE IN THESE MILITARY TERMS BINDS THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT TO COMPLY WITH THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE ALLIES WHICH WILL BE IMPOSED LATER.

"FURTHER MEETINGS WERE ARRANGED AND TOOK PLACE IN SICILY.

"THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED AT ALLIED ADVANCE HEADQUARTERS THERE ON SEPT. 3, BUT IT WAS AGREED WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT THAT THE ARMISTICE SHOULD COME INTO FORCE AT A MOMENT MOST FAVORABLE FOR TH ALLIES, AND BE SIMULTANEOUSLY ANNOUNCED BY BOTH SIDES. THAT MOMENT HAS NOW ARRIVED.

"THE POSSIBILITY OF A GERMAN MOVE TO FORESTALL PUBLICATION OF THE ARMISTICE BY THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WAS DISCUSSED DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. TO MEET THIS EVENTUALITY, IT WAS AGREED THAT ONE OF THE SENIOR ITALIAN MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD NOT RETURN TO ROME. HE IS NOW IN SICILY.

"FURTHER, MARSHAL BADOGLIO ARRANGED TO SEND THE TEXT OF HIS PROCLAMATION TO ALLIED HEADQUARTERS."

HERE IS A TEXT OF THE PROCLAMATION BY MARSHAL BADOGLIO, WHICH WAS TRANSMITTED TO ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS AS A PRECAUTION AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY THAT IT COULD NOT BE DELIVERED OVER THE ITALIAN RADIO.

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ON THE CAPITULATION OF [illegible]
NATIONS HAVE ATTAINED THE FIRST OF THEIR THREE MAIN OBJECTIVES -- THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER IN TURN OF EACH OF THE AXIS NATIONS.

HE SAID THE ALLIED STRATEGY FOR MORE THAN A YEAR HAS BEEN AIMED AT KNOCKING ITALY OUT OF THE WAR. THUS THEY WOULD CLEAR THE WAY FOR A CONCENTRATED ATTACK UPON GERMANY. MR. KING SAID IT WAS HOPED AND EXPECTED BY THE ALLIES THAT ITALY WOULD BE DRIVEN OUT OF THE WAR THIS FALL.

IN HIS STATEMENT TODAY THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER ASKED THE CITIZENS OF CANADA TO JOIN IN THE REJOICING BY THE ALLIED NATIONS IN THE SURRENDER OF ITA

Y. HE SAID THE REJOICING SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE RESOLVE ON THE PART OF EVERY CANADIAN TO BEND ALL ENERGY TO THE DEFEAT OF THE REMAINING AXIS POWERS.

PRIME MINISTER KING SAID THAT CANADA HAS REASON FOR PRIDE IN THE FACT THAT CANADIAN TROOPS WERE THE SPEARHEAD OF THE ATTACK ON SICILY AND LATER WERE AMONG THE FIRST TO LAND ON ITALIAN SOIL. HE SAID HE END HAS NOW BEEN ACHIEVED AND ACHIEVED ACCORDING TO PLAN. HE ADDED THAT CANADIANS MAY REJOICE TODAY THAT CANADA TOOK UP ARMS FROM THE VERY START OF THE CONFLICT AND HAVE PUT FORTH THEIR BEST EFFORT IN THE FOUR YEARS OF WAR.

GR1PED

8PN36
ITALIAN

NEW YORK -- HERE IS THE TEXT OF THE ALLIED COMMUNIQUE ON THE SURRENDER OF ITA

Y (AS RECORDED BY CBS):

"HERE IS ANIMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE COMMANDE

8PN86
ITALIAN

NEW YORK -- HERE IS THE TEXT OF THE ALLIED COMMUNIQUE ON THE SURRENDER OF ITALY (AS RECORDED BY CBS):

"HERE IS ANIMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF, "THIS IS GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ALLIED FORCE. THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SURRENDERED ITS ARMED FORCES UNCONDITIONALLY. AS ALLIED COMMANDER IN CHIEF, I HAVE GRANTED A MILITARY ARMISTICE.

THE TERMS OF WHICH HAVE BEEN APPROVED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. THUS, I AM ACTING IN THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BOUND ITSELF TO ABIDE BY THESE TERMS WITHOUT RESERVATION. THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED BY MY REPRESENTATIVE AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF MARSHAL BADOGLIO, AND IT BECOMES EFFECTIVE THIS INSTANT.

"HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THOSE OF ITALY TERMINATE AT ONCE. ALL ITALIANS WHO NOW ACT TO HELP EJECT THE GERMAN AGGRESSORS FROM ITALIAN SOIL WILL HAVE THE ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS."

AFTER GENERAL EISENHOWER'S BROADCAST, ALLIED HEADQUARTERS ISSUED A SPECIAL RELEASE WHICH READ AS FOLLOWS:

"SOME WEEKS AGO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT MADE AN APPROACH TO THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WITH A VIEW TO CONCLUDING AN ARMISTICE. A MEETING WAS ARRANGED AND TOOK PLACE IN NEUTRAL TERRITORY. IT WAS AT ONCE EXPLAINED TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT THAT THEY MUST SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY.

"ON THIS UNDERSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALLIED COMMANDER IN CHIEF WERE EMPOWERED TO COMMUNICATE TO THEM THE MILITARY CONDITIONS WHICH THEY WOULD HAVE TO FULFILL.

"ONE CLAUSE IN THESE MILITARY TERMS BINDS THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT TO COMPLY WITH THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE ALLIES WHICH WILL BE IMPOSED LATER.

"FURTHER MEETINGS WERE ARRANGED AND TOOK PLACE IN SICILY.

"THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED AT ALLIED ADVANCE HEADQUARTERS THERE ON SEPT. 3, BUT IT WAS AGREED WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT THAT THE ARMISTICE SHOULD COME INTO FORCE AT A MOMENT MOST FAVORABLE FOR TH ALLIES, AND BE SIMULTANEOUSLY ANNOUNCED BY BOTH SIDES. THAT MOMENT HAS NOW ARRIVED.

"THE POSSIBILITY OF A GERMAN MOVE TO FORESTALL PUBLICATION OF THE ARMISTICE BY THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WAS DISCUSSED DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. TO MEET THIS EVENTUALITY, IT WAS AGREED THAT ONE OF THE SENIOR ITALIAN MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD NOT RETURN TO ROME. HE IS NOW IN SICILY.

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"THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT, RECOGNIZING THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF CONTINUING THE UNEQUAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OVERWHELMING POWER OF THE ENEMY, WITH THE OBJECT OF AVOIDING FURTHER AND MORE GRIEVIOUS HARM TO THE NATION, REQUESTED AN ARMISTICE FROM GENERAL EISENHOWER, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIED FORCES.

"THIS REQUEST HAS BEEN GRANTED.

"THE ITALIAN FORCES WILL, THEREFORE, CEASE ALL ACTS OF HOSTILITY AGAINST THE ANGLO-AMERICAN FORCES WHEREVER THEY MAY BE MET. THEY WILL, HOWEVER, OPPOSE ATTACKS FROM ANY OTHER QUARTER."

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Ottawa, September 5, 1943 D 46428

Statement by the Prime Minister,
Mr. Mackenzie King,
on the unconditional surrender of Italy.

The world has heard this morning the tremendous news from General Eisenhower's headquarters that Italy has surrendered unconditionally. The first Allied landings on the Italian mainland were made on September 3rd, only five days ago. The news of surrender has followed swiftly.

The Allied Nations have now attained the first of their three main objectives - the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war, and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment, more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily, and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world conflict, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny. We may rejoice that, throughout four years of war, the Canadian

D 16429

people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contribution. As a nation, we saw the issue clearly from the outset, and our armed forces at sea, on land, and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered. We may rejoice that, in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part.

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve, on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat of the remaining Axis powers.

As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Nazilism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed.

D 46430

Again, I repeat, let us, one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

Ottawa, September 8, 1943.

Statement by the

Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King,

on the unconditional surrender of Italy

D 46431

The world has heard this morning the tremendous news from General Eisenhower's headquarters that Italy has surrendered unconditionally. The first allied landings on the Italian mainland were made on Sept 3 - only 5 days ago. The news of surrender has followed swiftly.

The Allied Nations have now attained the first of their three main objectives - the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy ~~this~~ might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world conflict, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny, ~~and~~ we may rejoice that, throughout four years of war, the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt

D 46432

to assess our contribution. As a nation, we saw the issue clearly from the outset, and our armed forces at sea, on land and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered. We may rejoice that, in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part.

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve, on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat of the remaining Axis powers. As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Nazism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed.

Again, I repeat, Let us, one and all, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men,

Ottawa, September 8, 1943.

I/S 43

D 46433

Statement by the

Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King,

on the unconditional surrender of Italy

The Allied Nations have attained the first of their three main objectives, - the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war, and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that ~~this~~ the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment, more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world conflict, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny, ~~and~~ we may rejoice that throughout four years of war the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt

D 46434

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Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass in the quickest possible time the defeat of the remaining Axis powers. As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Nazism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed. Again I repeat, let us one and all, do all in our power to aid our fighting men

Statement to Press 12.25-
Broadcast over National Network 1.01 pm

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
74		Canadian Forces' First Week in Sicily. Speeches in Parliament	17 July 1943	D 46159 - D 46181	
74		Statement on War Progress. Speeches in Parliament	24 July 1943	D 46182 - D 46204	
75		Dinner at the Citadel, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1943	D 46205 - D 46210	
75		W.W. II Alaska and the Aleutians, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Aug. 1943	D 46211 - D 46276	
75		Welcome to President Roosevelt, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 46277 - D 46414	
75		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 46415 - D 46434	
75		Review of the War, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1943	D 46435 - D 46461	
75		Unconditional Surrender of Italy, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1943	D 46462 - D 46528	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Aug 3/43

Text of Mr. King's War Address

OTTAWA, Aug. 3.—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's address last night on the war and Italy:

I know that you have been following, with intense interest, the momentous events of the past 10 days. I know that you are impatiently awaiting the word that will tell you of the complete occupation of Sicily by the Allied forces. I know, too, that you are hoping for the announcement, at any moment, of the unconditional surrender of Italy.

INVOLVED SITUATION

Events arousing these expectations have followed each other in quick succession. It may well be, however, that the final act will not come as soon as we might have expected. I doubt if we begin to realize how involved the whole situation in Italy has become, or how powerful, though confused, are the forces that within the confines of that country continue to contend for mastery.

Towards clarifying the situation, I should like this evening to review very briefly the developments of the past 10 days. I doubt if many of us appreciate the full significance of what has happened in Italy. The events there have been of such a character as to constitute a major episode in the whole war.

For Canada, the period has been one of true historical import. The participation of our armed forces, and their achievements have given a memorable and an inseparable place in the Sicilian campaign to the name of Canada.

SICILIAN CAMPAIGN

In the two weeks after the Allied landings, three quarters of the island of Sicily was occupied by the Allied forces. Ten days ago, the speed and success of these operations made it appear probable that, at any moment, all enemy resistance in the island might crumble. In the past week, progress has been much slower. Greatly stiffened resistance, principally German, has been encountered on the whole battlefront.

Despite increased resistance, the Allied forces are pushing steadily forward. Enemy territory now is limited to the north-east corner of the island. Behind the enemy lines, both in Sicily and on the Italian mainland across the straits of Messina, enemy strongholds and supply lines have been systematically bombed from the air. Water communication across the straits has been continuously harassed by British and American naval craft.

It is perfectly clear that the complete military conquest and occupation of Sicily is only a matter of a comparatively short time.

FALL OF MUSSOLINI

Since Sunday, July 25, the centre of interest in the Mediterranean area has shifted from the military operation in Sicily to the political developments on the Italian mainland. On July 25, it was announced that Mussolini and all his cabinet had been turned out of office, and that they were being detained under armed guard. King Victor Emmanuel himself assumed the leadership of the armed forces of Italy. Marsal Badoglio, once chief of staff, was appointed to head a military government. The first governmental declarations included the announced determination to continue the war. Subsequently the Fascist party was outlawed.

Mussolini's fall from power was instantly recognized as closing one chapter, and beginning another in the history of Italy. For the past week, the world has been filled with rumors and counter-rumors about the immediate cause of Mussolini's dismissal from office.

It would appear that after his last meeting with Hitler, Mussolini had been prepared to allow the Nazis to move additional forces into Northern Italy. This would have meant abandoning, for the time being at least, the rest of Italy to Allied occupation. This course was apparently not acceptable, even to the Fascist party. It was certainly not acceptable to the Italian army. At an interview with the king, Mussolini was dismissed from office. He was taken into custody, and the government of Italy came under military control.

AXIS LOSES MODEL

While in all else there may be much of conjecture, one thing at least is certain, the Fascist regime which controlled Italy for the past 20 years is at an end. That fact is of tremendous moral and political significance.

Italian Fascism was the model and example of all other Fascist regimes, including the Nazi regime in Germany. The very essence and core of Fascism was supposed to be its military efficiency, its strength and its stability. When put to the acid test, it has proved to have none of these qualities. Instead, it has crashed about the head of its founder.

For the other Fascist dictators—the little Mussolinis who have sprung up in recent years in Europe—the fall of Mussolini must have seemed, as it will be, the prelude to their own doom. Mussolini's fall may be for Hitler, too, an ominous forecast of his eventual fate.

It is still too soon to say what effect Mussolini's dismissal will have on Italy's course in the war. It is difficult, indeed, to know how much freedom of choice is open to the new regime, or indeed, to any regime. It is possible that Italy may experience complete political and social collapse.

WARNING TO PEOPLES

The tragic situation of the Italian people in this crisis in their history is a striking warning of the terrible consequences which may come to any people who surrender their freedom to a dictatorship. Everything that has happened since Italy entered the war has shown that the Italian people generally as opposed to their rulers, did not want war; that they had no heart in the struggle; that they know the real enemy of their country was Nazi Germany. Because they were in the grip of a brutal dictatorship, they were carried into an adventure which began in treachery and is ending in disaster.

BADOGLIO'S POSITION

Nothing definite can be said of the strength or stability of the government formed by Marshal Badoglio, or of its policies. For the time being, it is committed to carrying on the war.

Rumors persist that the authority of the new government is being defied, particularly in the industrial north. In many parts, there have been riotings, and demonstrations in favor of immediate peace. No one can say how strong are the forces which are opposed to the new government or whether any of them represents a political movement sufficiently coherent to be capable of establishing a government. Neither can anyone say how considerable is Germany's military control of the country, or how quickly the Germans can reinforce their troops.

The Italians now are faced with appalling alternatives. Either they must surrender unconditionally, in which event the Nazis will turn and

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

rend them, destroy their armies wherever they are, steal their industrial equipment and all the supplies they can carry away, and occupy whatever part of the country they are able to hold. If, on the other hand, Italy does not surrender unconditionally, the war will be carried by the Allied powers relentlessly from Sicily into Italy. Italy, from end to end, will become a battleground of axis and Allied forces. No matter what Italy does, it is certain that German armies will seize what they can of northern Italy, and fight there in the defence of Germany.

ALLIED STAND CLEAR

The Allied attitude to the new government was made clear, repeatedly, during the last week, first by Mr. Churchill in the British House of Commons on Tuesday, then by President Roosevelt in his broadcast on Wednesday, and, finally, by General Eisenhower in his public offer of an honorable peace on Thursday.

The Allies are ready to treat with any authority which is not Fascist, and which will cease aiding the axis cause, once the military forces under its control surrender uncoditionally. The alternative which faces Italy is war with steadily-increasing fury, war from the air, from the sea, and on her own soil until all resistance—Italian and German alike—is destroyed, and the whole country occupied by the Allied forces.

We do not know which alternative Marshal Badoglio will choose; we do not even know whether he has the power to make a choice; whether he has any independent power, or whether he is under Nazi control. If the Badoglio government continues the war, we cannot say how long that government may retain office or how soon or by whom it may be overthrown. Failing unconditional surrender at an early date, it is not impossible that all organized authority may collapse in Italy and that the country may be reduced to a condition of anarchy.

Regardless of the course adopted by the Italian government, there are the best of reasons for believing that, except in the north, resistance in Italy cannot be prolonged. This is the more certain because the Italian army clearly has no more desire than the Italian people to continue the war as a tool of Germany. Of the mainland, as in Sicily, whatever resistance the Allies meet will be chiefly German resistance.

EFFECT OF ITALIAN COLLAPSE

The occupation of Italy, when it is completed, will bring great strategic advantages to the Allied cause. It will bring southern Germany and all of enemy occupied central Europe within easy bombing range. The aerial assault on Nazi power can then proceed, at one and the same time, from the south as well as from the west and the east.

The occupation of Italy will also open a way to the isolation and virtual encirclement of the axis forces in the Balkans.

Finally, the occupation of Italy will open to the Allied forces another avenue for the eventual liberation of France.

The events in Italy, the recent success of Soviet arms, the virtual annihilation of Hamburg, and the large scale and destructive aerial bombardment of the Rumanian oil fields; these, and other Allied achievements, are bringing inexorably closer the final phase of the battle of Europe—the invasion and occupation of Nazi Germany.

CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION

A word, in conclusion, about Canada's contribution to these historic events.

In less than four years of war, the armed forces of Canada have grown in numbers to 750,000 men, exceedingly well-trained and magnificently equipped. In the same period, Canada has become a major source of supply of ships, machines, guns, munitions and other war supplies, and of foodstuffs, for all the United Nations. In addition to our own, thousands of airmen from our sister nations of the British Commonwealth have been trained on Canadian soil.

In the Sicilian campaign we are witnessing the fruits of the planning, organization and co-ordination which have made all this possible for a nation of 11,500,000 people. The First Division of the Canadian Army, which, for so long, was in the forefront of Britain's defences, now is in the forefront of the assault upon Europe. At the appointed time, the entire army will be in action.

The Canadian troops in Sicily are fighting with machines, weapons and munitions made in Canada by Canadian workmen. They are supported overhead by Canadian airmen in squadrons of the R. C. A. F. and the R. A. F. when they landed, some of their landing craft were manned by Canadian soldiers. Their lines of supply across the Atlantic are protected by the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force. Backing them, at home, is ths industrial, financial and moral strength of a united Canada.

Every Canadian who is doing his part, however humble, to support our fighting men is entitled to a share of the pride in their achievements.

In Sicily, in the skies over the Mediterranean or Nazi Europe, on the waters of the North Atlantic and the North Pacific, and in the air over the Aleutians, wherever Canada's fighting men engage the enemy, they are bringing honor to themselves, glory to our country, and power and strength to the cause for which we fight.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 3 1943

D 46437

Subject

King Envisages Italy's Dread Alternatives

Possibility of "complete political and social collapse" in Italy was envisioned last night by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a review of the war.

Mr. King said "it is perfectly clear that the complete military conquest and occupation of Sicily is only a matter of a comparatively short time".

He said the Italians are faced with "appalling alternatives". If they surrender unconditionally, "the Nazis will turn and rend them, destroy their armies wherever they are, steal their industrial equipment and all supplies they can carry away, and occupy whatever part of the country they are able to hold".

"If, on the other hand, Italy does not surrender unconditionally, the war will be carried by the Allied powers relentlessly from sicily into Italy. Italy, from end to end, will become a battleground of Axis and Allied forces.

"No matter what Italy does it is certain that German armies will seize what they can of northern Italy and fight there in defence of Germany."

Events following each other in quick succession had aroused expectation of Italy's surrender, the Prime Minister said.

"It may well be, however, that the final act will not come as soon as we might have expected. I doubt if we begin to realize how involved the whole situation in Italy has become . . .

"The events there have been of such a character as to constitute a major episode in the whole war. For Canada, the period has been one of true historical import.

"The participation of our armed forces, and their achievements have given a memorable and inseparable place in the Sicilian campaign to the name of Canada."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

5166

D 48488

Name of Publication London Times

Date Aug 4/43

Subject

FROM DEFENCE TO ATTACK

MR. MACKENZIE KING ON THE CANADIANS' PART

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

OTTAWA, AUG. 3

Broadcasting from Ottawa on Monday night Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, said that events in Sicily and the rest of Italy amounted to a major episode of the war. The final act, however, might not come so soon as might have been expected because confused forces were still contending for supremacy in Italy.

The achievements of the Canadian forces in the fighting in Sicily had given a memorable place to the name of Canada. They were now witnessing the fruits of the planning, organization and cooperation which had made the success of the campaign possible. The first division of the Canadian Army, he added, so long in the forefront of Britain's defences, was now in the forefront of the assault on Europe. At the appointed time the entire army would be in action.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

5166/43

Date AUG 4 1943

D 36439

Subject

Scout Election Link In Mr. King's Talk

Precisely what was behind the radio address Tuesday night of Prime Minister King, dealing with the Italian war situation?

Was it by any chance remotely related to the Ontario election?

That question which had occurred to the minds of some people was authoritatively scouted yesterday. The explanation which was volunteered was that the Prime Minister was under the impression that many may think from the success attained that Italy is "in the bag," so to speak, and that from now on the going will be easy, whereas it is likely to be protracted, along with the possibility of anarchy.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date AUG 3 1943

Subject

D A6440

MR. KING SEES ITALY COLLAPSE QUITE POSSIBLE

Premier Is Confident Conquest of Sicily Will Soon Be Reality

By C. R. BLACKBURN

Ottawa, Aug. 2 (CP).—Possibility of "complete political and social collapse" in Italy was envisaged tonight by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a broadcast review of the war.

Speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King said "it is perfectly clear that the complete military conquest and occupation of Sicily is only a matter of a comparatively short time."

He said the Italians are faced with "appalling alternatives." If they surrender unconditionally, "the Nazis will turn and rend them, destroy their armies wherever they are, steal their industrial equipment and all supplies they can carry away, and occupy whatever part of the country they are able to hold."

"If, on the other hand, Italy does not surrender unconditionally, the war will be carried by the Allied powers relentlessly from Sicily into Italy. Italy, from end to end, will become a battleground of Axis and Allied forces.

"No matter what Italy does it is certain that German Armies will seize what they can of Northern Italy and fight there in defense of Germany."

Fast-Moving Events.

Events following each other in quick succession had aroused expectation of Italy's surrender, the Prime Minister said.

"It may well be, however, that the final act will not come as soon as we might have expected. I doubt if we begin to realize how [illegible] the whole situation in Italy has become. . . .

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Mr. King reviewed the events of the pst 10 days. He said it seems clear that Mussolini, after his last meeting with Hitler, had been prepared to allow the Nazis to move additional forces into Northern Italy.

"This would have meant abandoning, for the time being at elast, the rest of Italy to Allied occupation," the Prime Minister said.

Evidently Unacceptable.

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It was difficult to forecast what would happen in Italy or to know how much freedom of choice was open to the new regime under the King and Marshal Badoglio, or any regime that might follow.

"It is possible that Italy will experience complete political and social collapse," said Mr. King.

"The tragic situation of the Italian people in this crisis in their history is a striking warning of the terrible consequences which may come to any people who surrender their freedom to a dictatorship."

Everything that had happened since Italy entered the war showed that the people generally did not want war and had no heart in the struggle.

Disaster Sequel to Treachery.

"Because they were in the grip of a brutal dictatorship they were carried into an adventure which began in treachery and is ending in disaster," said Mr. King.

"The Allied powers would treat with any authority in Italy which which was not Fascist and which would cease aiding the Axis cause, once the military authorities surrendered unconditionally," he added.

"The alternative which faces Italy is war with steadily increasing fury, war from the air, from the sea, and on her own soil until all resistance—Italian and German alike—is destroyed and the whole country occupied by the Allied forces."

It was not known how much power Badoglio wielded—whether he was Nazi-controlled, or whether he was free to act.

"Failing unconditional surrender at an early date, it is not impossible that all organized authority may collapse in Italy, and that the country may be reduced to a condition of anarchy," Mr. King said.

Resistance Short-Lived.

"Regardless of the course adopted by the Italian Government, there are the best of reasons for believing that, except in the north, resistance in Italy cannot be prolonged."

Occupation of Italy would bring Southern Germany and Occupied Central Europe within easy bombing range, open the way to isolation and encirclement of the Axis forces in the Balkans and provide another avenue for the liberation of France.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date AUG 3 1943

Subject

MR. KING SEES ITALY COLLAPSE QUITE POSSIBLE

Premier Is Confident Conquest of Sicily Will Soon Be Reality

By C. R. BLACKBURN

Ottawa, Aug. 2 (CP).—Possibility of "complete political and social collapse" in Italy was envisaged tonight by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a broadcast review of the war.

Speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King said "it is perfectly clear that the complete military conquest and occupation of Sicily is only a matter of a comparatively short time."

He said the Italians are faced with "appalling alternatives." If they surrender unconditionally, "the Nazis will turn and rend them, destroy their armies wherever they are, steal their industrial equipment and all supplies they can carry away, and occupy whatever part of the country they are able to hold."

"If, on the other hand, Italy does not surrender unconditionally, the war will be carried by the Allied powers relentlessly from Sicily into Italy. Italy, from end to end, will become a battleground of Axis and Allied forces.

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REPEAT
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 16141

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Canadian airmen and some of their landing craft were manned by Canadian sailors.

"Backing them at home is the industrial, financial and moral strength of a united Canada," the Prime Minister added.

"In Sicily, in the skies over the Mediterranean or Nazi Europe, on the waters of the North Atlantic and the North Pacific, and in the air over the Aleutians, wherever Canada's fighting men engage the enemy, they are bringing honor to themselves, glory to our country, and power and strength to the cause for which we fight," Mr. King said. And he added:

"Every Canadian who is doing his part, however humble, to support our fighting men is entitled to a share of the pride in their achievements."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 38442

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Aug 3/43

Subject

ITALY CAN'T RESIST LONG NAZIS' TURN IS NEXT—KING

Canadian Fighting Men Bringing Power, Strength to Our Cause

REVIEWS CAMPAIGN

Text of Prime Minister King's radio address on the Sicilian invasion delivered over the national network last night follows:

My fellow-Canadians: I know that you have been following, with intense interest, the momentous events of the past 10 days. I know that you are impatiently awaiting the word that will tell you of the complete occupation of Sicily by the Allied forces. I know, too, that you are hoping for the announcement, at any moment, of the unconditional surrender of Italy. Events arousing these expectations have followed each other in quick succession. It may well be, however, that the final act will not come as soon as we might have expected. I doubt if we begin to realize how involved the whole situation in Italy has become, or how powerful, though confused, are the forces that within the confines of that country continue to contend for mastery.

Towards clarifying the situation, I should like this evening to review very briefly the developments of the past 10 days. I doubt if many of us appreciate the full significance of what has happened in Italy. The events there have been of such a character as to constitute a major episode in the whole war. For Canada, the period has been one of true historical import. The participation of our armed forces, and their achievements have given a memorable and an inseparable place in the Sicilian campaign to the name of Canada.

In the two weeks after the Allied landings, three-quarters of the island of Sicily was occupied by the Allied forces. Ten days ago, the speed and success of these operations made it appear probable that, at any moment, all enemy resistance in the island might crumble. In the past week, progress has been much slower. Greatly stiffened resistance, principally German, has been encountered on the whole battlefront. Despite increased resistance, the Allied forces are pushing steadily forward, enemy territory is now limited to the northeast corner of the island.

Total Conquest Soon

Behind the enemy lines, both in Sicily and on the Italian mainland across the straits of Messina, enemy strongholds and supply lines have been systematically bombed from the air. Water communication across the straits has been continuously harassed by British and American naval craft. It is perfectly clear that the complete military conquest and occupation of Sicily is only a matter of a comparatively short time.

Since Sunday, July 25th, the centre of interest in the Mediterranean area has shifted from the military operations in Sicily to the political developments on the Italian mainland. On July 25, it was announced that Mussolini and all his cabinet had been turned out of office, and that they were being detained under armed guard. King Victor Emmanuel himself assumed the leadership of the armed forced of Italy. Marshal Badoglio, once chief of staff, was appointed to head a military government. The first governmental declarations included the announced determination to continue the war. Subsequently the Fascist party was outlawed.

Mussolini's fall from power was instantly recognized as closing one chapter, and beginning another in the history of Italy. For the past week, the world has been filled with rumors and counter-rumors about the immediate cause of Mussolini's dismissal from office. It would appear that after his last meeting with Hitler, Mussolini had been prepared to allow the Nazis to move additional forces into northern Italy. This would have meant abandoning, for the time being at least, the rest of Italy to Allied occupation. This course was apparently not acceptable, even to the Fascists party, it was certainly not acceptable to the Italian army. In an interview with the king, Mussolini was dismissed from office. He was taken into custody, and the government of Italy came under military control.

Fascist Regime At End

While in all else there may be much of conjecture, one thing at least is certain, the Fascist regime which controlled Italy for the past 20 years is at an end. That fact is of tremendous moral significance. Italian fascism was the model and example of all other Fascist regimes, including the Nazi regime in Germany. The very essence and core of fascism was supposed to be its military efficiency, its strength and its stability. When put to the acid test, it has proved to have none of these qualities. Instead, it has crashed about the head of its founder. For the other Fascist dictators—the little Mussolinis who have sprung up in recent years in Europe—the fall of Mussolini must have seemed—as it will be—the prelude to their own doom. Mussolini's fall may be for Hitler, too, an ominious forecast of his eventual fate.

It is still too soon to say what effect Mussolini's dismissal will have on Italy's course in the war. It is difficult, indeed, to know how much freedom of choice is open to the new regime or indeed to any regime. It is possible that Italy will experience complete political and social collapse. The tragic situation of the Italian people in this crisis in their history is a striking warning of the terrible consequences which may come to any people who surrender their freedom to a dictatorship. Everything that has happened since Italy entered the war has shown that the Italian people generally, as opposed to their rulers, did not want war; that they had no heart in the struggle; that they know the real enemy of their country was Nazi Germany. Because they were in the grip of a brutal dictatorship, they were carried into an adventure which began in treachery and is ending in disaster.

Nothing definite can be said of the strength or stability of the government formed by Marshal Badoglio, or of its policies. For the time being, it is committed to carrying on the war.

New Government Defied

Rumors persist that the authority of the new government is being defied, particularly in the industrial north. In many parts, there have been riotings, and demonstrations in favor of immediate peace. No one can say how strong are the forces which are opposed to the new government or whether of them represents a political movement sufficiently coherent to be capable of establishing a government. Neither can any one say how considerable is Germany's military control of the country, or how quickly the Germans can reinforce their troops.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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The Italians are now faced with appalling alternatives. Either they must surrender unconditionally, in

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which event the Nazis will turn and rend them, destroy their armies wherever they are, steal their industrial equipment and all the supplies they can carry away, and occupy whatever part of the country they are able to hold. If, on the other hand, Italy does not surrender unconditionally, the war will be carried by the Allied powers relentlessly from Sicily into Italy, from end to end, will become a battleground of Axis and Allied forces. No matter what Italy does, it is certain that German armies will seize what they can of northern Italy, and fight there in the defence of Germany.

The Allied attitude to the new government was made clear, repeatedly, during the last week, first by Mr. Churchill in the British House of Commons on Tuesday, then by President Roosevelt in his broadcast on Wednesday and, finally, by General Eisenhower in his public offer of an honorable peace on Thursday.

The Allies are ready to treat with any authority which is not Fascist, and which will cease aiding the Axis cause, once the military forces under its control surrender unconditionally. The alternative which faces Italy is war with a steadily increasing fury, war from the air, from the sea and on her own soil until all resistance—Italian and German alike—is destroyed, and the whole country occupied by the Allied forces.

Surrender, or Collapse

We do not know which alternative Marshal Badoglio will choose; we do not even know whether he has the power to make a choice; whether he has any independent power, or whether he is under Nazi control. If the Badoglio government contiues the war, we cannot say how long that government may retain office or how soon or by whom it may be overthrown. Failing unconditional surrender at an early date, it is not possible that all organized authority may collapse in Italy and that the country may be reduced to a condition of anarchy.

Regardless of the course adopted by the Italian government, there are the best of reasons for believing, that except in the north, resistance in Italy cannot be prolonged. This is the more certain because the Italian army clearly has no more desire than the Italian people to continue the war as a tool of Germany. On the mainland, as in Sicily, whatever resistance the Allies meet will be chiefly German resistance.

The occupation of Italy, when it is completed, will bring great strategic advantages to the Allied cause. It will bring southern Germany and all of enemy occupied central Europe within easy bombing range. The aerial assault on Nazi power can then proceed, at one and the same time, from the south as well as from the west and the east. The occupation of Italy will also open a way to the isolation and virtual encirclement of the Axis forces in the Balkans. Finally the occupation of Italy will open to the Allied forces another avenue for the eventual liberation of France.

Final Phase Nearer

The events in Italy, the recent successes of Soviet arms, the virtual annihilation of Hamburg, and the large scale and destructive aerial bombardment of the Rumanian oil fields; these, and other Allied achievements, are bringing inexorably closer the final phase of the battle of Europe—the invasion and occupation of Nazi Germany.

A word, in conclusion, about Canada's contribution to these historic events.

In less than four years of war, the armed forces of Canada have grown in numbers to three-quarters of a million men, exceedingly well-trained and magnificently equipped. In the same period, Canada has become a major source of supply of ships, machines, guns, munitions and other war supplies, and of foodstuffs, for all the United Nations. In addition to our own, thousands of airmen from our sister nations of the British Commonwealth have been trained on Canadian soil.

In the Sicilian campaign we are witnessing the fruits of the planning, organization and co-ordination which have made all this possible for a nation of eleven and a half million people. The first division of the Canadian army, which, for so long, was in the forefront of Britain's defences, is now in the forefront of the assault upon Europe.

All Canada Behind Army

At the appointed time, the entire army will be in action. The Canadian troops in Sicily are fighting with machines, weapons and munitions made in Canada by Canadian workmen. They are supported overhead by Canadian airmen in squadrons of the R.C.A.F. and the R.A.F. When they landed, some of their landing craft were manned by Canadian sailors. Their lines of supply across the Atlantic are protected by the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force. Backing them, at home, is the industrial, financial and moral strength of a united Canada.

Every Canadian who is doing his part, however humble, to support our fighting men is entitled to a share of the price in their achievements.

In Sicily, in the skies over the Mediterranean or Nazi Europe, on the waters of the north Atlantic and the north Pacific and in the air over the Aleutians, wherever Canada's fighting men engage the enemy, they are bringing honor to themselves, glory to our country, and power and strength to the cause for which we fight.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

5166

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN D 16411

Date AUG 3 1943

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Speaking over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King said "It is perfectly clear that the complete military conquest and occupation of Sicily is only a matter of a comparatively short time."

He said the Italians are faced with "appalling alternatives." If they surrender unconditionally, "the Nazis will turn and rend them, destroy their armies wherever they are, steal their industrial equipment and all supplies they can carry away, and occupy whatever part of the country they are able to hold."

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Germany's Course

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"It may well be, however, that the final act will not come as soon as we might have expected. I doubt if we begin to realize how involved the whole situation in Italy has become. . . .

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Warning to Others

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"If, on the other hand, Italy does not surrender unconditionally, the war will be carried by the Allied powers relentlessly from Sicily into Italy. Italy, from end to end, will become a battleground of Axis and Allied forces.

Germany's Course

"No matter what Italy does it is certain that German armies will seize what they can of Northern Italy and fight there in defence of Germany."

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"It may well be, however, that the final act will not come as soon as we might have expected. I doubt if we begin to realize how involved the whole situation in Italy has become. . . .

"The events there have been of such a character as to constitute a major episode in the whole war. For Canada the period has been one of true historical import.

"The participation of our armed forces, and their achievements have given a memorable and inseparable place in the Sicilian campaign to the name of Canada."

Mr. King reviewed the events of the past 10 days. He said it seems clear that Mussolini, after his last meeting with Hitler, had been prepared to allow the Nazis to move additional forces into Northern Italy.

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"This course was apparently not acceptable, even to the Fascist party. It was certainly not acceptable to the Italian army.

"At an interview with the King, Mussolini was dismissed from office. He was taken into custody and the government of Italy came under military control.

Fascist Regime at End

"While in all else there may be much of conjecture, one thing at least is certain. The Fascist regime which controlled Italy for the past 20 years is at an end. That fact is of tremendous moral and political significance.

"Italian Fascism was the model and example of all other Fascist regimes including the Nazi regime in Germany. . . .

"For the other Fascist dictators —the little Mussolinis who have sprung up in recent years in Europe—the fall of Mussolini must have seemed, as it will be, the prelude to their own doom.

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It was difficult to forecast what would happen in Italy or to know how much freedom of choice was open to the new regime under the King and Marshal Badoglio, or any regime that might follow.

"It is possible that Italy may experience complete political and social collapse," said Mr. King.

Warning to Others

"The strategic situation of the Italian people in this crisis in their history is a striking warning of the terrible consequences which may come to any people who surrender their freedom to a dictatorship."

Everything that had happened since Italy entered the war showed that the people generally did not want war and had no heart in the struggle.

"Because they were in the grip of a brutal dictatorship they were carried into an adventure which began in treachery and is ending in disaster," said Mr. King.

The Allied powers would treat with any authority in Italy which was not Fascist and which would cease aiding the Axis cause, once the military authorities surrendered unconditionally," he added.

"The alternative which faces Italy is war with steadily increasing fury, war from the air, from the sea, and on her own soil until all resistance—Italian and German alike—is destroyed and the whole country occupied by the Allied forces."

It was not known how much power Badoglio wielded—whether he was Nazi-controlled, or whether he was free to act.

"Failing unconditional surrender at an early date it is not impossible that all organized authority may collapse in Italy and that the country may be reduced to a condition of anarchy," Mr. King said.

-- -- Cannot Be Prolonged -- --

"Regardless of the course adopted by the Italian government, there are the best of reasons for believing that, except in the north, resistance in Italy cannot be prolonged."

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These events, coupled with the Russian successes and the aerial assaults on strategic centers, "are bringing inexorably closer the final phase of the battle of Europe—the invasion and occupation of Nazi Germany."

Canada's Growing Might

Canadian forces in the four years of war had grown to 750,000 men, "exceedingly well-trained and magnificently equipped." Canada had become a major source of war supplies of all kinds and had trained "thousands" of air personnel from other commonwealth countries.

"In the Sicilian campaign we are witnessing the fruits of the planning, organization and coordination which have made all this possible for a nation of 11,500,000 people," Mr. King said.

"The First Division of the Canadian army which, for so long was the forefront of Britain's defences, now is in the forefront of the assault upon Europe.

Entire Army to Operate

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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"Backing them, at home, is the industrial, financial and moral strength of a united Canada," the Prime Minister added.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE D 46446

Date AUG 3 . 1943

Subject

Italy's Political, Social Collapse Seen by Premier King in Short Time

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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Cautionary Words

The object of Mr. King's somewhat unexpected broadcast on Monday night is quite clear. It was an effort—and a well-phrased one—to persuade the Canadian people that the war is far from won. The successful opening of military operations in Sicily had one most undesirable result in this country. It gave too many people the impression that the war was as good as over. This is not so. All that has happened so far is that there has been a change of political regime in Italy and that the Italian people, whose appetite for war has been waning ever since they found themselves opposed by soldiers other than naked and half-armed Ethiopians, have had just about enough of it. But even the collapse and withdrawal of Italy from the war does not means that Hitler is beaten. The much harder half of the job remains to be done. It was undoubtedly Mr. King's hope that he could restrain our unjustified optimism at least until we are further along the road to victory.

* * *

It may well be that military defeat or internal chaos will take Italy out of the war, but we should remember that this does not necessarily mean our immediate occupation of the whole Italian peninsula. The Germans will still be there, and despatches now are full of hints that they much prefer waging war in other countries to fighting inside their own borders. Hence the efforts now being made by them to build field fortifications in the Appennine mountains, mid-way between Rome and Milan, and to strengthen their defences along the Po river still further north. From these positions it may be a relatively long and difficult task to dislodge them, though occupation of that part of Italy is essential if we are to have the advantage of air bases so situated that bombing of hitherto secure regions of the German Reich can be undertaken. Even such bombing can be only a prelude to military efforts on land. As operations in the Mediterranean develop the barrier of the Alps has to be crossed, or further difficult amphibian operations undertaken in Greece or across the Adriatic into the Balkans. These will all be opposed by the Nazis, who can still be expected to fight skilfully and desperately in defence of their fatherland and their fanatical creed of brutal despotism. We are only fooling ourselves if we believe anything else.

Only last November Mr. Churchill referred to the Allied occupation of North Africa as "the end of the beginning." How much further in sober fact have we got today? We have sorely dinted the defences of fascism. We have gathered up a few hundred thousand fascist soldiery. We have occupied seven-eighths of Sicily. But this has all been work in the outposts. The main task is still to be faced.

This is so obvious that the explanation of Canada's wave of optimism can be only that our own army is at last in action. Let us set that, too, in perspective. All that it means is that one division of men has been added to the Allied field force. This, in comparison with the 200 odd divisions at Hitler's dis-

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posal, is pretty small. It is right for us to take pride in the achievements of that division. The wearers of the historic red patch have proved themselves worthy of the comradeship of the seasoned veterans of the Eighth Army. Let us mingle our pride with humility. Canada's contribution to the land fighting remains small.

* * *

Above all, let us remember that, as the skies grow brighter and the light of victory is seen shining higher and higher in the heavens, it becomes more and more difficult for us to maintain that stern discipline upon our minds and actions which alone can bring us safely through the many crises that lie between us and a firmly established peace. The fear of disaster, the possible consequences of defeat, have up to now combined to keep the home front reasonably solid. It has helped us to maintain that degree of austerity in our lives which makes it possible for the government to funnel the greater part of our national resources into the war effort. Have we got the stamina now to stand better times? Have we got the grit to realize that the strains at home will become not smaller but greater for the next few years? Have we got it well into our heads that even the defeat of our enemies will only mitigate, but not remove, the need for self-denial and patience on our part?

There are obvious signs on the horizon that the advent of better times in the theatres of war is likely to bring demands at home which will make really vigorous prosecution of the war difficult if not impossible. This is a danger not to be overlooked. Let us therefore remember that the second half of this war, accompanied though it will be by triumphs, will be harder on us than the first half. Only the maintenance of good morale inside our borders will make it possible to sustain our fighting forces abroad.

D 46449

CANADA AND THE WAR

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE CAPITAL OF CANADA

Addresses by

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

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
President of the United States

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.,
Speaker of the Senate

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons

PARLIAMENT HILL, OTTAWA

AUGUST 25, 1943.

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

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address of Welcome by

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

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

Mr. President, Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness, Members of the Parliament of Canada:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

To-day will be, for all time a memorable day for Canada. I need not remind you, Mr. President, how often I have expressed the desire that you might visit Ottawa during your term of office as President of the United States. We have hoped that on such a visit, you would speak to the members of the Senate and the House of Commons, either within or without the walls of our Houses of Parliament. You know, too, how frequently His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice have expressed the wish that they might have the honour of a visit from Mrs. Roosevelt and yourself at some time during His Excellency's term of office as the representative in Canada of His Majesty the King.

Perhaps I may be allowed also to mention how greatly, for personal reasons, I have looked forward to the pleasure of welcoming to the seat of government and to my own home, one whose friendship in ever closer association, I have been privileged to enjoy over many years. To-day all these hopes and wishes, so warmly cherished by the people of Canada, by their representatives in Parliament, by His Excellency and Her Royal Highness and by myself, are being happily realized.

Welcome on Behalf of All Canada

On behalf of all Canada, I extend to you to-day, Mr. President, the warmest of welcomes to the Capital of our country. I thank you for having honoured our Capital city by your presence at a time which is without parallel in the history of human affairs.

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The Canadian people will, I know, wish me to express to you the admiration which they feel for you and for your great career. We recognize in you one who has always had a deep concern for the well-being of his fellow-men. We have long known that your services to the cause of freedom far exceed limits of race and bounds of nationality. We honour you as an undaunted champion of the rights of free men and a mighty leader of the forces of freedom in a world at war. We feel, too, a special affection for a life-long friend of our country.

Special Significance of Visit

This is the first occasion on which a President of the United States has visited Canada's Capital. It is particularly pleasing to us that this visit should have its association with your momentous meeting in the ancient capital of Canada with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Over the past two years, your meetings with Mr. Churchill have been the signal for great events. The conference at Quebec just concluded will, I am confident, mark a further advance towards final victory.

The City of Quebec is the birth-place of Canada. Beneath its cliffs, in 1608, Champlain founded a settlement, and established a seat of government; upon its height is erected a monument commemorating in a single shaft the chivalry of Wolfe and Montcalm in the decisive battle of 1759. It is the city in which, in 1864, the fathers of the Canadian Confederation assembled in conference to fashion the Canada that was to be. We were indeed delighted when we learned that Quebec had been selected as the place of meeting between Mr. Churchill and yourself.

Allies in Two Hemispheres

We rejoice, Mr. President, that your visit to Ottawa comes at a moment when for the first time in our long history as close neighbours, soldiers of Canada and the United States have fought side by side. Combined British, United States and Canadian forces have just completed the occupation of Sicily as a first step in the liberation of Europe. Combined United States and Canadian forces have just occupied the last Japanese outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

The rapidity with which the American people gathered their strength, and the momentum and magnitude of their war effort have

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filled the world with amazement. All Canada joins in admiration for the efficiency and heroism of the men of the fighting forces of the United States. In the South West Pacific, in the Aleutians, in North Africa, in Sicily, in the skies over every battlefront and on all the oceans of the world, their deeds are recording a glorious chapter in the history of freedom.

Victory and Peace

In the combined efforts of the military forces and the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, joined with those of the heroic peoples of Russia and China, and of the other United Nations lies the certainty of complete victory over the forces of tyranny which have sought the domination of the world.

Canada counts it a high privilege to have the opportunity of drawing into relations of closer friendship, understanding, and goodwill, the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth. We are firmly convinced that in the continued close association of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America lies the surest guarantee of international peace, and of the furtherance of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

Monsieur le Président: De nouveau et me servant, cette fois, de l'autre langue officielle de notre pays, je désire vous adresser la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom de tout le Canada.

English translation of the previous paragraph: Once more and using, this time, the other official language of our country, I wish to extend to you the most cordial welcome on behalf of all Canada.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

President of the United States

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

Your Excellency, Members of the Parliament, my good friends and neighbours of the Dominion of Canada:

It was exactly five years ago last Wednesday that I came to Canada to receive the high honour of a Degree at Queen's University. On that occasion—one year before the invasion of Poland, three years before Pearl Harbour—I said:

"We in the Americas are no longer a far-away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigour of our commerce, and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose it or not."

We did not choose this war—and that "we" includes each and every one of the United Nations.

War was violently forced upon us by criminal aggressors who measure their standards of morality by the extent of the death and the destruction that they can inflict upon their neighbours.

Comrades in War as in Peace

In this war, Canadians and Americans have fought shoulder to shoulder—as our men and our women and our children have worked together and played together in happier times of peace.

To-day, in devout gratitude, we are celebrating a brilliant victory won by British, Canadian and American fighting men in Sicily.

To-day, we rejoice also in another event for which we need not apologize. A year ago Japan occupied several of the Aleutian

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Islands on our side of the ocean and made a great "to-do" about the invasion of the continent of North America. I regret to say that some Americans and some Canadians wished our governments to withdraw from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean campaigns and divert all our vast strength to the removal of the Japs from a few rocky specks in the North Pacific.

To-day, our wiser councils have maintained our efforts in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and the China seas and the South-west Pacific with ever-growing contributions; and in the Northwest Pacific a relatively small campaign has been assisted by the Japs themselves in the elimination of the last Jap from Attu and Kiska. We have been told that Japs never surrender; their headlong retreat satisfies us just as well.

The Quebec Conference

Great councils are being held here on the free and honoured soil of Canada—councils which look to the future conduct of this war and to the years of building a new progress for mankind.

To these councils Canadians and Americans alike again welcome that wise and good and gallant gentleman, the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Mr. King, my old friend, may I through you thank the people of Canada for their hospitality to all of us. Your course and mine have run so closely and affectionately during these many long years that this meeting adds another link to that chain. I have always felt at home in Canada and you, I think, have always felt at home in the United States.

During the past few days in Quebec, the Combined Staffs have been sitting around a table—which is a good custom—talking things over, discussing ways and means, in the manner of friends, in the manner of partners, and may I even say, in the manner of members of the same family.

We have talked constructively of our common purposes in this war—of our determination to achieve victory in the shortest possible time—of our essential co-operation with our great and brave fighting Allies.

And we have arrived, harmoniously, at certain definite conclusions. Of course, I am not at liberty to disclose just what these conclusions are. But, in due time, we shall communicate the secret

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information of the Quebec Conference to Germany, Italy and Japan. We shall communicate this information to our enemies in the only language their twisted minds seem capable of understanding.

Sometimes I wish that that great master of intuition, the Nazi leader, could have been present in spirit at the Quebec Conference —I am thoroughly glad he was not there in person. If he and his Generals had known our plans they would have realized that discretion is still the better part of valour and that surrender would pay them better now than later.

The Struggle for Human Rights

The evil characteristic that makes a Nazi a Nazi is his utter inability to understand and therefore to respect the qualities or the rights of his fellowmen. His only method of dealing with his neighbour is first to delude him with lies, then to attack him treacherously, then beat him down and step on him, and then either kill him or enslave him. And the same thing is true of the fanatical militarists of Japan.

Because their own instincts and impulses are essentially inhuman, our enemies simply cannot comprehend how it is that decent, sensible individual human beings manage to get along together and live together as neighbours.

That is why our enemies are doing their desperate best to misrepresent the purposes and the results of this Quebec Conference. They still seek to divide and conquer Allies who refuse to be divided just as cheerfully as they refuse to be conquered.

We spend our energies and our resources and the very lives of our sons and daughters because a band of gangsters in the community of nations declines to recognize the fundamentals of decent, human conduct.

We have been forced to call out what we in the United States would call the sheriff's posse to break up the gang in order that gangsterism may be eliminated in the community of nations.

We are making sure—absolutely, irrevocably sure—that this time the lesson is driven home to them once and for all. Yes, we are going to be rid of outlaws this time.

Every one of the United Nations believes that only a real and lasting peace can justify the sacrifices we are making, and our unanimity gives us confidence in seeking that goal.

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The Post-War World

It is no secret that at Quebec there was much talk of the post-war world. That discussion was doubtless duplicated simultaneously in dozens of nations and hundreds of cities and among millions of people.

There is a longing in the air. It is not a longing to go back to what they call "the good old days". I have distinct reservations as to how good "the good old days" were. I would rather believe that we can achieve new and better days.

Absolute victory in this war will give greater opportunities for the world because the winning of the war in itself is proving, certainly proving to all of us here, that concerted action can accomplish things. Surely we can make strides toward a greater freedom from want than the world has yet enjoyed. Surely by unanimous action in driving out the outlaws and keeping them under heel forever, we can attain a freedom from fear of violence.

I am everlastingly angry only at those who assert vociferously that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter are nonsense because they are unattainable. If they had lived a century and a half ago they would have sneered and said that the Declaration of Independence was utter piffle. If they had lived nearly a thousand years ago they would have laughed uproariously at the ideals of Magna Carta. And if they had lived several thousand years ago they would have derided Moses when he came from the Mountain with the Ten Commandments.

The Ethics of Humanity

We concede that these great teachings are not perfectly lived up to to-day, and we concede that the good old world cannot arrive at Utopia overnight. But I would rather be a builder than a wrecker, hoping always that the structure of life is growing—not dying.

May the destroyers who still persist in our midst decrease. They, like some of our enemies, have a long road to travel before they accept the ethics of humanity.

Some day, in the distant future perhaps—but some day with certainty—all of them will remember with the Master—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself".

Monsieur le Premier: Ma visite à la ville historique de Québec rappelle vivement à mon esprit que le Canada est une nation fondée

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sur l'union de deux grandes races. L'harmonie de leur association dans l'égalité peut servir d'exemple à l'humanité toute entière—un exemple partout dans le monde.

English translation of the previous paragraph: My visit to the old city of Quebec has recalled vividly to my mind that Canada is a nation founded on a union of two great races. The harmony of their equal partnership is an example to all mankind—an example everywhere in the world.

D 46458

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.
Speaker of the Senate

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943
(TRANSLATION)

Mr. President,—

I have the signal honour and pleasure of tendering you in my mother tongue, one of the two official languages of this country, the warmest thanks of the Senate, of the House of Commons and of the people of Canada for having graciously consented to visit our Capital at the conclusion of the henceforth memorable Quebec Conference.

The sojourn among us of a President of the United States would suffice at any time to fill us with pride and enthusiasm. Yet we salute in you, Mr. President, more than the highest official of our sister nation and very good neighbour. We hail and acclaim in you a worthy successor of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson, to mention but a few of the great men who symbolize the glory of your country.

An Enemy of Tyranny

Faithful exponent of the spirit that moved the founders of the Republic, you see in the Declaration of Independence a guarantee of freedom not only for your people, but for all the peoples of the earth. Liberal, in the widest sense of the term, you are the friend of man, in whom you behold the image and likeness of our Divine Maker. Having exhausted the resources of a wise and patient diplomacy, you unhesitatingly took up arms to free him from the yoke of oppressors who brutally denied him the exercise of his inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Were you not expressing your own philosophy of life when you so highly praised on a former occasion these words of Thomas Jefferson: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

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The British Empire, Canada and the civilized world owe you an immense debt of gratitude, Mr. President, for having come to their assistance on the morrow of Dunkirk, at an hour when the black clouds of defeat gathered threateningly on the horizon. Even before your entry into the conflict, you found the means of supplying Britain with ships, arms, munitions and the incalculable advantages of "Lend-Lease."

A Champion of Civilization

We Canadians are proud of the fact that we descend from the two greatest races in the world. Our hearts and yours, I am sure, shared the overwhelming grief of France, following the defeat of that unhappy country. We shall never forget that, for the second time in the life of this generation, your country has generously gone to the assistance of a France in mortal danger repeating Pershing's undying words: "La Fayette, we are here!"

When, with the proper perspective that only time can bring, the history of this era shall be written, you will stand in the forefront of that brilliant group of leaders—with Churchill, Mackenzie King, Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek—who have so nobly served humanity.

May I be allowed, Mr. President, to express the deep satisfaction I feel in reiterating to you the heartfelt thanks of the Canadian Parliament and people for having honoured us with your presence here to-day and having cheered us with your very comforting remarks. We pray God that He may grant you his favours in abundance, that He may bless you and the great Republic whose destinies you guide, until such time as we may all glorify Him together in final victory, on the threshold of a lasting peace.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

To-day Canada has been afforded the unique privilege of welcoming to our own Capital the first President of the United States of America while still in office. This gathering is the culmination of a long-standing invitation given by the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King to one who has been an intimate friend for more years than either of them would care to refer. It is well, Sir, that you should tax the hospitality of your friends occasionally and I can state confidently that everyone, young and old, in this vast assembly before you, together with that great unseen listening audience throughout the whole of Canada, look upon you with that possessive regard which is bestowed when a much-loved guest honours our home. I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that many Canadians affectionately call you "our President".

A True Friend in Dark Days

Canada will never forget the dark and dismal years of 1940 and 1941, nor will it ever forget that unparalleled act when you, as President of your great country, gave that generous and sorely needed Lease-Lend help which aided Great Britain to withstand and repel a conquering and then a seemingly invincible foe. National as well as human memories, with passing years and other conditions sometimes fade and become remote, but it would be an indelible blot on our escutcheon if at any future time Canada or the democracies forgot the noble help your country afforded us.

It is therefore with real pleasure we behold in our Capital your unmistakable figure and listen to that bold and confident voice so familiar to our ears. And what makes this day so memorable to us is the knowledge that it is to Canada particularly you speak. We have shared with the world in those intimate so-called fireside chats which you have addressed to your own people but which really en-

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compassed the world and belong to the ages. Those fireside chats, clothed in language simple, expressive and enduring, the product of a gifted mind and balanced judgment, made their striking appeal because they are based on the eternal verities without which, as we believe, nothing is. To-day, Sir, your speech is an outstanding example of those utterances which have endeared you to our people and caused dismaying fear to our foes.

Good Neighbours in Peace and War

The road still may be long and dreary and the end not yet in sight, but the issue is no longer in doubt and upon you, Sir, the tremendous responsibilities of victory will be part of your destiny. You will require the assistance of all who, like you, believe that good is the final goal of ill. We are confident that in Canada you will find that co-operation in peace which we have shared in war. All we desire is the right to exercise the four freedoms upon which an enduring democracy must be based. If I may say so, your own phrase—now a household word—"The good neighbour" definitely embodies these principles. We invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon you. May He strengthen and sustain you until victory is achieved and peace and happiness restored to this war-torn world.

Mr. President, in the name of and for Canada I thank you most cordially and sincerely for your presence with us to-day, and for your noble address.

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DRAFT

J. A. G.
29.7.43

Broadcast by the Prime Minister in event of unconditional surrender of Italy

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The past week has seen some of the most momentous changes in the war in Europe which have occurred since the original entry of Italy into the conflict, on the side of the Axis, on June 10, 1940.

It will not occasion surprise that Italy, which came into the war on such a treacherous basis, should be the first of the Axis powers to crumble. For many months Italy has been vulnerable to attacks from the sea and from the air. While her once-vaunted Navy has kept under cover, many of her chief industries, ports, and transportation centres, have been heavily bombed by Allied air forces. Since the early part of May the use of air bases in North Africa has made it possible for the Allied powers to intensify the bombing of Italy from the South as well as from the North. Most recently of all, operational airdromes in Sicily have become available for bombers and fighters of the Allied Nations. The war in the air is being brought constantly closer to the very heart of Italy.

The military defeat of Italy became a possibility directly the African empire upon which Mussolini and his cohorts set such store was broken in pieces. It was brought much closer by the final defeat of the Axis powers in North Africa

D 46463

three months ago. The Allied invasion of Sicily, three weeks ago (July 10 to July 31 - 3 weeks) was what President Roosevelt called "the beginning of the end". We were indeed led to expect, from what we knew of the progress of hostilities in Sicily, and of what we inferred from the meeting between Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner Pass a few days ago, that military resistance by Italy's own forces could not long be maintained.

~~The fact that Mussolini and his cabinet were turned out of office following a proclamation~~

If Italy were vulnerable to external attack, so likewise was Mussolini's Fascist party vulnerable to the cumulative weight of frustration and dissension generated at home. After more than twenty years of suppression of liberal thought and of denial of free institutions, after a generation of submission to an arrogant and grasping dictatorship foisted upon a divided and disheartened people, it was not strange that there should be no will to fight. The fact that Mussolini and his cabinet were turned out of office following a proclamation by King Victor Emmanuel, is one of Italy's answers to the insidious menace of fascism. Nor, after the treatment handed out to soldiers of Italy who were sent to fight for the greater glory of the Axis, in Spain, in Africa in Russia, could it have been expected that Italians as a whole would relish, first the prospect, and then the fact, of Nazi domination of both the military administration and the civil government of Italy. No one doubts that it is Hitler's

D 46464

generals who have managed the military potential of Italy, nor that Italian resources have been drawn upon heavily to strengthen the Nazi fortress. But the downfall of the whole Fascist hierarchy has shown that liberation for Italy may be quite as important in the long run as liberation for some other nations now held under all the terrorism of Nazi occupation.

The invasion of Sicily was, in fact, a first important step in the war for the liberation of Europe itself. The terms upon which the capitulation of Italy would be accepted have repeatedly been mademvery clear. They are terms of unconditional surrender. They are terms which mean that no part of Italy's armed forces can take any further part in the war on the Axis side. They are terms which require that Italian territory, bases, harbours, railways and other facilities, shall be made available to the forces of the United Nations, so that offensive warfare may be carried into Germany itself from bases even closer at hand. They are terms which preclude any compromise short of surrender.

The unconditional surrender of Italy will move forward the deciding of the main issue. The destroying of the military might of the German war machine still remains for the Allied powers the supreme task of the war. That task can finally be accomplished only on German soil, but it is a task now brought closer to early achievement.

In the concluding statement which I made to the House

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of Commons on July 24, I called attention to the first Proclamation issued by General Sir Harold Alexander as Military Governor of Sicily. I mentioned my view that in that Proclamation would be found the basis upon which the Allied Nations aimed to effect the liberation of Europe from two monstrous burdens. The one was Axis aggression, the other fascist domination.

Events of the past week have moved so swiftly that already one of these two objects of liberation has been substantially achieved in the ending of the domination of the Fascist Party in Italy itself. The threat of Axis aggression still remains to be defeated, but it is a threat now narrowed into a smaller span, and a threat which is being countered by aggressive warfare wherever the United Nations have been able to take the initiative.

Canada's interest in this war of liberation has been greatly heightened by the fact that troops of the 1st Canadian Division have been fighting in Sicily. They have shared with soldiers of Great Britain and the United States in the assault upon Italy. They will be ready and eager to carry the battle against the Axis still deeper into enemy territory, and indeed into Germany itself.

J. A. G.
31.7.43

DRAFT

D 46466

Broadcast by the Prime Minister

I am speaking to the people of Canada tonight at the close of three weeks of very momentous developments in the world-wide war for freedom. I am speaking with full consciousness of the gallant part taken by Canadian soldiers in the assault upon Sicily, which has proved so telling a blow against Italy and against the capacity of Italy to maintain herself in the war as a partner in the Axis. I am mindful also that this world-wide war is not yet won; that although the United Nations have seized and held the initiative on many fronts, decisive battles have still to be fought and won. Especially do I realize that, for all the Allied Powers, the military defeat of Germany upon German soil remains the supreme task of the war.

Recent events, and the recent successes of Allied arms, have brought us closer to this supreme objective. For nearly a year, the offensive of the United Nations has been mounting steadily. In the Southwest Pacific, in the Aleutians, in the Battle of the Atlantic, in the skies over enemy Europe, by the successful liberation of North Africa, by the sustained bombing of enemy strongholds, and now by the actual invasion of Europe, the forces of the Allied powers are carrying the

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war deep into the enemy's camp. They are waging war at sea and ~~on land~~ in the air, as they have done for many months. They are now rounding out the picture of a giant offensive by fighting on land.

In viewing this picture of a mounting offensive, it is natural enough that our main interest should be in Sicily, where Canadian forces have been fighting, in company with British and United States forces, with vigour and distinction since their initial landings on July 10th. During the last few days these stalwart Canadians of the First Division have been pushing back the line, now largely made up of German troops, which the enemy has tried to maintain from Catania to the northwest. They have been engaged in fighting described as sharp and severe, and occasionally as desperate. But if this line can be breached, the occupation of the whole of Sicily can then speedily be achieved; and if all Sicily passes under Allied control, the fall of Italy itself cannot long be delayed.

The progress of the Allied forces in Sicily during the past three weeks has been remarkable in many ways. In addition to the actual military occupation, which has been recognized in the designation of General Sir Harold Alexander as Military Governor of Sicily, many tens of thousands of prisoners and large quantities of supplies were taken.

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Several ports were captured virtually intact and in working order, and for some days Sicilian airfields have been serving as bases for both fighter and bomber aircraft of the Allied Air Forces. Several hundred Canadians of the Royal Canadian Navy helped in the landing operations. Hundreds of other Canadians, both in RCAF squadrons and in service with the RAF have had a full share in the bombing which has continued relentlessly.

The war of liberation in which all these fordes have been engaged has been given further impetus by the course of events in Italy itself - events more spectacular than any since the original entry of Italy into the war, on the side of the Axis, on June 10, 1940. It is not surprising that the Italy which came into the war on such a treacherous basis, and with such designs of avarice and self-aggrandisement, should be the first of the Axis powers to crumble. For many months the mainland of Italy has been vulnerable to attack. The military defeat of Fascist Italy became a possibility directly the African Empire upon which Mussolini set such store was broken in pieces. Military defeat was brought closer by the final defeat of the Axis powers in North Africa, three months ago. The assault upon Sicily was achieved with a considerable measure of surprise, and the number of prisoners

D 46469

who surrendered themselves suggests that many of the armed forces of Italy had no real will to fight against the Allied powers.

Neither was it surprising that Mussolini should finally be turned out of office, together with his fascist party cabinet, to be replaced by Marshal Badoglio. More than twenty yearw of suppression of liberal thought and of denial of free institutions have now brought their own reward.

The first proclamation by General Alexander as Military Governor of Sicily was, in effect, prophetic of what would happen in Italy itself. To help in restoring Italy as a land of free people, all Fascist organizations were ordered to be dissolved. In this proclamation also will be found the basis upon which the Allied powers plan in due season to liberate Europe from Axis aggression and from fascist domination.

(The capitulation of Italy has already removed one part of this double menace, and has brought the other part that much nearer to realization.)

I spoke of the interest of Canada which has centred, during these past three weeks, in the fighting in Sicily. That interest ought not to cause us to value any less highly the significant contributions of Canadian forces of all arms

D 46470

serving in other theatres of war. I recall particularly today the intrepid airmen of the Royal Canadian Air Force who have lately had a large share in the bombing of Hamburg and other targets of industrial Germany. I think of their comrades ranging far and wide over occupied Europe, and others who are fighting the Japanese at Kiska in the Aleutians. I recognize the signal services of those who keep watch from the skies over the vital convoys of ships which carry men and munitions to Britain and other destinations.

Then too, I acknowledge a debt which we all owe to the sailors and merchant seamen of Canada, those who guard and those who sail ships bearing weapons and foodstuffs from Canada to many of the United Nations. Nor do I forget the men who guard our own shores, skilled in training and ever vigilant against any chance foray by the enemy.

I would like you to think today that the exploits of all of Canada's fighting men have been made possible in some sort by the planning of Canada's war effort as a whole. The men who joined in the assault upon Sicily had undergone three years of rigorous training while they guarded the Citadel of Britain. They were equipped with the very best weapons which Canadian skill and industrial capacity could produce. Their leaders were men ppssessed of every resource

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which planning, daring, and confidence could provide.

For, to be seen in its true perspective, the war effort of Canada should be viewed as a whole.

(here bring in draft by J.W.P.)

Nearly four years of warfare provide the occasion for some review of this effort, for some appraisal of the care with which from the very beginning it has been planned, and, may I say, perhaps for some satisfaction at the success which has been achieved. In the knowledge that this gigantic effort has been planned, step by step, we in Canada can march forward never despairing of victory for the right.

In our appraisal and in this hour of battle we should not forget the fighting men of other nations, far beyond our shores, and their homelands which have been overrun by invaders and despoiled and oppressed. We think of the armies of the Soviet Union, locked in a terrible conflict with the Nazi invaders and driving them still farther backward after halting an attempted summer offensive. We think yet

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again of the stubborn and resourceful defence of the soil of China by soldiers and civilians alike. We think of the people of Britain, straining every resource for victory, and patient and strong in the midst of adversity and privation. We think of the brave spirits of the people of occupied Europe where, at the risk of death or of a fate worse than death, they keep high the torch which shall light the way to peace for an embattled Europe and freedom for themselves and for their children.

This is a great age in our history as a nation. Today, more than ever before, something in our hearts, something emerging in the very soul of our nation, must tell us that this war - especially this war for liberation - is the greatest cause upon which we have ever been embarked.. My appeal to my fellow Canadians today is that in this great cause they shall prove worthy of all which we value, and that as a United Nation they shall persevere until victory crowns the labours and the sacrifices of our people and our country.

Final

September 10, 1943

D 46473

Broadcast by The Prime Minister,
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M. P.

Four Years of War.

Today, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East, and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

Today, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battlefront around the globe, the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has

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been turned into a defeat - a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Let me refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that life-line of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength,

D 46474

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 46475

among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada has left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway. Its greatest and most devastating weight has fallen upon the industrial cities of Germany.

In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of today have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single

D 46476

army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africe foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July the 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from

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General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

"On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message. We shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies, and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd - the fourth anniversary of the

D 46478

day on which Britain entered the war - was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men! Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, next to the spirit of men, it is the weight of armour which turns the scale. Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

D 46479

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations - and particularly of this North American continent - is now being applied decisively. Yesterday, the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press, and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied nations. And we have taken steps

D 46480

to make sure that the arms and munitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941, when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are today. Today, the allied forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder, to practice self-dential, and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won, will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made

D 46481

the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist minions. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world, - these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they, too, are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

D 46482

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world, the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany.

The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy - the phase of the war on which we have just entered - is but a prelude to the real task.

D 46483

In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future.

I would not be true to myself, nor to you, did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing and thanksgiving from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy, which our efforts, joined to those of others, have helped to bring about. But, as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing and our thanksgiving be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each that, from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat also of Germany and Japan. On their defeat depends the future well-being of mankind.

Final

D 46484

September 10, 1943

Broadcast by The Prime Minister,
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M. P.

Four Years of War.

Today, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East, and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

Today, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battlefront around the globe, the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has

D 46485

been turned into a defeat - a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Let me refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that life-line of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength,

D 16486

among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlofront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada has left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway. Its greatest and most devastating weight has fallen upon the industrial cities of Germany.

In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of today have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single

D 46487

army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July the 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from

D 46488

General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

"On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message. We shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies, and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd - the fourth anniversary of the

D 46489

day on which Britain entered the war - was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men; Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, next to the spirit of men, it is the weight of armour which turns the scale. Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilised for war.

D46490

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations - and particularly of this North American continent - is now being applied decisively. Yesterday, the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press, and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied nations. And we have taken steps

D 46491

to make sure that the arms and munitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941, when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are today. Today, the allied forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder, to practice self-dential, and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won, will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made

D 46492

the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist minions. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world, - these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they, too, are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

D46493

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world, the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany.

The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy - the phase of the war on which we have just entered - is but a prelude to the real task.

D 46494

In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future.

I would not be true to myself, nor to you, did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing and thanksgiving from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy, which our efforts, joined to those of others, have helped to bring about. But, as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing and our thanksgiving be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each that, from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat also of Germany and Japan. On their defeat depends the future well-being of mankind.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

5166

Office of
The Prime Minister
D 46495

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Sep 11/43

Subject

GREATEST SACRIFICES AND HARDEST FIGHT STILL AHEAD—KING

Fifth Year of War to Demand More Fortitude Than Ever—"Life and Death Struggle Between Total Servitude and Total Freedom"

PACE OF VICTORY WILL DEPEND ON EFFORT OF EVERY CANADIAN

Special to The Star

Ottawa, Sept. 11—"As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy, which our efforts joined to those of others have helped to bring about," Premier Mackenzie King said Friday night in a coast to coast broadcast.

"But as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war," he added, "let our rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass in the quickest possible time the defeat also of Germany and Japan."

In his broadcast to the Canadian people over the national network of the C.B.C., Mr. King also said:

"Today, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alamein and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

World Picture Changed

"Today, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battle front around the globe the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance.

"The Japanese have been driven from the western hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has been turned into a defeat—a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins.

"On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to Allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied, the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

"Let me now refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

Canada a Naval Power

"At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that lifeline of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength among the United Nations.

"Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

"In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the south Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada has left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway. Its greatest and most devastating weight has fallen upon the industrial cities of Germany.

Canadians Prove Worth

"In fighting on land, Hong Kong and Dieppe, showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of today have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

"The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres. During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First army in the Tunisian cam-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 16496

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

paign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come.

"July 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history of Canada. Early that morning the first division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honor of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

"Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

"'On behalf of all ranks of the first Canadian division, I thank you for your inspiring message, and we shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the government of Canada and the Canadian people, that their soldiers here are in great heart; that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated.'

"That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of Sept. 3. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that Sept. 3—the fourth anniversary of the day on which Britain entered the war—was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

"While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, ti is also true that at sea, in the air and on land, armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the island of Sicily in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the island of Kiska in the Pacific.

More Than Military

"The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honor. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort. It is the united effort of all our people.

"Victories cannot be won without brave and well trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, it is the weight of armor which turns the scale. Weight of armor means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. it means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

"In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations—and particularly of this North American continent—is now being applied decisively. Yesterday the minister of munitions and supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper.

"By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

Economy Revolutionized

"You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

"Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other Allied nations. And we have taken steps to make sure that the arms and munitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

"In 1940 and 1941, when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are today. Today the Allied forces are winning battles because they have the armor, the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans in order to provide the implements of war.

Struggle to Intensify

"As the British, American, Canadian and other Allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war.

"That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist gangsters. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world—these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters, and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

"The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they too are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war, it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

"The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46497

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Issue Unmistakeable

"As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakeable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

"There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

"Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany. The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy—the phase of the war on which we have just entered—is but a prelude to the real task. In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy.

"Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future. It would not be true to myself nor to you did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication N.Y.Times

Date Sep 12/43

D 6498

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CANADA'S WAR ROLE AT CRUCIAL STAGE

Despite Vast Help Delivered, Dominion Is Warned Its Hardest Battle Is Near

INFLATION PROBLEM RISES

Demand for Wage Adjustment Threatens Dislocation of Economic Controls

By P. J. PHILIP

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, Sept. 11—Canada this week entered her fifth year of war and there has been a general stock-taking. In a radio address to the nation, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King last night gave warning that the hardest battles still lie ahead and that this fifth year will demand more fortitude, greater efforts and heavier sacrifice than any yet faced.

At the same time he and others, including Munitions Minister C. D. Howe and Navy Minister Angus L. MacDonald, have been able to claim that during these four years Canada turned from being an agricultural to a highly industrialized nation, while still maintaining her enormous agricultural output.

War munitions and equipment are being turned out at the rate of $55,000,000 a week, with 1,100,000 persons employed. More than $800,000,000 has been invested in new plants. About 750 ships and 10,000 aircraft have been contributed to the Allied cause. The production of vehicles of 100 types passed the 500,000 mark this summer. Thirty-five thousand rifles are being turned out every month and one company alone has delivered more than 100,000 Bren guns since the war began.

Farmers Meet Commitments

This increase in industrial production has been achieved without reducing farm production, which has reached a higher point than ever before with sure markets and steady prices. The farmers, despite the shortage of labor, have managed by hard work to fulfill the tremendous contracts that have been entered into for supplying Britain and all the armed forces everywhere. The gross value of agricultural production in 1942 was estimated at more than $2,000,000,000, and the figures on exports to Britain include these: Wheat, $77,518,000; flour of wheat, $20,742,000; bacon and hams, $99,723,000; cheese, $24,558,000; eggs, dried and in the shell, 12,000,000 dozen.

The war prosperity of the country is shown by the way Government loans have been subscribed. During the spring an appeal for $1,100,000,000 was oversubscribed and next month it is confidently anticipated that an appeal for another $1,200,000,000 will be met.

The financing of the war has been one of Canada's most successful accomplishments. Taxation has reached unprecedented heights, and in certain categories is higher than in any other country. The minimum rate of tax on corporations is 40 per cent of profits and the rate on excess profits 100 per cent, of which 20 per cent is refundable after the war. The income tax is now on a pay-as-you-go basis, and the number of persons paying income tax has been increased from 250,000 in 1939 to more than 2,000,000.

From the beginning it has been one of the cardinal principles of the Government's policy that there must be no war profiteering, and it is certain that no large fortunes will be made out of this war, as was the case last time.

Price Control Faces Test

Progressively, rent, wage and price controls have been imposed, and so far, thanks to the vigor of Finance Minister J. L. Ilsley and Price Controller Donald Gordon, the cost of living has been kept at a steady level. It is there, however, that some people foresee difficulty during the coming year.

Labor has begun to press for a revision of wage scales, asking for upward adjustments for all heads of families now earning less than 50 cents an hour. The situation, it is said, has gone beyond the stage where it can be patched and mended, and such adjustments as have been made in special industries only complicate the problem as a whole.

The National War Labor Board, which recently held an inquiry into the whole subject, is believed to have presented a report to the Government supporting the demand for general wage increases. The board is a judicial body, an industrial court, and its recommendations necessarily have weight.

It is clear, however, that adoption of its recommendations would tend to unbalance the equilibrium between wages and living costs that has been maintained during the last two years. It is said that the Cabinet is divided on the course to take, with political expediency and the necessity for meeting the just demands of labor being argued against the risk of running into inflation.

The issue also is being debated publicly with strong partisanship. What is clear, it is urged, is that whatever is done must be done firmly, and the whole manpower, wage and price problems must be dealt with together and the country organized more completely on a total war basis.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Sep 11/43

Subject

D 46499

It Is the People's War

In his fine broadcast last night Mr. King paid a glowing tribute to Canada's armed forces, "which will always merit the place of highest honor," but he added that "Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort. It is the united effort of all our people." He went on to praise that effort, the effort of industry, and of the farmers and fishermen "who have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front."

Pointing out that "the speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war," the Prime Minister went on to say:

"That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist gangsters. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world—these will be the measure of your reward. There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory."

Mr. King having spoken in that way last night, a morning paper today meanly cartoons him as taking the credit for Canada's production. In that production the government has played its part—a great part. If production had fallen down, everyone knows what would have been said of Mr. King and his colleagues. But no one has been more emphatic than Mr. King in declaring that this is the people's war, and no one more unqualified in praise of the people's effort.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication St.John Telegraph-Journal

Date Sep 13/43

Subject

D 48500

Civilization in Our Hands

THE prime minister did more than review four years of Canada's effort. He looked ahead into the fifth year, insofar as it is granted to any man to do so. He, perhaps better than any other in Canada, is able to do so, for he has been in intimate conference with the two great leaders of the United Nations. As a result, the prime minister's words are solemn warning against slackening in our efforts, against complacency.

Let us select a few of the prime minister's sentences:

"All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort."

"Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle."

It demands "more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced."

"The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the New World."

The skies may seem brighter. They are brighter. The first victories have let the sun shine through the dark clouds. We have now more than a well-founded hope of victory; it is an ultimate certainty—if there is no wavering. It is also a reasonable presumption that victory is within measurable distance—if everybody continues to work his very best and freely offers his all, holding back nothing. It is a gladdening thought. It is a challenging thought. It is, as the prime minister said, a sobering thought. The fate of civilization has yet to be sealed. What has been achieved is but the preliminary to the supreme effort to come. All must sustain and, if possible, increase their efforts.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Free Press

Date Sep 13/43

Subject

D 46501

Mr. King's Warning

PRIME Minister Mackenzie King's speech on the fourth anniversary of Canada's entry into the war was a timely reminder that in spite of the generally improved outlook "more fortitude, greater efforts and heavier sacrifices" will be demanded in the years ahead than in any preceding year.

Victory is in the air and it gives rise to a natural impatience with the annoyance and restraints of war-time living. But while the end may be in sight, it is not here yet, and the road immediately ahead may well be rougher than anything we have yet experienced.

Mr. King is well advised to point out that the supreme test is yet to come. Accomplishments to date have been memorable, and we should be glad that we are where we are and not where we were three years ago, or at any of the other intermediate stages, when the outlook was bleak indeed. But it would be well to wait until the main enemy has been subdued before we engage in premature celebrations.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D-[illegible]

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sep 13/43

Subject ....

STOCK-TAKING

IT is a good thing to stop occasionally in the midst of the feverish activities of war and look both backward and forward, tracing over the course we have followed, making, as it were, a sort of mental inventory of what we have in hand and trying to foresee as well as we can where we are going and how we propose to get there.

That is very much what the Prime Minister did in his radio speech on Friday night as this country entered its fifth year of war. It might not be a bad idea if Mr. King or others of our leaders took time off to make similar reviews somewhat more often than is the habit. They would tend not only to keep the record clear but more or less to keep our perspective adjusted and hold a lot of events in proper focus.

As for the record, it is one which we shall be able to look back upon in future years, not only with some pride but with even more wonder. There are probably very few people in Canada today who have anything like complete information on and, in consequence, full knowledge of what is being accomplished in all departments of the country's war effort. Only now and then do most of us get more than a glimpse of some phase of it that happens to come under our immediate observation,—some great war plant with its thousands of employees where there were open fields before; some huge shipyard with its freighters following each other down ways where, as it were yesterday, there was a noisome swamp or a strip of no-man's land not considered worth reclaiming. When we see these single things we are impressed. But some day we shall get this whole picture where we can look back at it, fitted and pieced together, and only then will we be able to realize the total war accomplishments of an unwarlike country of small population, preoccupied with the concerns of peace and domestic problems.

Mr. King attempted no more than a swift sketch of the achievements of the past four years, achievements not only of our armed forces but of all those multitudes of Canadians who are not in uniform but playing their part in the united effort of the whole nation. As Mr. King said, as the war goes on the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day: "a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom."

It is interesting to note that while the Prime Minister was speaking the cables were carrying a resume of an estimate of Canada's part in the war from the Australian press. In that country they seem to feel that Canada so far has used her men and resources to the best effect: that Canada's troops in Britain were perhaps where they were most required, and that this country, with the Japanese in the Aleutians, was in as much danger as Australia was when the enemy held the Solomons. "Canada is doing as big a job in relation to her population as any nation in the war," concludes the Sydney Bulletin. The holding of the conference in Quebec "highlighted Canada's great contribution to the Allies," thinks another Australian newspaper,—heartening reading which may a little encourage some of our more determined pessimists.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 11 1943

Subject

KING STRESSES STERNER TRIAL

Prime Minister Says Greater Sacrifices Must Come

Ottawa, September 10.—(CP)—From Canada, the fifth year of war will demand "more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced," Prime Minister Mackenzie King said tonight in a broadcast address on the occasion of the anniversary of the Dominion's entrance into the war.

"Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle," said Mr. King, delivering a 20-minute address over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

"All that has gone before all that now is taking place, is leading up to the hour of supreme effort," he added.

Reviewing the course of the war to date, Mr. King said that a year ago the enemy was winning victories everywhere.

Today, the situation was reversed. The reason was to a large degree the application of the industrial power of the United Nations, particularly of North America, and the provision of weapons for the fighting forces.

For the future, Canadians could be sure the fighting forces would not fail but they should see to it that there was no slackening in the home front, no unavoidable delay in production of weapons and materials of war.

WAR WORKERS VITAL

"As the British, American, Canadian and other Allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence," said the Prime Minister.

"The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war.

"That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world.

"To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that have destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist gangsters. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped spare the world—these will be the measure of your reward.

"It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters and the fanatic militarism of Japan."

Reviewing Canada's contribution to the reversal of the fortunes of war now in evidence, Mr. King said the Canadian Navy's activities in the North Atlantic had steadily increased and with increased strength came increased responsibility.

Canadian Corvettes shared in escorting the Anglo-American armada to North Africa and several distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. Canadian ships operated in the Pacific against the Japanese. Landing craft used in Sicily and Italy were manned by Canadians. The Canadian merchant marine is growing and no praise was too high for the heroism and endurance of merchant seamen.

AIR FORCE LEAVES MARK

In the air, Canada's fighting strength was directed at the enemy all around the globe. The "vast air strength forged in Canada" had left its mark on the Japanese, in Africa, Sicily, Italy, Norway and France but its most devastating weight had fallen on the industrial cities of Germany.

On land, Canadian soldiers proved at Hong Kong and Dieppe that they had the spirit of their fathers who fought in France and Flanders.

The strategy which assigned the army overseas to the defence of Britain denied its divisions, until the fourth year of war, a chance to share in major operations. In the last year, however, picked officers and men served with the British in Tunisia and on July 10 came the memorable event of the landing of the 1st Division in Sicily.

"All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign," he said. "Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise."

Mr. King read the message he received from Maj.-Gen. Guy Simonds, 1st Division commander, on the eve of their departure for the movement against the mainland of Italy which said: "We shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

This, Mr. King said was the spirit in which Canadian troops landed in Italy to help establish the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland.

ALL CONTRIBUTE.

Canada's contribution could not be measured wholly by the service of the armed forces, though they deserved the highest honor. Canadians, in producing weapons, had made of their country a great industrial nation, revolutionizing its economy.

Canada had produced not only for Canadian forces but for the fighting men of all the Allied Nations.

"The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere and the workers on the home front," he continued.

"By their contribution they, too, are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping to win the war. It will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow."

There was no hard and fast line between fighting forces and working forces. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort would prolong the war and increase its cost in lives.

"I would not be true to myself nor to you," he said, "did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced.

"To be worthy of our fighting men we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, cooperate more fully in a united effort."

Canadians should rejoice at the surrender of Italy but join their rejoicing with a resolve to apply themselves as never before to encompassing the defeat of Germany and Japan.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

5166.

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

D 46504

Date SEP 11 1943

Subject

CANADA FACES EVEN GREATER SACRIFICE: KING

Fate of Civilization Is Yet to Be Decided on Battlefields, Says Premier

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"All that has gone before, all that now is taking place, is leading up to the hour of supreme effort," he added.

Tide Turns in Year.

Reviving the course of the war to date, Mr. King said that a year ago the enemy was winning victories everywhere.

Today the situation was reversed. The reason was to a large degree the application of the industrial power of the United Nations, particularly of North America, and the provision of weapons for the fighting forces.

For the future, Canadians could be sure the fighting forces would not fail, but they should see to it that there was no slackening in the home front, no unavoidable delay in production of weapons and materials of war.

"As the British, American, Canadian and other Allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence," said the Prime Minister.

"The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war.

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Army Role Reviewed.

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Economy Now Industrial.

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Canada had produced not only for Canadian forces, but for the fighting men of all the Allied nations.

"The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere and the workers on the home front," he continued.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS 5166

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date SEP 11 1943

Subject

D 46505

King Sees War Intensified in Final Stages

From Canada, the fifth year of war will demand "more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced", Prime Minister King said last night in an address on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Dominion's entrance into the war.

"Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle", said Mr. King. "All that has gone before all that now is taking place, is leading up to the hour of supreme effort", he added.

Reviewing the course of the war to date, Mr. King said that a year ago the enemy was winning victories everywhere.

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"As the British, American, Canadian and other Allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence.

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"That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world.

"To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that have destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist gangsters. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped spare the world—these will be the measure of your reward.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date Sep 10/43

D 46506

Subject

Le très hon. M. King à la radio ce soir

4e anniversaire de notre déclaration de guerre à l'Allemagne.

(Du correspondant de la PRESSE)

Ottawa, 10. — C'est aujourd'hui le 4e anniversaire de la déclaration de guerre du Canada à l'Allemagne. C'est en effet le 10 septembre 1939, qu'après une courte session spéciale convoquée immédiatement après l'agression alemande contre la Pologne et la déclaration de guerre de l'Angleterre et de la France, le Parlement canadien vota presque à l'unanimité la décision de se ranger du côté des deux grandes démocraties européennes contre les forces allemandes.

A l'occasion de cet anniversaire, le premier ministre du Canada, le très hon. M. King, adressera, ce soir, la parole au peuple canadien par l'intermédiaire de la radio. M. King parlera à 10 h. 15, sur un réseau national, et la version française de son discours sera transmise peu de temps après le texte anglais. On ne sait pas encore quel sera le thème du discours du premier ministre, mais on prévoit qu'il fera un résumé des quatre années de guerre pour analyser la situation actuelle en regard de la capitulation de l'Italie et de la part qu'ont prise les troupes canadiennes à la conquête de la Sicile et à l'invasion de l'Italie continentale.

On s'attend aussi qu'il explique les raisons qui ont motivé l'ordre contremandant les réjouissances publiques annoncées le jour même de la reddition de l'Italie et qu'il fixe une date comme jour d'action de grâce pour cette victoire tout en prévenant bien le public que les réjouissances doivent être atténuées par la pensée qu'il reste de du combats à livrer.

Le premier ministre ne terminera sûrement pas son discours sans un appel au public en vue de la campagne qui s'ouvrira le mois prochain pour le nouvel Emprunt de la Victoire.

5166/43.

For release to press at 10.15 p.m. E.D.S.T., September 10, 1943.

D 46507

Broadcast by The Prime Minister;
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,

on

Four Years of War

September 10, 1943

Today, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

Today, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battle-front around the globe the United Nations have seized and

D 46503

kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has been turned into a defeat - a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Let me now refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility

for the safety of that life-line of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themsolves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength, among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the

D 46510

theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada has left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway. Its greatest and most devastating weight has fallen upon the industrial cities of Germany.

In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of today have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

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During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the

D 46512

Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

"On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message, and we shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people, that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd - the fourth anniversary of the day on which Britain

D 46513

entered the war - was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, it is the weight of armour which turns the scale.

D 46514

Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations - and particularly of this North American continent - is now being applied decisively. Yesterday the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

D 46515

Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied nations. And we have taken steps to make sure that the arms and munitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941 when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are today. Today the allied forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the

D 46516

struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won, will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist gangsters. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world, - these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they too are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

D 46517

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or

D 46518

any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany. The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy - the phase of the war on which we have just entered - is but a prelude to the real task. In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our Hardest battles are still in the future. I would not be true to myself nor to you, did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada

D 46519

to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy which our efforts joined to those of others have helped to bring about. But as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass in the quickest possible time the defeat also of Germany and Japan.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sep 11/43

Subject

Complete Text of Premier's Speech

FOLLOWING is the complete text of the address by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King last night, on the fourth anniversary of Canada's declaration of war on Germany:

Today, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you year a ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alamein and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world, the forces of freedom were on the defensive. Today, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction.

On every battle-front around the globe the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere.

The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are keeping the initiative in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has been turned into a defeat—a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible.

Sub Menace Met

Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to Allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Let me now refer very briefly, to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the north Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that lifeline of freedom.

The Canadian Navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors, manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasion of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength, among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy, Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war.

Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway. Its greatest and most devastating weight has fallen upon the industrial cities of Germany.

Courage Lauded

In fighting on land, Hong Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of today have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian Army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date, in the history of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honor of forming a part of the British 8th Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare with other units of the 8th Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from General Simonds, commander of the First Canadian division in Sicily, a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd—the fourth anniversary of the day on which Britain entered the war—was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

Close Co-Operation

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the island of Sicily in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recover-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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Name of Publication .....

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ing the island of Kiska in the Pacific. Our fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honor. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of their valiant services. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, it is the weight of armor means, ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations—and particularly of this North American continent — is now being applied decisively. Yesterday the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

You can be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

Produced to Limit

Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other Allied nations. And we have taken steps to make sure that the arms and munitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941 when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are today. Today the Allied forces are winning battles, because they have the armor, the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

As the British, American, Canadian and other Allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won, will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist gangsters. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world, these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

Workers Praised

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they too are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

Whether civilization is to live or die, has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany. The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied w i t h o u t a bitter struggle.

Real Task Looms

The defeat of the German armies in Italy—the phase of the war on which we have just entered — is but a prelude to the real task. In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future. I would not be true to myself nor to you did I not say I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy which our efforts joined to those of others have helped to bring about. But as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass in the quickets possible time the defeat also of Germany and Japan.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date SEP 1 1 1943

D 46522

Subject

More Fortitude Still Required Says Mr. King

All That Is Taking Place Leads to "Hour of Supreme Effort" Declares Canada's Prime Minister.

From Canada, the fifth year of war will demand "more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced," Prime Minister Mackenzie King said last night in a broadcast address on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Dominion's entrance into the war.

"Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle," said Mr. King, delivering a 20-minute address over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

"All that has gone before, all that now is taking place, is leading up to the hour of supreme effort," he added.

Situation Reversed

Reviewing the course of the war to date, Mr. King said that a year ago the enemy was winning victories everywhere.

Today, the situation was reversed. The reason was to a large degree the application of the industrial power of the United Nations, particularly of North America, and the provision of weapons for the fighting forces.

For the future, Canadians could be sure the fighting forces would not fail but they should see to it that there was no slackening in the home front, no unavoidable delay in production of weapons and materials of war.

"As the British, American, Canadian and other Allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence," said the Prime Minister.

"The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war.

"That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the New World.

"To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that have destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist gangsters. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped spare the world—these will be the measure of your reward.

"It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters and the fanatic militarism of Japan."

Canada's Contribution

Reviewing Canada's contribution to the reversal of the fortunes of war now in evidence, Mr. King said the Canadian navy's activities in the North Atlantic had steadily increased and with increased strength came increased responsibility.

Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the Anglo-American armada to North Africa and several distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. Canadian ships operated in the Pacific against the Japanese. Landing craft used in Sicily and Italy were manned by Canadians. The Canadian merchant marine is growing and no praise was too high for the heroism and endurance of merchant seamen.

In the air, Canada's fighting strength was directed at the enemy all around the globe. The "vast air strength forged in Canada" had left its mark on the Japanese, in Africa, Sicily, Italy, Norway and France but its most devastating weight had fallen on the industrial cities of Germany.

Spirit of Their Fathers

On land, Canadian soldiers proved at Hong Kong and Dieppe that they had the spirit of their fathers who fought in France and Flanders.

The strategy which assigned the army overseas to the defence of Britain denied its divisions, until the fourth year of war, a chance to share in major operations. In the last year, however, picked officers and men served with the British in Tunisia and on July 10 came the memorable event of the landing of the 1st Division in Sicily.

"All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign," he said. "Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise."

Mr. King read the message he received from Maj.-Gen. Guy Simonds, 1st Division commander, on the eve of their departure for the movement against the mainland of Italy which said: "We shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

This, Mr. King said was the spirit in which Canadian troops landed in Italy to help establish the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland.

Great Industrial Nation

Canada's contribution could not be measured wholly by the service of the armed forces, though they deserved the highest honor. Canadians, in producing weapons, had made of their country a great industrial nation, revolutionizing its economy.

Canada had produced not only for Canadian forces but for the fighting men of all the Allied nations.

"The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere and the workers on the home front," he continued.

"By their contribution they, too, are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping to win the war. It will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow."

There was no hard and fast line between fighting forces and working forces. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort would prolong the war and increase its cost in lives.

Demand Greater Efforts

"I would not be true to myself nor to you," he said, "did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced.

"To be worthy of our fighting men we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-oper-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 46523

Subject .....

ate more fully in a united effort."

Canadians should rejoice at the surrender of Italy but join their rejoicing with a resolve to apply themselves as never before to encompassing the defeat of Germany and Japan.

Name of Publication Hamilton Spectator

Date Sep 11/43

D 46524

Subject

Call to the Home Front

Prime Minister King, in marking the fourth anniversary of Canada's entrance into the war, utters a call to those on the home front to stand loyally behind their fighting men. He seizes the occasion to dispel that rash and fatuous optimism that "the war is in the bag" or as good as won; the stern truth is that the great challenge is just beginning, with the hardest battles yet to be fought, and the fate of civilization still to be decided on the field of combat. The year ahead will demand greater fortitude and heavier sacrifices from the Canadian people; to their efforts for victory they must summon their full strength and will in support of their armed forces and those of the Allies. The day is approaching when the hosts of freedom will put forth their supreme exertions against tyranny; and all the planning and production that have gone before are shaped to meet this crucial event and ensure its success for Allied arms.

Mr. King feels that he can not impress too strongly upon Canadian civilians and war workers what their help means in this fifth year of strife. The duration of the conflict, and the length of the road to victory, depend on the speed with which the war plants of North America furnish the forces with weapons and supplies. The Prime Minister stresses that that is a sobering fact he desires to bring home to every worker with hand or brain on the production lines of the New World.

"To the extent of your contribution," he says, "you have made the weapons that have destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist gangsters. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped spare the world—these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters and the fanatic militarism of Japan."

Canada's valiant sons are doing their part nobly in the air, at sea and on land in several theatres of the struggle. They are bearing the burden and doing it cheerfully in the hard way — many of them paying with their lives. The home front must therefore rise to the crisis of this day and try to emulate their superb example. A flagging of effort on the production lines, or any interruption of output, would thus prolong the war and add to its cost in precious young lives. "To be worthy of our fighting men," the Prime Minister says, "we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens and co-operate more fully in a united effort."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Sep 13/43

D 46525

Subject

Mr. King's Warning

We have to be thankful for the complete change in the war situation in the last twelve months, to which Prime Minister King referred in his broadcast on Friday evening. Just a year ago, Hitler's forces were before Stalingrad, Rommel was dangerously near to Alexandria, shipping losses were extremely heavy, and the Japanese were threatening Australia, had driven to the borders of India and had seized two islands of Alaska. Now, that has all been transformed, the position of the Allies has vastly improved and our enemies are on the defensive.

The danger is that too many people will think that the war has been won. Both the Germans and the Japanese are still extremely powerful, they are hard fighters, and they will put up a desperate struggle before they are overcome. An intensification of Allied effort, an increase of pressure on the enemy everywhere, is now required, rather than any slackening. The sooner the war ends, the less will be our losses. The Allied forces are now splendidly equipped and they are in a position to carry the war home to the enemy, but it will take an all-out effort.

The Canadian forces and Canadian war workers have played well their part in improving the general situation. Canadian airmen, the navy, and the First Division of our army in Sicily and Italy, have all acquitted themselves nobly.

But Mr. King gave serious warning that the Allies are coming to the hardest fighting of the war. There will be heavy sacrifices for Canada which will call for great fortitude. And we shall need to increase and strengthen our whole war effort. The work of those in the war industries is still of critical importance and the production of the tools of victory should be maintained at the highest level. The whole Canadian army will soon be fully engaged in the decisive battles that are coming. It is for all of us on the home front to "back the attack" by helping every phase of the war effort to the limit of our ability.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Regina Leader-Post

Date Sep 13/43

Subject Broadcast on Four Yrs of War

D 46526

"This is true liberty: when free born men, having to advise the people, may speak freely."—Euripedes.

Mr. King's Warning

Prime Minister King's warning that this fifth year of the war is going to demand from Canadians and from the world greater sacrifices than have hitherto been made; that it is a period in which the home front must stand firm in its determination and exert itself to the utmost, undoubtedly presages conflicts and developments of the most momentous kind. From time to time during this war Mr. King has issued warnings as to the course of the war and what burdens it would place on Canadians. Each time his words have proven correct. And when he warns Canada now that its will to victory will be tested severely, it can be taken as no more and no less than the simple truth.

Today, in Europe, the armies, navies and air forces of the Allies are converging on Germany. Their troops are landing at many points in Italy prepared to make it a battleground. There are deep forces stirring in the Balkans, the coast of which lies exposed to the armed might of the United Nations. There are great movements of the armies in England, amphibious operations, which coupled with terrific coastal air attacks suggest that large scale action may come there at any time. And the Russians are pressing forward with even greater speed and vigor than before.

Action on the scale indicated by these preliminary events will mean heavy casualties, casualties such as have not been experienced by the western democracies yet in this war. It will mean the Canadian army will be engaged at full strength, that Canada's navy in conjunction with the navies of Britain and the United States will be constantly in action over a long period. It will mean the air strength assembled in the last four years will be turned loose in its total fury as never before. And when this happens there will be losses in all services. Canadians must steel themselves at home to meet these inevitable results of war with the same courage and spirit of sacrifice that animates the fighting services themselves.

Moreover when action begins on such a scale the destruction and wastage of equipment and munitions will be proportionate. And that means Canadian war production must rise to the emergency and be maintained at a level that will not for a moment permit a shortage of the weapons which the soldiers, sailors and airmen require. On the continuance of that flow will depend the lives of Allied fighting men and victory itself.

These coming months, the coming year, will be no time in which to permit any interruption of production of any kind. It will be no time for a let down of the singleness of purpose which is necessary to win; no time for complaining and grousing and fault-finding and placing self-interest ahead of the welfare of the nation and of humanity.

And so while Canadians steel their hearts to endure the blows and sorrows of supreme conflict they must also bend themselves to the task, work harder, save more, put the Fifth Victory Loan over with more determination than any preceding loan and dismiss from their minds and hearts a thought and feeling which has been growing in recent months that the worst is over. In fact the worst in cost of life and treasure is still to come.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Sep 13/43

D 46527

Subject

Mr. King's Warning

We have to be thankful for the complete change in the war situation in the last twelve months, to which Prime Minister King referred in his broadcast on Friday evening. Just a year ago, Hitler's forces were before Stalingrad, Rommel was dangerously near to Alexandria, shipping losses were extremely heavy, and the Japanese were threatening Australia, had driven to the borders of India and had seized two islands of Alaska. Now, that has all been transformed, the position of the Allies has vastly improved and our enemies are on the defensive.

The danger is that too many people will think that the war has been won. Both the Germans and the Japanese are still extremely powerful, they are hard fighters, and they will put up a desperate struggle before they are overcome. An intensification of Allied effort, an increase of pressure on the enemy everywhere, is now required, rather than any slackening. The sooner the war ends, the less will be our losses. The Allied forces are now splendidly equipped and they are in a position to carry the war home to the enemy, but it will take an all-out effort.

The Canadian forces and Canadian war workers have played well their part in improving the general situation. Canadian airmen, the navy, and the First Division of our army in Sicily and Italy, have all acquitted themselves nobly.

But Mr. King gave serious warning that the Allies are coming to the hardest fighting of the war. There will be heavy sacrifices for Canada which will call for great fortitude. And we shall need to increase and strengthen our whole war effort. The work of those in the war industries is still of critical importance and the production of the tools of victory should be maintained at the highest level. The whole Canadian army will soon be fully engaged in the decisive battles that are coming. It is for all of us on the home front to "back the attack" by helping every phase of the war effort to the limit of our ability.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

Date Sep 13/43

Subject

D 48538

It Needed To Be Said

In his broadcast on Friday evening Prime Minister King emphasized two points. Both were statements of known fact rather than arguments. Both were timely, and would be timely if addressed by the leader of any other Allied country to its civilian population, Russia and China excepted. One is that the hardest battles and the heaviest losses are still in the future. The other is that to be worthy of our fighting men and to properly support them we at home must devote ourselves still more earnestly and with less regard to side issues and personal interests to the business of providing the tools and supplies that are certain to be needed.

Both these things have been said before. But it is well that they should be said again at this particular time, because only now are Canada's land forces getting into close grip with the enemy. And also because one at least of these facts is not being everywhere heeded as it should be. The nation is reconciled to the expectation of longer casualty lists; they are inevitable. But not everywhere are civilians keeping the wheels turning continuously and displaying the steadiness they look for on the part of the men on the fighting fronts.

Here and there are strikes, and strike threats. There is too much "grouching" about controls. Demands are being made which can only be gained at the expense of breaking the price ceiling and hoisting the cost of living. There is slacking on the industrial front that is hampering the full use of our manpower; and some downright dodging of the selective service regulations.

These things should not be when beyond the sea, and on the sea, and over both land and sea our fighting men are sacrificing life for our sake. Mr. King can have found little pleasure, and may not have gained popularity, in calling on civilians to take their responsibilities more seriously than many of them are doing, but he discharged a plain duty to our men in uniform and to the nation in so doing.

The truth may be unpalatable to some, but it needs to get home to every man and woman in Canada that "He who fails to serve, or who impedes the service of others, is furthering throughout the world the ends of carnage and death".

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POLITICS AND THE WAR

Address by

The Rt. Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

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POLITICS AND THE WAR

Address by

The Rt. Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

On August the 8th, 1939, members of the Liberal party from all parts of Canada met in Toronto. The memories of that vast gathering are much in my thoughts tonight. It was the last occasion on which I had the privilege of meeting with other leaders and supporters of the party, at a social political gathering—a gathering which permitted of a review of the party's record in the past, of its present fortunes, and of its aims and cherished ambitions for the future.

Confidence of party towards its Leader during past quarter of a century.

I had just completed twenty years of leadership of the party, and the occasion was in part to commemorate that event. More than four years—the average life of a Parlia-

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ment—is a long time to be allowed to lapse between any kind of meeting between the leader of a political party, and those to whose confidence he is primarily indebted for the position of trust he enjoys. The intervening years have been years of war. They have permitted of only occasional contacts, and the briefest of contacts, with members of the party, other than immediate colleagues in the Cabinet. These circumstances considered, it is indeed surprising to find, in the numbers here assembled, a gathering no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago. It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war.

This continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal Party of Canada in my leadership of the party is something for which I am indeed profoundly grateful. I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters. That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight.

Whatever the future may have in store for you and for me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as the leader of my party for now—almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life.

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Confidence of people in Liberal Party during quarter of a century.

This loyalty and co-operation between the party and its leader has made possible yet another expression of confidence which I may be pardoned perhaps if I regard as even greater still. I so view it because it is not limited in any personal way, but is something which belongs to the Liberal party, to the principles which it has advocated, and to the policies to which it has sought to give effect. It is the confidence which, over the past quarter of a century, the people of our country have expressed in the Liberal Party, in the capacity of the party to sense the needs of the nation, and in the ability of Liberal administrations to govern in accordance with the will and wishes of the majority.

When, on August the 7th, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave the country the opportunity to say to which party it wished to entrust the administration of the nation's affairs. From that time to the present, with the exception of a little over five years out of the last twenty-two, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada. In the last two parliaments, the present administration has commanded a larger majority than that enjoyed by any government since Confederation. This is an expression of confidence which, also, I am anxious to acknowledge tonight. It is a debt which, on behalf of the Liberal Party of Canada, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude to the people of Canada. It is a record of which all present, and members of the party everywhere, may indeed be proud.

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Confidence in the administration continues.

Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation.

Parallel of political situation with that of 1940.

In 1939, the war had scarcely begun before we were told that our administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. We were told that a so-called national government, not a party government, was what the country required at a time of war. We were told that our war effort was not adequate. Of myself, it was said that, while I might be all right as a leader of the government, in times of peace, I was not the one to lead a government at a time of war. That was what our political opponents said. What did the Canadian people say? What was the national verdict when the appeal was made to the electorate in March of 1940? Not only was the government returned to office, but every member of the administration was re-elected. Nearly all or those who ran as National

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Government candidates were defeated. As leader of the party, I was given a following never before equalled in the Canadian House of Commons.

In the general elections of 1940, the issue was unmistakable. The people were asked to which of the political parties in Canada they wished to entrust the carrying out of Canada's war effort. The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government. From that day to this, the government has never lost sight of the mandate it was given by the people. As was our duty, we have centred our attention, first and foremost, on the winning of the war. In doing so we have sought as well to meet, from day to day, and from month to month those domestic problems to which the war has inevitably given rise. We have also endeavoured to look beyond into the future and to prepare to meet the many problems which will present themselves in the post-war period.

Canada's war effort magnificent.

I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificient. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country. Should this assertion be disputed, I would ask, not that the word of any public man in Canada be accepted, but that we seek the verdict of any of the allied nations. In particular, I would ask, what is the view held by the Chiefs of Staff of Great Britain and the United States who, but yesterday, were assembled in conference at Quebec? And, what is the opinion of those great men, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States, who today share in the supreme direction of the war?

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It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the people of Canada; that it means nothing to the fathers and mothers who have seen their sons and daughters leave their homes in Canada to serve in all quarters of the globe; that it means nothing to the fighting forces themselves. Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have not lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

The winning of the war still the supreme task of government.

Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on the winning of the war. Their aims and their ambitions lie in other directions. They cannot, even yet, have grasped the significance of this war—that, among nations, it is a war of survival; that the free nations of the world are still opposed by the most powerful forces that have ever menaced the freedom of the human race; that it is a war that threatens all that is best in a civilization it has taken centuries to create. Those who say or believe that there is today any duty of government superior to the continued direction of the country's utmost effort in the winning of the war can have no appreciation of the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won.

If, as a government or as a party, we had failed in our supreme duty, we might today have reason to feel we were

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no longer worthy of the trust we had accepted. If instead of devoting our time and thought and energies to the winning of the war, we had turned the minds of the people away from the concerted effort that is needed to win the war; if we had concerned ourselves with party politics, with those things which tend, not to unite, but to divide, and had sought to undermine the efforts of others, we might indeed have cause to feel not only that we no longer merited the confidence of the people of Canada, but that we had forfeited all right to that confidence at any time in the future. Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people do not know and understand all these things; that they do not comprehend where their own interests lie. Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country.

Cause of the commotion.

What then, may I ask, has occasioned all the commotion which has arisen in some political circles? The cause is not far to seek. On August the 4th, there was a provincial election in Ontario, and on August the 9th there were four federal by-elections. In the Ontario provincial contest, the government in office was defeated; in the federal by-elections, opposition candidates were returned.

By the parties opposed to the present government, an effort has since been made to link together the Ontario provincial elections and the four federal by-elections, and to attribute the results in all cases to dissatisfaction with policies of the federal administration.

On September 15th, following the provincial elections in Ontario, and the federal by-elections, there was another pro-

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vincial election, this time in Prince Edward Island. What was the result? The Liberal Government of that province was returned to power by a majority of two to one over members of the Progressive-Conservative Party. The C.C.F. Party had entered candidates in the campaign. Not one of them was elected. Every one lost his deposit. During the elections it was repeatedly stated that Premier Jones of Prince Edward Island has been conferring with the administration at Ottawa. I have not noticed that members of the Progressive-Conservative party or of the C.C.F. have been telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal administration in Prince Edward Island is evidence of renewed endorsation, by the electors of Prince Edward Island of the policies of the Ottawa administration.

The Provincial Elections in Ontario.

It is not my intention, at this time, to hold an inquest into the causes of the defeat of the provincial government in Ontario, or of the defeat of government supporters in the recent federal by-elections. I do not mean, however, to allow either to pass unnoticed. All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years, just as, in Prince Edward Island, the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of that province of the manner in which their affairs had been administered. In each case, the electors expressed their opinion, not on federal issues, but on matters of provincial concern. In Ontario, they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration—that, however, was no fault of Harry Nixon's—in Prince Edward

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Island, they made it equally apparent that they believed the provincial administration was deserving of a continuance of their confidence.

Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the Government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in Office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

The Gallup Poll.

In forming their estimate or circumstances which account for political results, there are many persons who attach considerable importance to the findings of the Gallup poll. I personally am not as yet prepared to substitute the responses to a Gallup poll, for my own judgment. Nor would those who conduct the Gallup poll expect this of any one. We must not ask more of the Gallup poll than it professes to provide. There are, however, many things on which it may help to throw considerable light. While not infallible, the Gallup poll has its uses. An estimate of factors which account for the outcome of the recent elections in Ontario is, I believe, a case in point. In a poll which was confined to the province of Ontario, one reason after another was given for the defeat of the Ontario administration, and for the votes received by the Progressive-Conservatives and the C.C.F. respectively. The most significant of all the findings was that in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration.

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As to the size of the vote actually polled in the provincial election by each of the three parties, that I believe is to be accounted for, in the main, by the effectiveness of their respective organizations.

The Federal By-elections—Party organization discontinued by Liberals.

Let me speak of the federal by-elections. Here one has has not to go far afield to find the explanation of why government candidates were not returned.

When the elections of 1940 were over, even the semblance of a federal Liberal party organization was discontinued. The party's offices were closed. No party literature was published or distributed. In constituencies in which there were by-elections, no attention was paid to local organization until within a few weeks of polling. Since the war began, as I have already reminded you tonight, no nation-wide meetings or conventions of the party have been held. So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise.

I am not saying at the moment whether, from the point of view of national interest, or of party interests, this course of action, or rather, I should say, lack of action, has been the wise or right one. I am merely stating the facts so far as party organization and the dissemination of information on the party's policies are concerned.

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Had the other political parties followed the same course, I should, at the moment, have nothing further to say on this point. But what, in fact, has been the course pursued by the other parties?

Party Organization and tactics of the Conservative Party

Let me speak first of the Conservative party,—now called the Progressive-Conservative party. I must be pardoned if I occasionally fail to use its latest name. During the years I have been in Parliament, that party has had a long succession of names and leaders. The elections of 1940 were scarcely over before the storm signals of party controversy began to make their appearance on the benches of the official opposition in parliament and throughout the country. In their secret conclaves, the Conservative party—it was not Progressive-Conservative then—began to organize a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing its forces, and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority. Throughout 1941, the issue of conscription for overseas service was forced to the fore, and talk of a national government to enforce conscription was revived. In July and August of that year, the then leader of the Conservative opposition, with members of his party, made a tour of western Canada for the purpose, amongst other things, of seeing that constituencies were properly organized. In November of 1941, a meeting of Conservatives in Ottawa chose a new leader for the Conservative party. No longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the government in its war effort, but instead out-and-out opposition to the administra-

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tion on the floor of the House of Commons. That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February 1942. A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to another, and vastly impaired Canada's war effort, was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament. It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time, if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary. Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time, when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas, the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere. The same has been true with respect to the transportation of available supplies of munitions.

In September of last year, at a meeting held at Port Hope, the Conservative party made a fresh start at political organization. That meeting was followed by a National Convention at Winnipeg in December, at which time the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies. From that day to this, the Progressive-Conservative party has been most active in publicising its new leader, in building up its organization at headquarters in Ottawa, and throughout Canada in the different constituencies.

It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, has made cooperation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective. Because of his position as leader of the party which constitutes the official opposition in parliament, Mr. Bracken, throughout the past session, should have been the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Commons. Instead, he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Pro-

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gressive-Conservative party, and of himself as its leader. The party, at the same time, has retained the services of organizers, whose whole time is being given to the work of party organization aud publicity.

I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs. All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda, in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite to that followed by the government and its supporters.

Party organization and tactics of The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. Members of that party, during all the years of war, have steadily built up their party organization. They have, throughout, maintained offices for the publication and dissemination of party literature. They have had annual or semi-annual meetings of their National Council. In the summer of last year, they held a largely attended National Convention. They have been indefatigable in the work of political propaganda.

The propaganda of the C.C.F. has been very subtle. Today, that party professes its desires for an all-out war effort. I do not need to remind you of their attitute in 1939. In those days, the C.C.F. stood for a stay-at-home war effort. But while, in very general terms, they talk today about a total effort, when it comes to supporting the measures needed to achieve an utmost effort, their actions fail to measure up to their words.

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The C.C.F. would have the people believe that they are the sole champions of the interests of Labour and of the poor and the depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization. They tell the people that the C.C.F. policy is based on the policy of the New Zealand government and they speak of the lot of Labour in Australia. But they don't say that New Zealand has adopted the same system of price and wage control as Canada, and that Australia has also done the same.

C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience and hardship. They talk as though the people at home are entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices which the men at the front are being called upon to endure? How many times have you heard them say that all must be prepared to bear increasing burdens, if this war is to be brought to an end before the destruction of the youth of Canada has reached devastating proportions!

The C.C.F. have been boring into the Labour organizations of the country, that through the medium of organized Labour they may further their political ambitions and aims. They are doing their utmost to make Labour believe that the present administration is hostile to labour. They have thus been making more difficult—one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and Labour, and confidence and co-operation between all classes. They have not been content

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to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labour become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim, and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end. The leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labour have already announced their acceptance of this alliance. To strengthen this very questionable alliance while the war is on, the C.C.F. have been taking advantage of every irritation and grievance it is possible for them to exploit. The very controls which, in war-time, are necessary to protect Labour, in common with the entire community, are cited as evidence of the government's hostility.

The C.C.F. appeal to Labour is coupled with deceptive propaganda about profiteering by wealthy interests. No war-time government in any country, in this, or in any other war, has adopted a more complete programme to prevent profiteering than has the present government. And no government has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

No one could object to a political party in opposition advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own programme, even in wartime. That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war.

A Word to Labour.

Let me say to Labour that, for some years before 1900, when I entered the public service to undertake the organization of a Federal Department of Labour, and became the Deputy Minister of that department, and, later, in 1909, its Minister and in all the years that have since intervened, I have watched,

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with an interest, second to none in my life, the steady advance of Labour into a fuller recognition of its rights and dignity. I have been interested in its struggle for economic freedom because I believe Labour represents, in its aims and aspirations, the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity, against want and misery—the one fight surely, that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellowmen. But, I have yet to see an alliance made by Labour with any political party, or Labour itself become a political party, seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to Labour and to the country.

Labour needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. The claims of Humanity are superior to those of Industry; they are superior to the special claims of either Capital or Labour. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today. That is as true of political parties, as of the parties to Industry. Political parties will only survive as they seek to serve the general, not the particular interest, and are broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all conditions of economic circumstance, and of all walks of life.

Let Labour remember that it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war. Its own struggle is reflected on a world scale in this titanic conflict between the forces of tyranny and those of freedom. The battle

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which is being fought out with such appalling suffering and terrible destruction of human life in every quarter of the globe today is nothing so limited as a struggle between individual nations, or between peoples of different origins or race or colour. It is a struggle to decide whether the general interest of mankind is to be superior to all special interests, be the special interest the military might of Germany or Japan; or the special interest of Nazi, Fascist, or some other form of single political control.

The Bloc Populaire Canadien and other minor parties.

There is a third opposition group of which I should now like to speak. It is the most recent and for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived. I refer to the so-called Bloc Populaire Canadien. Its self-appointed leaders who are a small group of malcontents are indifferent to the good name of Canada, and to the security of Canada. They pretend that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war. The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non". That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences

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and stirring racial animosities. This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of the government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early. I am perfectly certain that any appreciable numbers of the population of that province will not allow themselves to be misled by these false prophets. They have already been denounced by the overwhelming majority of the members of parliament from Quebec. But let there be no mistake about it, the poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously, by all who believe in the unity and the destiny of Canada as a great and free nation.

I shall not take time to refer to other parties such as the Social Credit Party, which is shrinking rapidly, and the most recent of all, the latest Progressive party—the Labour-Progressive party. The existence of these minor parties does, however, point to a danger which threatens the effective working of our Parliamentary democracy. It is the tendency to multiply parties and groups. The fate of unhappy France should be a terrible warning against this trend. It constitutes a national peril.

I have said enough to let you see how I account for the defeat of government candidates in the recent by-elections.

Undermining forces at work.

I do not think anyone can say that, from the beginning of the war, I have failed to keep before the people of Canada the appalling seriousness of the world situation and the magnitude of the conflict itself. I can truthfully say that I have done all that lies within my power to avoid and to

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discourage unnecessary political controversy at this time of war, and to keep Canada united. No one can accuse the government of not having concentrated its energies upon the winning of the war, and upon making Canada's war effort just as effective as it could be made. But while the government has been giving its time and attention, all but exclusively, to the promotion of Canada's war effort, and to the solution of the problems which arise from day to day out of the war, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course. Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war, they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations, disseminating their party propaganda and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restrictions of any kind. For the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue.

The question of a general Election

At Toronto, on Saturday the 18th instant, at a dinner which opened the four day conference of the Ontario Council of the C.C.F. Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a signpost of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes,—that may be any time now,—Ontario will decide the issue." Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick

election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before". So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

It must be evident that, for Canada's armed forces abroad, the present year and whatever period may follow represent, if not the middle of the stream of war, certainly its most turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different from the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that, to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration. Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada, be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, in the elections they have held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor General to grant an

immediate dissolution of Parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be. Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government, found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have. At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Canada's fighting men must be her first concern.

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the West. On the East, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before Parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces of freedom had the initiative.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of Parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before Parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approach-

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ing Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections, should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved Accordingly, I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:—

> "While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

> "Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of Parliament's adjournment on July 24th, that I felt any

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question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

Circumstances governing the date of an election.

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as Mr. Churchill told the British House of Commons the other day, the bloodiest fighting is still to come. Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one. But a general election may, nonetheless, prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over.

First of all, there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, It will be necessary, regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

Apart from the constitutional limitation, circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion

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of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the Government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarrented and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention, and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country.

Possible difficulties in parliament.

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the Opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties—the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been added a miscellaneous group composed of members of The Bloc Populaire, so-called Independents, and Labour Progressives—all of which have ambitions of their own. At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors, or in criticizing the administration. Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more, could, if desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the

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government policies as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on. Such a situation would be bad enough at any time. It would be an impossible situation for an administration charged with the responsibility of governing at a time of war. An experience of the kind would leave the government no alternative but a dissolution.

There is another possibility which might arise. It is that even within the government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile. In such a situation the only solution would be the verdict of the people themselves. Personally, I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring. But it is a possibility which, with the problems of government what they have become after four years of war, and in an atmosphere of strain and tension such as war engenders, no leader of a government can afford to overlook.

To all this must be added, in considering the date of a possible election, happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary, a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Support of fighting men the first consideration in deciding upon elections.

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-importan as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back, to their own homeland, those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the

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ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time, I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision.

We owe it to our fighting men to ensure, by our united support, the success of their arms. We owe this no less to the memory of those men who at sea, on land and in the air already have given their lives; and to those also who have given their strength or their liberty that we may continue to enjoy the freedom we have, and to provide for others a larger freedom than most men have yet enjoyed. This can, I believe, be realized if, until victory is achieved, our fighting men command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds and the utmost that our country can give in their support.

The Task of Liberalism

Fellow members of the Liberal Party of Canada:

In my opening remarks, this evening, I referred to that memorable gathering of our Party which was held in Toronto on August 8th, 1939. In my address on that occasion, I concluded with the following words:

> "Liberalism began with a struggle to extend and to defend freedom. Its work through the years has been to continue the effort to extend and to defend freedom. In the past, in Canada, that effort has been primarily in relation to freedom within our own country. So far as the future is concerned, we, as Liberals, if we be true to our cause, will seek to extend and defend freedom, not only for ourselves in our own land, but will be prepared

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> to do so, as circumstances may determine, in the interests of mankind."

In those words, I was telling the people of Canada, no less than the members of my own party, that I believed the country was already under the shadow of war and that when war came, it would menace the freedom of all men.

Looking back, tonight, over four years of war, we may all feel the deepest satisfaction that Liberalism in Canada has been true to its fundamental principle—the defence of freedom. The task of Liberalism will not be finished when the war is won. That great moment will but mark a place of new beginning. In its defence of freedom, the future of the Liberal Party will not be found in defending the privileges of the few, or in arousing the prejudices of the many. It will be found in serving the whole community, and in promoting the security and freedom of all the people. In meeting the problems of the post-war period, the task of Liberalism will remain the preservation and the extension of freedom.

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75		Welcome to Dr. Fernandez (for Minister of Chile), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1943	D 46558 - D 46564	
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29-IX-43

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His Excellency Dr. Fernandez,
Foreign Minister of Chile.

Welcome to himself
personally
and as representative of Chile.

Distinguished career:
Diplomat,
parliamentarian,

wide background of experience -
Europe - South America.

Re: Country
particularly pleased,
bring together Southernmost and
Northernmost democracies.

Closer relations with South American
republics.

Helping toward hemispheric solidarity.

Chile and United Nations.

Purpose of visit:
Formal ratification of trade agreement
September, 1941,

already helpful to trade.

A word about Ministers:

Dr. Grove to Canada,

Dr. Warwick Chipman to Chile.

29-IX-43

D 46559

His Excellency Dr. Fernandez,
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and as representative of Chile.

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Chile and United Nations.

Purpose of visit:
Formal ratification of trade agreement
September, 1941,

already helpful to trade.

A word about Ministers:

Dr. Grove to Canada,

Dr. Warwick Chipman to Chile.

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Notes for Introductory Remarks
at Luncheon for his Excellency
Dr. Don Joaquin Fernandez Fernandez
Foreign Minister of Chile
at Country Club - Ottawa
1.30 p.m., September 29,1943

On behalf of government and people of Canada
pleasure to welcome
His Excellency Senor Fernandez
Foreign Minister of Chile
first member of Chilean government
to visit capital of Canada.

Our pleasure at welcoming Senor Fernandez
is tempered by regrets that we did not have
the pleasure of welcoming President Rios last
summer, as we had hoped.

We welcome Senor Fernandez
(1) both for himself
(2) and for sake of country he represents.

(1) For himself:

Distinguished son of distinguished father.
His father was former Chilean Minister to Spain
and was famous as Mayor of Valparaiso.

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He himself served in legations at the Hague, Rome, Brussels, Paris, Berlin, Berne, Asuncion, La Paz, Montevideo and Buenos Aires - and thus has acquired wide background of knowledge of world affairs so essential to filling, at an early age, his present high post as Minister of Foreign Affairs for Chile.

For Country He Represents.

Canada would in any event have welcomed increase in friendship with Chile.

Friendly Agreement between northernmost and southernmost democracies of the Americas symbolizes increased interdependence of nations in this hemisphere.

Canada all the more glad to develop closer relations with Chile since latter has joined ranks of freedom-loving nations of world and has shown its sympathy with cause of United Nations in struggle they are waging against enemies of humanity.

Canada appreciates importance of having great mineral resources of Chile at disposal of Allied powers.

Canada is happy that Dr. Fernandez has come here for formal exchange of ratifications of Trade agreement between Canada and Chile concluded in September, 1941.

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This agreement has already resulted in marked increases in trade between our two countries.

This increase in trade should be further promoted now that Canada and Chile have exchanged diplomatic representatives.

I can assure you, sir, that Chile's representative here has already won our hearts by entering into the life of the nation. The people of the Capital have been especially impressed by the interest which Dr. Grove has displayed and the practical aid he has given to the Blood Donors' Clinic of the Canadian Red Cross.

We have every reason to believe that our new Minister to Chile, Dr. Warwick Chipman, has similarly entered into the life of Chile. We particularly appreciated the warm friendliness shown him on the first of July, our national holiday. When the President himself attended Dr. Chipman's reception.

Canada looks forward not only to increased trade with Chile, but to an increased understanding of each country by the other, through visits of journalists and students as well as of businessmen, and through exchange of educational films and other sources of information.

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Dr. Fernandez, by his actions in the past and in the present has shown his appreciation of the fact that nations need to solve their problems by co-operation. As he himself is quoted as having said: "No nation in the future will be able to solve its problems in isolation."

Canada likewise realized increasingly that not only in the period of conflict but in the post-war period to follow, we shall have many interests in common with Chile and our other good neighbours in South America.

We know that our joint contributions to the peace and welfare of the world as a whole can and must be based on a joint and effective interest in the welfare and peace of our neighbourhood.

It is thus a matter of significance, and cause of satisfaction, that we have constantly increasing evidence of growth mutual knowledge, mutual respect and mutual good-will among nations of this hemisphere.

The Friendship of Canada and Chile would serve as a model of the friendly relations we desire to establish with all the nations of the Americas.

Introducing His Excellency Dr. Fernandez

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NOTES FOR REMARKS

at Exchange of Ratifications

of Trade Agreement between

Canada and Chile

3.30 p.m. September 29th, 1943.

On behalf government and people of Canada pleasure to welcome Your Excellency on occasion of formal ratification of the trade agreements between Canada and Chile concluded in September 1941.

This agreement has already resulted in a marked increase in trade between our two countries in 1942, as compared with the previous year.

It is particularly gratifying to note that the trend is to a greater equality of trade.

The increase in trade between our two countries would undoubtedly be still greater if it were not for the difficulties, in war-time conditions, of transportation over the great distances involved.

Also, as many of our manufactured goods are being devoted to war uses, this prevents our trade with Chile being as large in volume as we should like to see it.

We look forward, however, with confidence to a notable increase in trade between our two countries in the years following the war.

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Notes for Address

September 27, 1943

(I) The Political Situation.

What is the real test?

If we had faltered, where would we have been?

We can be depended on to be as energetic in peace as in war.

(See C.C.F. speeches last session undermining).

(2) First duty the winning of the war.

Must remain so until war is won.

(3) Keeping future in view by preparing for after-war.

Committees in House, etc.

(4) Consider effect on other nations of applying tax for social benefits.

War taxes have to be imposed for war purposes.

(5) Combat escapist attitude.

(6) Results of elections in provinces.

Provinces kept in own field.

Only in Ontario was there this note of carping criticism about war effort -

only there was provincial government defeated.

We did not hear that note from Prince Edward Island nof from other provinces.

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(7) Refer to speech in Toronto - American Federation of Labor.

(8) <u>Labor</u>

Folly of a Labor organization being a political arm or looking to a political party to work out the objectives.

Resolution of West Toronto Presbtery of United Church of Canada re Cohen.

(9) <u>The Liberal programme</u>.

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POLITICS AND THE WAR

Address by

The Rt. Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

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POLITICS AND THE WAR

Address by

The Rt. Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

On August the 8th, 1939, members of the Liberal party from all parts of Canada met in Toronto. The memories of that vast gathering are much in my thoughts tonight. It was the last occasion on which I had the privilege of meeting with other leaders and supporters of the party, at a social political gathering—a gathering which permitted of a review of the party's record in the past, of its present fortunes, and of its aims and cherished ambitions for the future.

Confidence of party towards its Leader during past quarter of a century.

I had just completed twenty years of leadership of the party, and the occasion was in part to commemorate that event. More than four years—the average life of a Parlia-

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ment—is a long time to be allowed to lapse between any kind of meeting between the leader of a political party, and those to whose confidence he is primarily indebted for the position of trust he enjoys. The intervening years have been years of war. They have permitted of only occasional contacts, and the briefest of contacts, with members of the party, other than immediate colleagues in the Cabinet. These circumstances considered, it is indeed surprising to find, in the numbers here assembled, a gathering no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago. It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war.

This continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal Party of Canada in my leadership of the party is something for which I am indeed profoundly grateful. I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters. That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight.

Whatever the future may have in store for you and for me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as the leader of my party for now—almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life.

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Confidence of people in Liberal Party during quarter of a century.

This loyalty and co-operation between the party and its leader has made possible yet another expression of confidence which I may be pardoned perhaps if I regard as even greater still. I so view it because it is not limited in any personal way, but is something which belongs to the Liberal party, to the principles which it has advocated, and to the policies to which it has sought to give effect. It is the confidence which, over the past quarter of a century, the people of our country have expressed in the Liberal Party, in the capacity of the party to sense the needs of the nation, and in the ability of Liberal administrations to govern in accordance with the will and wishes of the majority.

When, on August the 7th, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave the country the opportunity to say to which party it wished to entrust the administration of the nation's affairs. From that time to the present, with the exception of a little over five years out of the last twenty-two, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada. In the last two parliaments, the present administration has commanded a larger majority than that enjoyed by any government since Confederation. This is an expression of confidence which, also, I am anxious to acknowledge tonight. It is a debt which, on behalf of the Liberal Party of Canada, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude to the people of Canada. It is a record of which all present, and members of the party everywhere, may indeed be proud.

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Confidence in the administration continues.

Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation.

Parallel of political situation with that of 1940.

In 1939, the war had scarcely begun before we were told that our administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. We were told that a so-called national government, not a party government, was what the country required at a time of war. We were told that our war effort was not adequate. Of myself, it was said that, while I might be all right as a leader of the government, in times of peace, I was not the one to lead a government at a time of war. That was what our political opponents said. What did the Canadian peopie say? What was the national verdict when the appeal was made to the electorate in March of 1940? Not only was the government returned to office, but every member of the administration was re-elected. Nearly all or those who ran as National

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Government candidates were defeated. As leader of the party, I was given a following never before equalled in the Canadian House of Commons.

In the general elections of 1940, the issue was unmistakable. The people were asked to which of the political parties in Canada they wished to entrust the carrying out of Canada's war effort. The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government. From that day to this, the government has never lost sight of the mandate it was given by the people. As was our duty, we have centred our attention, first and foremost, on the winning of the war. In doing so we have sought as well to meet, from day to day, and from month to month those domestic problems to which the war has inevitably given rise. We have also endeavoured to look beyond into the future and to prepare to meet the many problems which will present themselves in the post-war period.

Canada's war effort magnificent.

I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificient. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country. Should this assertion be disputed, I would ask, not that the word of any public man in Canada be accepted, but that we seek the verdict of any of the allied nations. In particular, I would ask, what is the view held by the Chiefs of Staff of Great Britain and the United States who, but yesterday, were assembled in conference at Quebec? And, what is the opinion of those great men, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States, who today share in the supreme direction of the war?

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It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the people of Canada; that it means nothing to the fathers and mothers who have seen their sons and daughters leave their homes in Canada to serve in all quarters of the globe; that it means nothing to the fighting forces themselves. Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have not lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

The winning of the war still the supreme task of government.

Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on the winning of the war. Their aims and their ambitions lie in other directions. They cannot, even yet, have grasped the significance of this war—that, among nations, it is a war of survival; that the free nations of the world are still opposed by the most powerful forces that have ever menaced the freedom of the human race; that it is a war that threatens all that is best in a civilization it has taken centuries to create. Those who say or believe that there is today any duty of government superior to the continued direction of the country's utmost effort in the winning of the war can have no appreciation of the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won.

If, as a government or as a party, we had failed in our supreme duty, we might today have reason to feel we were

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no longer worthy of the trust we had accepted. If instead of devoting our time and thought and energies to the winning of the war, we had turned the minds of the people away from the concerted effort that is needed to win the war; if we had concerned ourselves with party politics, with those things which tend, not to unite, but to divide, and had sought to undermine the efforts of others, we might indeed have cause to feel not only that we no longer merited the confidence of the people of Canada, but that we had forfeited all right to that confidence at any time in the future. Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people do not know and understand all these things; that they do not comprehend where their own interests lie. Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country.

Cause of the commotion.

What then, may I ask, has occasioned all the commotion which has arisen in some political circles? The cause is not far to seek. On August the 4th, there was a provincial election in Ontario, and on August the 9th there were four federal by-elections. In the Ontario provincial contest, the government in office was defeated; in the federal by-elections, opposition candidates were returned.

By the parties opposed to the present government, an effort has since been made to link together the Ontario provincial elections and the four federal by-elections, and to attribute the results in all cases to dissatisfaction with policies of the federal administration.

On September 15th, following the provincial elections in Ontario, and the federal by-elections, there was another pro-

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vincial election, this time in Prince Edward Island. What was the result? The Liberal Government of that province was returned to power by a majority of two to one over members of the Progressive-Conservative Party. The C.C.F. Party had entered candidates in the campaign. Not one of them was elected. Every one lost his deposit. During the elections it was repeatedly stated that Premier Jones of Prince Edward Island has been conferring with the administration at Ottawa. I have not noticed that members of the Progressive-Conservative party or of the C.C.F. have been telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal administration in Prince Edward Island is evidence of renewed endorsation, by the electors of Prince Edward Island of the policies of the Ottawa administration.

The Provincial Elections in Ontario.

It is not my intention, at this time, to hold an inquest into the causes of the defeat of the provincial government in Ontario, or of the defeat of government supporters in the recent federal by-elections. I do not mean, however, to allow either to pass unnoticed. All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years, just as, in Prince Edward Island, the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of that province of the manner in which their affairs had been administered. In each case, the electors expressed their opinion, not on federal issues, but on matters of provincial concern. In Ontario, they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration—that, however, was no fault of Harry Nixon's—in Prince Edward

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Island, they made it equally apparent that they believed the provincial administration was deserving of a continuance of their confidence.

Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the Government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in Office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

The Gallup Poll.

In forming their estimate or circumstances which account for political results, there are many persons who attach considerable importance to the findings of the Gallup poll. I personally am not as yet prepared to substitute the responses to a Gallup poll, for my own judgment. Nor would those who conduct the Gallup poll expect this of any one. We must not ask more of the Gallup poll than it professes to provide. There are, however, many things on which it may help to throw considerable light. While not infallible, the Gallup poll has its uses. An estimate of factors which account for the outcome of the recent elections in Ontario is, I believe, a case in point. In a poll which was confined to the province of Ontario, one reason after another was given for the defeat of the Ontario administration, and for the votes received by the Progressive-Conservatives and the C.C.F. respectively. The most significant of all the findings was that in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration,

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As to the size of the vote actually polled in the provincial election by each of the three parties, that I believe is to be accounted for, in the main, by the effectiveness of their respective organizations.

The Federal By-elections—Party organization discontinued by Liberals.

Let me speak of the federal by-elections. Here one has has not to go far afield to find the explanation of why government candidates were not returned.

When the elections of 1940 were over, even the semblance of a federal Liberal party organization was discontinued. The party's offices were closed. No party literature was published or distributed. In constituencies in which there were by-elections, no attention was paid to local organization until within a few weeks of polling. Since the war began, as I have already reminded you tonight, no nation-wide meetings or conventions of the party have been held. So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise.

I am not saying at the moment whether, from the point of view of national interest, or of party interests, this course of action, or rather, I should say, lack of action, has been the wise or right one. I am merely stating the facts so far as party organization and the dissemination of information on the party's policies are concerned.

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Had the other political parties followed the same course, I should, at the moment, have nothing further to say on this point. But what, in fact, has been the course pursued by the other parties?

Party Organization and tactics of the Conservative Party

Let me speak first of the Conservative party,—now called the Progressive-Conservative party. I must be pardoned if I occasionally fail to use its latest name. During the years I have been in Parliament, that party has had a long succession of names and leaders. The elections of 1940 were scarcely over before the storm signals of party controversy began to make their appearance on the benches of the official opposition in parliament and throughout the country. In their secret conclaves, the Conservative party—it was not Progressive-Conservative then—began to organize a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing its forces, and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority. Throughout 1941, the issue of conscription for overseas service was forced to the fore, and talk of a national government to enforce conscription was revived. In July and August of that year, the then leader of the Conservative opposition, with members of his party, made a tour of western Canada for the purpose, amongst other things, of seeing that constituencies were properly organized. In November of 1941, a meeting of Conservatives in Ottawa chose a new leader for the Conservative party. No longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the government in its war effort, but instead out-and-out opposition to the administra-

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tion on the floor of the House of Commons. That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February 1942. A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to another, and vastly impaired Canada's war effort, was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament. It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time, if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary. Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time, when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas, the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere. The same has been true with respect to the transportation of available supplies of munitions.

In September of last year, at a meeting held at Port Hope, the Conservative party made a fresh start at political organization. That meeting was followed by a National Convention at Winnipeg in December, at which time the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies. From that day to this, the Progressive-Conservative party has been most active in publicising its new leader, in building up its organization at headquarters in Ottawa, and throughout Canada in the different constituencies.

It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, has made cooperation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective. Because of his position as leader of the party which constitutes the official opposition in parliament, Mr. Bracken, throughout the past session, should have been the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Commons. Instead, he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Pro-

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gressive-Conservative party, and of himself as its leader. The party, at the same time, has retained the services of organizers, whose whole time is being given to the work of party organization aud publicity.

I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs. All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda, in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite to that followed by the government and its supporters.

Party organization and tactics of The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. Members of that party, during all the years of war, have steadily built up their party organization. They have, throughout, maintained offices for the publication and dissemination of party literature. They have had annual or semi-annual meetings of their National Council. In the summer of last year, they held a largely attended National Convention. They have been indefatigable in the work of political propaganda.

The propaganda of the C.C.F. has been very subtle. Today, that party professes its desires for an all-out war effort. I do not need to remind you of their attitute in 1939. In those days, the C.C.F. stood for a stay-at-home war effort. But while, in very general terms, they talk today about a total effort, when it comes to supporting the measures needed to achieve an utmost effort, their actions fail to measure up to their words.

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The C.C.F. would have the people believe that they are the sole champions of the interests of Labour and of the poor and the depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization. They tell the people that the C.C.F. policy is based on the policy of the New Zealand government and they speak of the lot of Labour in Australia. But they don't say that New Zealand has adopted the same system of price and wage control as Canada, and that Australia has also done the same.

C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience and hardship. They talk as though the people at home are entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices which the men at the front are being called upon to endure? How many times have you heard them say that all must be prepared to bear increasing burdens, if this war is to be brought to an end before the destruction of the youth of Canada has reached devastating proportions!

The C.C.F. have been boring into the Labour organizations of the country, that through the medium of organized Labour they may further their political ambitions and aims. They are doing their utmost to make Labour believe that the present administration is hostile to labour. They have thus been making more difficult—one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and Labour, and confidence and co-operation between all classes. They have not been content

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to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labour become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim, and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end. The leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labour have already announced their acceptance of this alliance. To strengthen this very questionable alliance while the war is on, the C.C.F. have been taking advantage of every irritation and grievance it is possible for them to exploit. The very controls which, in war-time, are necessary to protect Labour, in common with the entire community, are cited as evidence of the government's hostility.

The C.C.F. appeal to Labour is coupled with deceptive propaganda about profiteering by wealthy interests. No war-time government in any country, in this, or in any other war, has adopted a more complete programme to prevent profiteering than has the present government. And no government has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

No one could object to a political party in opposition advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own programme, even in wartime. That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war.

A Word to Labour.

Let me say to Labour that, for some years before 1900, when I entered the public service to undertake the organization of a Federal Department of Labour, and became the Deputy Minister of that department, and, later, in 1909, its Minister and in all the years that have since intervened, I have watched,

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with an interest, second to none in my life, the steady advance of Labour into a fuller recognition of its rights and dignity. I have been interested in its struggle for economic freedom because I believe Labour represents, in its aims and aspirations, the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity, against want and misery—the one fight surely, that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellowmen. But, I have yet to see an alliance made by Labour with any political party, or Labour itself become a political party, seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to Labour and to the country.

Labour needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. The claims of Humanity are superior to those of Industry; they are superior to the special claims of either Capital or Labour. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today. That is as true of political parties, as of the parties to Industry. Political parties will only survive as they seek to serve the general, not the particular interest, and are broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all conditions of economic circumstance, and of all walks of life.

Let Labour remember that it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war. Its own struggle is reflected on a world scale in this titanic conflict between the forces of tyranny and those of freedom. The battle

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which is being fought out with such appalling suffering and terrible destruction of human life in every quarter of the globe today is nothing so limited as a struggle between individual nations, or between peoples of different origins or race or colour. It is a struggle to decide whether the general interest of mankind is to be superior to all special interests, be the special interest the military might of Germany or Japan; or the special interest of Nazi, Fascist, or some other form of single political control.

The Bloc Populaire Canadien and other minor parties.

There is a third opposition group of which I should now like to speak. It is the most recent and for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived. I refer to the so-called Bloc Populaire Canadien. Its self-appointed leaders who are a small group of malcontents are indifferent to the good name of Canada, and to the security of Canada. They pretend that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war. The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non". That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences

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and stirring racial animosities. This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of the government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early. I am perfectly certain that any appreciable numbers of the population of that province will not allow themselves to be misled by these false prophets. They have already been denounced by the overwhelming majority of the members of parliament from Quebec. But let there be no mistake about it, the poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously, by all who believe in the unity and the destiny of Canada as a great and free nation.

I shall not take time to refer to other parties such as the Social Credit Party, which is shrinking rapidly, and the most recent of all, the latest Progressive party—the Labour-Progressive party. The existence of these minor parties does, however, point to a danger which threatens the effective working of our Parliamentary democracy. It is the tendency to multiply parties and groups. The fate of unhappy France should be a terrible warning against this trend. It constitutes a national peril.

I have said enough to let you see how I account for the defeat of government candidates in the recent by-elections.

Undermining forces at work.

I do not think anyone can say that, from the beginning of the war, I have failed to keep before the people of Canada the appalling seriousness of the world situation and the magnitude of the conflict itself. I can truthfully say that I have done all that lies within my power to avoid and to

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discourage unnecessary political controversy at this time of war, and to keep Canada united. No one can accuse the government of not having concentrated its energies upon the winning of the war, and upon making Canada's war effort just as effective as it could be made. But while the government has been giving its time and attention, all but exclusively, to the promotion of Canada's war effort, and to the solution of the problems which arise from day to day out of the war, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course. Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war, they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations, disseminating their party propaganda and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restrictions of any kind. For the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue.

The question of a general Election

At Toronto, on Saturday the 18th instant, at a dinner which opened the four day conference of the Ontario Council of the C.C.F. Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a sign-post of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes,—that may be any time now,—Ontario will decide the issue." Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick

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election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before". So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

It must be evident that, for Canada's armed forces abroad, the present year and whatever period may follow represent, if not the middle of the stream of war, certainly its most turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different from the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that, to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration. Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada, be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, in the elections they have held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor General to grant an

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immediate dissolution of Parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be. Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government, found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have. At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Canada's fighting men must be her first concern.

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the West. On the East, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before Parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces of freedom had the initiative.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of Parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before Parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approach-

ing Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections, should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved Accordingly, I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:—

> "While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

> "Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of Parliament's adjournment on July 24th, that I felt any

question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

Circumstances governing the date of an election.

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as Mr. Churchill told the British House of Commons the other day, the bloodiest fighting is still to come. Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one. But a general election may, nonetheless, prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over.

First of all, there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, It will be necessary, regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

Apart from the constitutional limitation, circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion

of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the Government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarrented and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention, and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country.

Possible difficulties in parliament.

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the Opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties—the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been added a miscellaneous group composed of members of The Bloc Populaire, so-called Independents, and Labour Progressives—all of which have ambitions of their own. At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors, or in criticizing the administration. Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more, could, if desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the

government policies as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on. Such a situation would be bad enough at any time. It would be an impossible situation for an administration charged with the responsibility of governing at a time of war. An experience of the kind would leave the government no alternative but a dissolution.

There is another possibility which might arise. It is that even within the government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile. In such a situation the only solution would be the verdict of the people themselves. Personally, I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring. But it is a possibility which, with the problems of government what they have become after four years of war, and in an atmosphere of strain and tension such as war engenders, no leader of a government can afford to overlook.

To all this must be added, in considering the date of a possible election, happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary, a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Support of fighting men the first consideration in deciding upon elections.

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-importan as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back, to their own homeland, those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the

ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time, I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision.

We owe it to our fighting men to ensure, by our united support, the success of their arms. We owe this no less to the memory of those men who at sea, on land and in the air already have given their lives; and to those also who have given their strength or their liberty that we may continue to enjoy the freedom we have, and to provide for others a larger freedom than most men have yet enjoyed. This can, I believe, be realized if, until victory is achieved, our fighting men command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds and the utmost that our country can give in their support.

The Task of Liberalism

Fellow members of the Liberal Party of Canada:

In my opening remarks, this evening, I referred to that memorable gathering of our Party which was held in Toronto on August 8th, 1939. In my address on that occasion, I concluded with the following words:

> "Liberalism began with a struggle to extend and to defend freedom. Its work through the years has been to continue the effort to extend and to defend freedom. In the past, in Canada, that effort has been primarily in relation to freedom within our own country. So far as the future is concerned, we, as Liberals, if we be true to our cause, will seek to extend and defend freedom, not only for ourselves in our own land, but will be prepared

> to do so, as circumstances may determine, in the interests of mankind."

In those words, I was telling the people of Canada, no less than the members of my own party, that I believed the country was already under the shadow of war and that when war came, it would menace the freedom of all men.

Looking back, tonight, over four years of war, we may all feel the deepest satisfaction that Liberalism in Canada has been true to its fundamental principle—the defence of freedom. The task of Liberalism will not be finished when the war is won. That great moment will but mark a place of new beginning. In its defence of freedom, the future of the Liberal Party will not be found in defending the privileges of the few, or in arousing the prejudices of the many. It will be found in serving the whole community, and in promoting the security and freedom of all the people. In meeting the problems of the post-war period, the task of Liberalism will remain the preservation and the extension of freedom.

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Politics and the War

Address by

The Rt. Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

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W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation
Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

On August the 8th, 1939, members of the Liberal party from all parts of Canada met in Toronto. The memories of that vast gathering are much in my thoughts tonight. It was the last occasion on which I had the privilege of meeting with other leaders and supporters of the party, at a social political gathering—a gathering which permitted of a review of the party's record in the past, of its present fortunes, and of its aims and cherished ambitions for the future.

Confidence of party towards its Leader during past quarter of a century.

I had just completed twenty years of leadership of the party, and the occasion was in part to commemorate that event. More than four years—the average life of a Parlia-

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ment—is a long time to be allowed to lapse between any kind of meeting between the leader of a political party, and those to whose confidence he is primarily indebted for the position of trust he enjoys. The intervening years have been years of war. They have permitted of only occasional contacts, and the briefest of contacts, with members of the party, other than immediate colleagues in the Cabinet. These circumstances considered, it is indeed surprising to find, in the numbers here assembled, a gathering no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago. It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war.

This continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal Party of Canada in my leadership of the party is something for which I am indeed profoundly grateful. I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters. That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight.

Whatever the future may have in store for you and for me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as the leader of my party for now—almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life.

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Confidence of people in Liberal Party during quarter of a century.

This loyalty and co-operation between the party and its leader has made possible yet another expression of confidence which I may be pardoned perhaps if I regard as even greater still. I so view it because it is not limited in any personal way, but is something which belongs to the Liberal party, to the principles which it has advocated, and to the policies to which it has sought to give effect. It is the confidence which, over the past quarter of a century, the people of our country have expressed in the Liberal Party, in the capacity of the party to sense the needs of the nation, and in the ability of Liberal administrations to govern in accordance with the will and wishes of the majority.

When, on August the 7th, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave the country the opportunity to say to which party it wished to entrust the administration of the nation's affairs. From that time to the present, with the exception of a little over five years out of the last twenty-two, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada. In the last two parliaments, the present administration has commanded a larger majority than that enjoyed by any government since Confederation. This is an expression of confidence which, also, I am anxious to acknowledge tonight. It is a debt which, on behalf of the Liberal Party of Canada, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude to the people of Canada. It is a record of which all present, and members of the party everywhere, may indeed be proud.

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Confidence in the administration continues.

Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation.

Parallel of political situation with that of 1940.

In 1939, the war had scarcely begun before we were told that our administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. We were told that a so-called national government, not a party government, was what the country required at a time of war. We were told that our war effort was not adequate. Of myself, it was said that, while I might be all right as a leader of the government, in times of peace, I was not the one to lead a government at a time of war. That was what our political opponents said. What did the Canadian peopie say? What was the national verdict when the appeal was made to the electorate in March of 1940? Not only was the government returned to office, but every member of the administration was re-elected. Nearly all or those who ran as National

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Government candidates were defeated. As leader of the party, I was given a following never before equalled in the Canadian House of Commons.

In the general elections of 1940, the issue was unmistakable. The people were asked to which of the political parties in Canada they wished to entrust the carrying out of Canada's war effort. The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government. From that day to this, the government has never lost sight of the mandate it was given by the people. As was our duty, we have centred our attention, first and foremost, on the winning of the war. In doing so we have sought as well to meet, from day to day, and from month to month those domestic problems to which the war has inevitably given rise. We have also endeavoured to look beyond into the future and to prepare to meet the many problems which will present themselves in the post-war period.

Canada's war effort magnificent.

I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificient. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country. Should this assertion be disputed, I would ask, not that the word of any public man in Canada be accepted, but that we seek the verdict of any of the allied nations. In particular, I would ask, what is the view held by the Chiefs of Staff of Great Britain and the United States who, but yesterday, were assembled in conference at Quebec? And, what is the opinion of those great men, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States, who today share in the supreme direction of the war?

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It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the people of Canada; that it means nothing to the fathers and mothers who have seen their sons and daughters leave their homes in Canada to serve in all quarters of the globe; that it means nothing to the fighting forces themselves. Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have not lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

The winning of the war is still the supreme task of government.

Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on the winning of the war. Their aims and their ambitions lie in other directions. They cannot, even yet, have grasped the significance of this war—that, among nations, it is a war of survival; that the free nations of the world are still opposed by the most powerful forces that have ever menaced the freedom of the human race; that it is a war that threatens all that is best in a civilization it has taken centuries to create. Those who say or believe that there is today any duty of government superior to the continued direction of the country's utmost effort in the winning of the war can have no appreciation of the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won.

If, as a government or as a party, we had failed in our supreme duty, we might today have reason to feel we were

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no longer worthy of the trust we had accepted. If instead of devoting our time and thought and energies to the winning of the war, we had turned the minds of the people away from the concerted effort that is needed to win the war; if we had concerned ourselves with party politics, with those things which tend, not to unite, but to divide, and had sought to undermine the efforts of others, we might indeed have cause to feel not only that we no longer merited the confidence of the people of Canada, but that we had forfeited all right to that confidence at any time in the future. Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people do not know and understand all these things; that they do not comprehend where their own interests lie. Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country.

The cause of the commotion.

What then, may I ask, has occasioned all the commotion which has arisen in some political circles? The cause is not far to seek. On August the 4th, there was a provincial election in Ontario, and on August the 9th there were four federal by-elections. In the Ontario provincial contest, the government in office was defeated; in the federal by-elections, opposition candidates were returned.

By the parties opposed to the present government, an effort has since been made to link together the Ontario provincial elections and the four federal by-elections, and to attribute the results in all cases to dissatisfaction with policies of the federal administration.

On September 15th, following the provincial elections in Ontario, and the federal by-elections, there was another pro-

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vincial election, this time in Prince Edward Island. What was the result? The Liberal Government of that province was returned to power by a majority of two to one over members of the Progressive-Conservative Party. The C.C.F. Party had entered candidates in the campaign. Not one of them was elected. Every one lost his deposit. During the elections it was repeatedly stated that Premier Jones of Prince Edward Island has been conferring with the administration at Ottawa. I have not noticed that members of the Progressive-Conservative party or of the C.C.F. have been telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal administration in Prince Edward Island is evidence of renewed endorsation, by the electors of Prince Edward Island of the policies of the Ottawa administration.

The Provincial Elections in Ontario.

It is not my intention, at this time, to hold an inquest into the causes of the defeat of the provincial government in Ontario, or of the defeat of government supporters in the recent federal by-elections. I do not mean, however, to allow either to pass unnoticed. All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years, just as, in Prince Edward Island, the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of that province of the manner in which their affairs had been administered. In each case, the electors expressed their opinion, not on federal issues, but on matters of provincial concern. In Ontario, they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration—that, however, was no fault of Harry Nixon's—in Prince Edward

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Island, they made it equally apparent that they believed the provincial administration was deserving of a continuance of their confidence.

Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the Government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in Office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

The Gallup Poll.

In forming their estimate or circumstances which account for political results, there are many persons who attach considerable importance to the findings of the Gallup poll. I personally am not as yet prepared to substitute the responses to a Gallup poll, for my own judgment. Nor would those who conduct the Gallup poll expect this of any one. We must not ask more of the Gallup poll than it professes to provide. There are, however, many things on which it may help to throw considerable light. While not infallible, the Gallup poll has its uses. An estimate of factors which account for the outcome of the recent elections in Ontario is, I believe, a case in point. In a poll which was confined to the province of Ontario, one reason after another was given for the defeat of the Ontario administration, and for the votes received by the Progressive-Conservatives and the C.C.F. respectively. The most significant of all the findings was that in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration.

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As to the size of the vote actually polled in the provincial election by each of the three parties, that I believe is to be accounted for, in the main, by the effectiveness of their respective organizations.

The Federal By-elections—Party organization discontinued by Liberals.

Let me speak of the federal by-elections. Here one has has not to go far afield to find the explanation of why government candidates were not returned.

When the elections of 1940 were over, even the semblance of a federal Liberal party organization was discontinued. The party's offices were closed. No party literature was published or distributed. In constituencies in which there were by-elections, no attention was paid to local organization until within a few weeks of polling. Since the war began, as I have already reminded you tonight, no nation-wide meetings or conventions of the party have been held. So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise.

I am not saying at the moment whether, from the point of view of national interest, or of party interests, this course of action, or rather, I should say, lack of action, has been the wise or right one. I am merely stating the facts so far as party organization and the dissemination of information on the party's policies are concerned.

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Had the other political parties followed the same course, I should, at the moment, have nothing further to say on this point. But what, in fact, has been the course pursued by the other parties?

Party Organization and tactics of the Conservative Party

Let me speak first of the Conservative party,—now called the Progressive-Conservative party. I must be pardoned if I occasionally fail to use its latest name. During the years I have been in Parliament, that party has had a long succession of names and leaders. The elections of 1940 were scarcely over before the storm signals of party controversy began to make their appearance on the benches of the official opposition in parliament and throughout the country. In their secret conclaves, the Conservative party—it was not Progressive-Conservative then—began to organize a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing its forces, and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority. Throughout 1941, the issue of conscription for overseas service was forced to the fore, and talk of a national government to enforce conscription was revived. In July and August of that year, the then leader of the Conservative opposition, with members of his party, made a tour of western Canada for the purpose, amongst other things, of seeing that constituencies were properly organized. In November of 1941, a meeting of Conservatives in Ottawa chose a new leader for the Conservative party. No longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the government in its war effort, but instead out-and-out opposition to the administra-

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tion on the floor of the House of Commons. That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February 1942. A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to another, and vastly impaired Canada's war effort, was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament. It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time, if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary. Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time, when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas, the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere. The same has been true with respect to the transportation of available supplies of munitions.

In September of last year, at a meeting held at Port Hope, the Conservative party made a fresh start at political organization. That meeting was followed by a National Convention at Winnipeg in December, at which time the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies. From that day to this, the Progressive-Conservative party has been most active in publicising its new leader, in building up its organization at headquarters in Ottawa, and throughout Canada in the different constituencies.

It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, has made cooperation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective. Because of his position as leader of the party which constitutes the official opposition in parliament, Mr. Bracken, throughout the past session, should have been the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Commons. Instead, he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Pro-

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gressive-Conservative party, and of himself as its leader. The party, at the same time, has retained the services of organizers, whose whole time is being given to the work of party organization aud publicity.

I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs. All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda, in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite to that followed by the government and its supporters.

Party organization and tactics of The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. Members of that party, during all the years of war, have steadily built up their party organization. They have, throughout, maintained offices for the publication and dissemination of party literature. They have had annual or semi-annual meetings of their National Council. In the summer of last year, they held a largely attended National Convention. They have been indefatigable in the work of political propaganda.

The propaganda of the C.C.F. has been very subtle. Today, that party professes its desires for an all-out war effort. I do not need to remind you of their attitute in 1939. In those days, the C.C.F. stood for a stay-at-home war effort. But while, in very general terms, they talk today about a total effort, when it comes to supporting the measures needed to achieve an utmost effort, their actions fail to measure up to their words.

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The C.C.F. would have the people believe that they are the sole champions of the interests of Labour and of the poor and the depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization. They tell the people that the C.C.F. policy is based on the policy of the New Zealand government and they speak of the lot of Labour in Australia. But they don't say that New Zealand has adopted the same system of price and wage control as Canada, and that Australia has also done the same.

C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience and hardship. They talk as though the people at home are entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices which the men at the front are being called upon to endure? How many times have you heard them say that all must be prepared to bear increasing burdens, if this war is to be brought to an end before the destruction of the youth of Canada has reached devastating proportions!

The C.C.F. have been boring into the Labour organizations of the country, that through the medium of organized Labour they may further their political ambitions and aims. They are doing their utmost to make Labour believe that the present administration is hostile to labour. They have thus been making more difficult—one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and Labour, and confidence and co-operation between all classes. They have not been content

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to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labour become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim, and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end. The leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labour have already announced their acceptance of this alliance. To strengthen this very questionable alliance while the war is on, the C.C.F. have been taking advantage of every irritation and grievance it is possible for them to exploit. The very controls which, in war-time, are necessary to protect Labour, in common with the entire community, are cited as evidence of the government's hostility.

The C.C.F. appeal to Labour is coupled with deceptive propaganda about profiteering by wealthy interests. No war-time government in any country, in this, or in any other war, has adopted a more complete programme to prevent profiteering than has the present government. And no government has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

No one could object to a political party in opposition advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own programme, even in wartime. That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war.

A Word to Labour.

Let me say to Labour that, for some years before 1900, when I entered the public service to undertake the organization of a Federal Department of Labour, and became the Deputy Minister of that department, and, later, in 1909, its Minister and in all the years that have since intervened, I have watched,

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with an interest, second to none in my life, the steady advance of Labour into a fuller recognition of its rights and dignity. I have been interested in its struggle for economic freedom because I believe Labour represents, in its aims and aspirations, the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity, against want and misery—the one fight surely, that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellowmen. But, I have yet to see an alliance made by Labour with any political party, or Labour itself become a political party, seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to Labour and to the country.

Labour needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. The claims of Humanity are superior to those of Industry; they are superior to the special claims of either Capital or Labour. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today. That is as true of political parties, as of the parties to Industry. Political parties will only survive as they seek to serve the general, not the particular interest, and are broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all conditions of economic circumstance, and of all walks of life.

Let Labour remember that it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war. Its own struggle is reflected on a world scale in this titanic conflict between the forces of tyranny and those of freedom. The battle

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which is being fought out with such appalling suffering and terrible destruction of human life in every quarter of the globe today is nothing so limited as a struggle between individual nations, or between peoples of different origins or race or colour. It is a struggle to decide whether the general interest of mankind is to be superior to all special interests, be the special interest the military might of Germany or Japan; or the special interest of Nazi, Fascist, or some other form of single political control.

The Bloc Populaire Canadien and other minor parties.

There is a third opposition group of which I should now like to speak. It is the most recent and for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived. I refer to the so-called Bloc Populaire Canadien. Its self-appointed leaders who are a small group of malcontents are indifferent to the good name of Canada, and to the security of Canada. They pretend that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war. The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non". That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences

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and stirring racial animosities. This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of the government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early. I am perfectly certain that any appreciable numbers of the population of that province will not allow themselves to be misled by these false prophets. They have already been denounced by the overwhelming majority of the members of parliament from Quebec. But let there be no mistake about it, the poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously, by all who believe in the unity and the destiny of Canada as a great and free nation.

I shall not take time to refer to other parties such as the Social Credit Party, which is shrinking rapidly, and the most recent of all, the latest Progressive party—the Labour-Progressive party. The existence of these minor parties does, however, point to a danger which threatens the effective working of our Parliamentary democracy. It is the tendency to multiply parties and groups. The fate of unhappy France should be a terrible warning against this trend. It constitutes a national peril.

I have said enough to let you see how I account for the defeat of government candidates in the recent by-elections.

Undermining forces at work.

I do not think anyone can say that, from the beginning of the war, I have failed to keep before the people of Canada the appalling seriousness of the world situation and the magnitude of the conflict itself. I can truthfully say that I have done all that lies within my power to avoid and to

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discourage unnecessary political controversy at this time of war, and to keep Canada united. No one can accuse the government of not having concentrated its energies upon the winning of the war, and upon making Canada's war effort just as effective as it could be made. But while the government has been giving its time and attention, all but exclusively, to the promotion of Canada's war effort, and to the solution of the problems which arise from day to day out of the war, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course. Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war, they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations, disseminating their party propaganda and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restrictions of any kind. For the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue.

The question of a general Election

At Toronto, on Saturday the 18th instant, at a dinner which opened the four day conference of the Ontario Council of the C.C.F. Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a signpost of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes,—that may be any time now,—Ontario will decide the issue." Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick

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election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before". So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

It must be evident that, for Canada's armed forces abroad, the present year and whatever period may follow, represents, if not the middle of the stream of war, certainly its most turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different from the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that, to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration. Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada, be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, in the elections they have held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor General to grant an

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immediate dissolution of Parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be. Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government, found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have. At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Canada's fighting men must be her first concern.

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the West. On the East, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before Parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces of freedom had the initiative.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of Parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before Parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approach-

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ing Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections, should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved Accordingly, I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:—

> "While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

> "Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of Parliament's adjournment on July 24th, that I felt any

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question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

Circumstances governing the date of an election.

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as Mr. Churchill told the British House of Commons the other day, the bloodiest fighting is still to come. Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one. But a general election may, nonetheless, prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over.

First of all, there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, It will be necessary, regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

Apart from the constitutional limitation, circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion

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of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the Government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarrented and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention, and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country.

Possible difficulties in parliament.

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the Opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties—the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been added a miscellaneous group composed of members of The Bloc Populaire, so-called Independents, and Labour Progressives—all of which have ambitions of their own. At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors, or in criticizing the administration. Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more, could, if desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the

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government policies as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on. Such a situation would be bad enough at any time. It would be an impossible situation for an administration charged with the responsibility of governing at a time of war. An experience of the kind would leave the government no alternative but a dissolution.

There is another possibility which might arise. It is that even within the government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile. In such a situation the only solution would be the verdict of the people themselves. Personally, I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring. But it is a possibility which, with the problems of government what they have become after four years of war, and in an atmosphere of strain and tension such as war engenders, no leader of a government can afford to overlook.

To all this must be added, in considering the date of a possible election, happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary, a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Support of fighting men the first consideration in deciding upon elections.

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-importan as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back, to their own homeland, those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the

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ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time, I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee, them, the circumstances that will govern the decision.

We owe it to our fighting men to ensure, by our united support, the success of their arms. We owe this no less to the memory of those men who at sea, on land and in the air already have given their lives; and to those also who have given their strength or their liberty that we may continue to enjoy the freedom we have, and to provide for others a larger freedom than most men have yet enjoyed. This can, I believe, be realized if, until victory is achieved, our fighting men command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds and the utmost that our country can give in their support.

The Task of Liberalism

(Italics)

Fellow members of the Liberal Party of Canada:

In my opening remarks, this evening, I referred to that memorable gathering of our Party which was held in Toronto on August 8th, 1939. In my address on that occasion, I concluded with the following words:

> "Liberalism began with a struggle to extend and to defend freedom. Its work through the years has been to continue the effort to extend and to defend freedom. In the past, in Canada, that effort has been primarily in relation to freedom within our own country. So far as the future is concerned, we, as Liberals, if we be true to our cause, will seek to extend and defend freedom, not only for ourselves in our own land, but will be prepared

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to do so, as circumstances may determine, in the interests of mankind."

In those words, I was telling the people of Canada, no less than the members of my own party, that I believed the country was already under the shadow of war and that when war came, it would menace the freedom of all men.

Looking back, tonight, over four years of war, we may all feel the deepest satisfaction that Liberalism in Canada has been true to its fundamental principle—the defence of freedom. The task of Liberalism will not be finished when the war is won. That great moment will but mark a place of new beginning. The future of the Liberal Party will not be found in defending the privileges of the few, or in arousing the prejudices of the many. It will be found in serving the whole community, and in promoting the security and freedom of all the people. In meeting the problems of the post-war period, the task of Liberalism will remain the preservation and the extension of freedom.

In its defence of freedom,

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Nat. Liberal—GAL. ONE

Address by

The Rt. Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

On August the 8th, 1939, members of the Liberal party from all parts of Canada met in Toronto. The memories of that vast gathering are much in my thoughts tonight. It was the last occasion on which I had the privilege of meeting with other leaders and supporters of the party, at a social political gathering—a gathering which permitted of a review of the party's record in the past, of its present fortunes, and of its aims and cherished ambitions for the future.

Confidence of party towards its Leader during past quarter of a century.

I had just completed twenty years of leadership of the party, and the occasion was in part to commemorate that event. More than four years—the average life of a Parliament—is a long time to be allowed to lapse between any kind of meeting between the leader of a political party, and those to whose confidence he is primarily indebted for the position of trust he enjoys. The intervening years have been years of war. They have permitted of only occasional contacts, and the briefest of contacts, with members of the party, other than immediate colleagues in the Cabinet. These circumstances considered, it is indeed surprising to find, in the numbers here assembled, a gathering no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago. It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war.

This continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal Party of Canada in my leadership of the party is something for which I am indeed profoundly grateful. I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters. That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight.

Whatever the future may have in store for you and for me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as the leader of my party for now—almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life.

Confidence of people in Liberal Party during quarter of a century.

This loyalty and co-operation between the party and its leader has made possible yet another expression of confidence which I may be pardoned perhaps if I regard as even greater still. I so view it because it is not limited in any personal way, but is something which belongs to the Liberal party, to the principles which it has advocated, and to the policies to which it has sought to give effect. It is the confidence which, over the past quarter of a century, the people of our country have expressed in the Liberal Party, in the capacity of the party to sense the needs of the nation, and in the ability of Liberal administrations to govern in accordance with the will and wishes of the majority.

When, on August the 7th, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave the country the

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When, on August the 7th, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave the country the opportunity to say to which party it wished to entrust the administration of the nation's affairs. From that time to the present, with the exception of a little over five years out of the last twenty-two, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada. In the last two parliaments, the present administration has commanded a larger majority than that enjoyed by any government since Confederation. This is an expression of confidence which, also, I am anxious to acknowledge tonight. It is a debt which, on behalf of the Liberal Party of Canada, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude to the people of Canada. It is a record of which all present, and members of the party everywhere, may indeed be proud.

Confidence in the administration continues.

Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation.

Parallel of political situation with that of 1940.

In 1939, the war had scarcely begun before we were told that our administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. We were told that a so-called national government, not a party government, was what the country required at a time of war. We were told that our war effort was not adequate. Of myself, it was said that, while I might be all right as a leader of the government, in times of peace, I was not the one to lead a government at a time of war. That was what our political opponents said. What did the Canadian people say? What was the national verdict when the appeal was made to the electorate in March of 1940? Not only was the government returned to office, but every member of the administration was re-elected. Nearly all or those who ran as National Government candidates were defeated. As leader of the party, I was given a following never before equalled in the Canadian House of Commons.

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In the general elections of 1940, the issue was unmistakable. The people were asked to which of the political parties in Canada they wished to entrust the carrying out of Canada's war effort. The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government. From that day to this, the government has never lost sight of the mandate it was given by the people. As was our duty, we have centred our attention, first and foremost, on the winning of the war. In doing so we have sought as well to meet, from day to day, and from month to month those domestic problems to which the war has inevitably given rise. We have also endeavoured to look beyond into the future and to prepare to meet the many problems which will present themselves in the post-war period.

Canada's war effort magnificent.

I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificient. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country. Should this assertion be disputed, I would ask, not that the word of any public man in Canada be accepted, but that we seek the verdict of any of the allied nations. In particular, I would ask, what is the view held by the Chiefs of Staff of Great Britain and the United States who, but yesterday, were assembled in conference at Quebec? And, what is the opinion of those great men, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States, who today share in the supreme direction of the war?

It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the people of Canada; that it means nothing to the fathers and mothers who have seen their sons and daughters leave their homes in Canada to serve in all quarters of the globe; that it means nothing to the fighting forces themselves. Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

The winning of the war is still the supreme task of government.

Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on the winning of the war. Their aims and their ambitions lie in other directions. They cannot, even yet, have grasped the significance of this war—that, among nations, it is a war of survival; that the free nations of the world are still opposed by the most powerful forces that have ever menaced the freedom of the human race; that it is a war that threatens all that is best in a civilization it has taken centuries to create. Those who say or believe that there is today any duty of government superior to the continued direction of the country's utmost effort in the winning of the war can have no appreciation of the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won.

If, as a government or as a party, we had failed in our supreme duty, we might today have reason to feel we were no longer worthy of the trust we had accepted. If instead of devoting our time and thought and energies to the winning of the war, we had turned the minds of the people away from the concerted effort that is needed to win the war; if we had concerned ourselves with party politics, with those things which tend, not to unite, but to divide, and had sought to undermine the efforts of others, we might indeed have cause to feel not only that we no longer merited the confidence of the people of Canada, but that we had forfeited all right to that confidence at any time in the future. Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people do not know and understand all these things; that they do not comprehend where their own interests lie. Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country.

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The cause of the commotion.

What then, may I ask, has occasioned all the commotion which has arisen in some political circles? The cause is not far to seek. On August the 4th, there was a provincial election in Ontario, and on August the 9th there were four federal by-elections. In the Ontario provincial contest, the government in office was defeated; in the federal by-elections, opposition candidates were returned.

By the parties opposed to the present government, an effort has since been made to link together the Ontario provincial elections and the four federal by-elections, and to attribute the results in all cases to dissatisfaction with policies of the federal administration.

On September 15th, following the provincial elections in Ontario, and the federal by-elections, there was another provincial election, this time in Prince Edward Island. What was the result? The Liberal Government of that province was returned to power by a majority of two to one over members of the Progressive-Conservative Party. The C.C.F. Party had entered candidates in the campaign. Not one of them was elected. Every one lost his deposit. During the elections it was repeatedly stated that Premier Jones of Prince Edward Island has been conferring with the administration at Ottawa. I have not noticed that members of the Progressive-Conservative party or of the C.C.F. have been telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal administration in Prince Edward Island is evidence of renewed endorsation, by the electors of Prince Edward Island of the policies of the Ottawa administration.

The Provincial Elections in Ontario.

It is not my intention, at this time, to hold an inquest into the causes of the defeat of the provincial government in Ontario, or of the defeat of government supporters in the recent federal by-elections. I do not mean, however, to allow either to pass unnoticed. All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years, just as, in Prince Edward Island, the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of that province of the manner in which their affairs had been administered. In each case, the electors expressed their opinion, not on federal issues, but on matters of provincial concern. In Ontario, they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration; in Prince Edward Island, they made it equally apparent that they believed the provincial administration was deserving of a continuance of their confidence.

— That however, more due to no fault on the part of Harry Nixon —

X — That, however, more ~~due to~~ no fault ~~on the part~~ of Harry Nixon —

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Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the Government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in Office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

The Gallup Poll.

In forming their estimate or circumstances which account for political results, there are many persons who attach considerable importance to the findings of the Gallup poll. I personally am not as yet prepared to substitute the responses to a Gallup poll, for my own judgment. Nor would those who conduct the Gallup poll expect this of any one. We must not ask more of the Gallup poll than it professes to provide. There are, however, many things on which it may help to throw considerable light. While not infallible, the Gallup poll has its uses. An estimate of factors which account for the outcome of the recent elections in Ontario is, I believe, a case in point. In a poll which was confined to the province of Ontario, one reason after another was given for the defeat of the Ontario administration, and for the votes received by the Progressive-Conservatives and the C.C.F. respectively. The most significant of all the findings was that in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration.

As to the size of the vote actually polled in the provincial election by each of the three parties, that I believe is to be accounted for, in the main, by the effectiveness of their respective organizations.

The Federal By-elections—Party organization discontinued by Liberals.

Let me speak of the federal by-elections. Here one has has not to go far afield to find the explanation of why government candidates were not returned.

When the elections of 1940 were over, even the semblance of a federal Liberal party organization was discontinued. The party's offices were closed. No party literature was published or distributed. In constituencies in which there were by-elections, no attention was paid to local organization until within a few weeks of polling. Since the war began, as I have already reminded you tonight, no nation-wide meetings or conventions of the party have been held. So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise.

I am not saying at the moment whether, from the point of view of national interest, or of party interests, this course of action, or rather, I should say, lack of action, has been the wise or right one. I am merely stating the facts so far as party organization and the dissemination of information on the party's policies are concerned.

Had the other political parties followed the same course, I should, at the moment, have nothing further to say on this point. But what, in fact, has been the course pursued by the other parties?

Party Organization and tactics of the Conservative Party

Let me speak first of the Conservative party,—now called the Progressive-Conservative party. I must be pardoned if I occasionally fail to use its latest name. During the years I have been in Parliament, that party has had a long succession of names and leaders. The elections of 1940 were

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In September of last year, at a meeting held at Port Hope, the Conservative party made a fresh start at political organization. That meeting was followed by a National Convention at Winnipeg in December, at which time the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies. From that day to this, the Progressive-Conservative party has been most active in publicising its new leader, in building up its organization at headquarters in Ottawa, and throughout Canada in the different constituencies.

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It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, has made cooperation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective. Because of his position as leader of the party which constitutes the official opposition in parliament, Mr. Bracken, throughout the past session, should have been the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Commons. Instead, he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive-Conservative party, and of himself as its leader. The party, at the same time, has retained the services of organizers, whose whole time is being given to the work of party organization aud publicity.

I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs. All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda, in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite to that followed by the government and its supporters.

Party organization and tactics of The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. Members of that party, during all the years of war, have steadily built up their party organization. They have, throughout, maintained offices for the publication and dissemination of party literature. They have had annual or semi-annual meetings of their National Council. In the summer of last year, they held a largely attended National Convention. They have been indefatigable in the work of political propaganda.

The propaganda of the C.C.F. has been very subtle. Today, that party professes its desires for an all-out war effort. I do not need to remind you of their attitute in 1939. In those days, the C.C.F. stood for a stay-at-home war effort. But while, in very general terms, they talk today about a total effort, when it comes to supporting the measures needed to achieve an utmost effort, their actions fail to measure up to their words.

The C.C.F. would have the people believe that they are the sole champions of the interests of Labour and of the poor and the depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization. They tell the people that the C.C.F. policy is based on the policy of the New Zealand government and they speak of the lot of Labour in Australia. But they don't say that New Zealand has adopted the same system of price and wage control as Canada, and that Australia has also done the same.

C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience and hardship. They talk as though the people at home are entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices which the men at the front are being called upon to endure? How many times have you heard them say that all must be prepared to bear increasing burdens, if this war is to be brought to an end before the destruction of the youth of Canada has reached devastating proportions!

The C.C.F. have been boring into the Labour organizations of the country, that through the medium of organized Labour they may further their political ambitions and aims. They are doing their utmost to make Labour believe that the present administration is hostile to labour. They have thus been making more difficult—one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and Labour, and confidence and co-operation between all classes. They have not been content to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labour become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim, and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end. The leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labour have already announced their acceptance of this alliance. To strengthen this very questionable alliance while the war is on, the C.C.F. have been taking advantage of

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A Word to Labour.

Let me say to Labour that, for some years before 1900, when I entered the public service to assist in the organization of a Federal Department of Labour, and became the Deputy Minister and, later, in 1909, the Minister of that department, and in all the years that have since intervened, I have watched, with an interest, second to none in my life, the steady advance of Labour into a fuller recognition of its rights and dignity. I have been interested in its struggle for economic freedom because I believe Labour represents, in its aims and aspirations, the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity, against want and misery—the one fight surely, that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellowmen. But, I have yet to see an alliance made by Labour with any political party, or Labour itself become a political party, seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to Labour and to the country.

Labour needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. The claims of Humanity are superior to those of Industry; they are superior to the special claims of either Capital or Labour. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today. That is as true of political parties, as of the parties to Industry. Political parties will only survive as they seek to serve the general, not the particular interest, and are broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all conditions of economic circumstance, and of all walks of life.

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Let Labour remember that it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war. Its own struggle is reflected on a world scale in this titanic conflict between the forces of tyranny and those of freedom. The battle which is being fought out with such appalling suffering and terrible destruction of human life in every quarter of the globe today is nothing so limited as a struggle between individual nations, or between peoples of different origins or race or colour. It is a struggle to decide whether the general interest of mankind is to be superior to all special interests, be the special interest the military might of Germany or Japan; or the special interest of Nazi, Fascist, or some other form of single political control.

This C.C.F. appeal to Labour is coupled with deceptive propaganda about profiteering by wealthy interests. No war-time government in any country, in this, or in any other war, has adopted a more complete programme to prevent profiteering than has the present government. And no government has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

No one could object to a political party in opposition advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own programme, even in wartime. That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war.

The Bloc Populaire Canadien and other minor parties.

There is a third opposition group of which I should now like to speak. It is the most recent and for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived. I refer to the so-called Bloc Populaire Canadien. Its self-appointed leaders who are a small group of malcontents are indifferent to the good name of Canada, and to the security of Canada. They pretend that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war. The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non". That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences and stirring racial animosities. This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of the government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early. I am perfectly certain that any appreciable numbers of the population of that province will not allow themselves to be misled by these false prophets. They have already been denounced by the overwhelming majority of the members of parliament from Quebec. But let there be no mistake about it, the poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously, by all who believe in the unity and the destiny of Canada as a great and free nation.

I shall not take time to refer to other parties such as the Social Credit Party, which is shrinking rapidly, and the most recent of all, the latest Progressive party—the Labour-Progressive party. The existence of these minor parties does, however, point to a danger which threatens the effective working of our Parliamentary democracy. It is the tendency to multiply parties and groups. The fate of unhappy France should be a terrible warning against this trend. It constitutes a national peril.

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I do not think anyone can say that, from the beginning of the war, I have failed to keep before the people of Canada the appalling seriousness of the world situation and the magnitude of the conflict itself. I can truthfully say that I have done all that lies within my power to avoid and to discourage unnecessary political controversy at this time of war, and to keep Canada united. No one can accuse the government of not having concentrated its energies upon the winning of the war, and upon making Canada's war effort just as effective as it could be made. But while the government has been giving its time and attention, all but exclusively, to the promotion of Canada's war effort, and to the solution of the problems which arise from day to day out of the war, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course. Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war, they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations, disseminating their party propaganda and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restrictions of any kind. For the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue.

Insert as suggested
undermining forces
~~Conflicting forces~~
at work.

The question of a general Election

At Toronto, on Saturday the 18th instant, at a dinner which opened the four day conference of the Ontario Council of the C.C.F. Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a sign-post of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes,—that may be any time now,—Ontario will decide the issue." Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before". So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

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For Canada's armed forces abroad, it must be evident that the present year and whatever period may follow, represents, if not the middle of the stream of war, certainly its most turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different from the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration. Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada, be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, in the elections they have held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor General to grant an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be. Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government, found in 1940, that the people of Canada have much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have. At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Canada's fighting men must be her first concern.

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the West. On the East, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before Parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces of freedom had the initiative.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of Parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before Parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approaching Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections, should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved Accordingly, I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:—

> "While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in

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I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

> "Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of Parliament's adjournment on July 24th, that I felt any question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I told to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

Circumstances governing the date of an election.

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as Mr. Churchill told the British House of Commons the other day, the bloodiest fighting is still to come. Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one. But a general election may, nonetheless, prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over.

First of all, there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, It will be necessary, regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

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Apart from the constitutional limitation, circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the Government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarrented and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention, and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country.

Possible difficulties in parliament.

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the Opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties—the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been added a miscellaneous group composed of members of The Bloc Populaire, so-called Independents, and Labour Progressives—all of which have ambitions of their own. At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors, or in criticizing the administration. Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more, could, if desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the government policies as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on. Such a situation would be bad enough at any time. It would be an impossible situation for an administration charged with the responsibility of governing at a time of war. An experience of the kind would leave the government no alternative but a dissolution.

There is another possibility which might arise. It is that even within the government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile. In such a situation the only solution would be the verdict of the people themselves. Personally, I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring. But it is a possibility which, with the problems of government what they have become after four years of war, and in an atmosphere of strain and tension such as war engenders, no leader of a government can afford to overlook.

To all this must be added, in considering the date of a possible election, happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary, a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Support of fighting men the first consideration deciding upon elections.

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-importan as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back, to their own homeland, those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time, I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee, them, the circumstances that will govern the decision.

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We owe it to our fighting men to ensure, by our united support, the success of their arms. We owe this no less to the memory of those men who at sea, on land and in the air already have given their lives; and to those also who have given their strength or their liberty that we may continue to enjoy the freedom we have, and to provide for others a larger freedom than most men have yet enjoyed. This can, I believe, be realized if, until victory is achieved, our fighting men command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds and the utmost that our country can give in their support.

Fellow members of the Liberal Party of Canada:

In my opening remarks, this evening, I referred to that memorable gathering of our Party which was held in Toronto on August 8th, 1939. In my address on that occasion, I concluded with the following words:

> "Liberalism began with a struggle to extend and to defend freedom. Its work through the years has been to continue the effort to extend and to defend freedom. In the past, in Canada, that effort has been primarily in relation to freedom within our own country. So far as the future is concerned, we, as Liberals, if we be true to our cause, will seek to extend and defend freedom, not only for ourselves in our own land, but will be prepared to do so, as circumstances may determine, in the interests of mankind."

In those words, I was telling the people of Canada, no less than the members of my own party, that I believed the country was already under the shadow of war and that when war came, it would menace the freedom of all men.

Looking back, tonight, over four years of war, we may all feel the deepest satisfaction that Liberalism in Canada has been true to its fundamental principle—the defence of freedom. The task of Liberalism will not be finished when the war is won. That great moment will but mark a place of new beginning. The future of the Liberal Party will not be found in defending the privileges of the few, or in arousing the prejudices of the many. It will be found in serving the whole community, and in promoting the security and freedom of all the people. In meeting the problems of the post-war period, the task of Liberalism will remain the preservation and the extension of freedom.

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Discours du très hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,
premier ministre du Canada
devant la Fédération libérale nationale
Au Château Laurier, Ottawa, le 27 septembre 1943.

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Le 8 août 1939, les membres du parti libéral de toutes les régions du pays se réunirent à Toronto. Le souvenir de cette grande réunion occupe mon esprit, ce soir. C'est la dernière fois qu'il m'a été donné de rencontrer d'autres chefs et adeptes du parti à une réunion politique et sociale, réunion à laquelle on peut faire une revue des réalisations passées du parti, de son état actuel et de ses visées et des ambitions qu'il caresse pour l'avenir.

Confiance du parti dans son chef depuis un quart de siècle

Je venais de compléter une période de vingt ans à la direction du parti et la réunion en question avait partiellement pour objet de commémorer cet événement. Plus de quatre ans, -- la durée moyenne d'un Parlement, -- sans aucune réunion entre le chef d'un parti politique et ceux à la confiance desquels il doit d'abord son poste important, c'est beaucoup. Les années d'intervalle ont été des années de guerre. Ellesne m'ont permis de prendre contact qu'en de rares et brèves occasions avec les membres du parti autres que mes collègues du cabinet. Si l'on tient compte de ces circonstances, il est vraiment surprenant de constater que la présente assemblée ne témoigne pas moins de confiance et de bienveillance de la part du parti envers son chef que la réunion d'il y a quatre ans. Cela indique combien grande était la confiance qui s'est établie entre nous dans les années antérieures à la guerre, et combien ferme elle est demeurée dans les rudes années d'épreuve de la guerre.

Je suis profondément reconnaissant de ce maintien de la confiance du parti libéral canadien dans ma direction. J'ai raison de dire qu'aucun chef vivant d'un parti politique, en aucun pays, n'a été, sans interruption, dans une si longue période, l'objet de la confiance et de l'estime de ses partisans politiques. C'est une chose que je ne pourrai jamais oublier. C'est une chose que rien ne pourra jamais supprimer. C'est une chose dont je ne saurais vous remercier trop chaleureusement. C'est une dette de gratitude dont je reconnais de tout mon coeur l'existence, ce soir.

Quel que soit le sort que l'avenir nous réserve à vous et à moi, la pensée de la confiance et de l'appui ininterrompus dont j'ai joui comme chef du parti durant presque un quart de siècle sera le trésor le plus

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précieux de ma vie publique.

Confiance des électeurs dans le parti libéral durant presque un quart de siècle

L'existence de cette loyauté et de cette collaboration entre le parti et son chef a rendu possible un autre témoignage de confiance qu'on me pardonnera de trouver encore plus grand. Il me semble tel parce qu'il ne se limite pas à ma personne, mais s'adresse au parti libéral, aux principes qu'il a préconisés et au programme qu'il s'est efforcé d'exécuter. Je parle de la confiance que depuis un quart de siècle la population a témoigné au parti libéral, dans son habileté à deviner les besoins de la population et dans l'habileté des gouvernements libéraux à gouverner conformément à la volonté et aux désirs de la majorité.

Lorsque j'ai été choisi comme son chef le 7 août 1919, notre parti était dans l'opposition. Il y est resté jusqu'à ce que les élections générales de 1921 aient fourni aux électeurs l'occasion d'indiquer à quel parti ils voulaient confier l'administration des affaires du pays. Depuis lors jusqu'à aujourd'hui, sauf une période d'un peu plus de cinq ans, un gouvernement libéral a été au pouvoir au pays depuis les vingt-deux dernières années. Dans les deux dernières législatures, la majorité du gouvernement actuel a été plus grande que celle dont ait jamais disposé un gouvernement depuis l'établissement de la Confédération. C'est un témoignage de confiance que je tiens à reconnaître ce soir. C'est une dette qu'au nom du parti libéral je tiens à reconnaître envers la population canadienne. C'est un exploit dont tous les assistants et tous les membres du parti libéral ont droit d'être fiers.

Le gouvernement continue à jouir de la confiance publique

D'aucuns ont commencé à affirmer depuis quelques semaines que le gouvernement actuel ne jouit plus de la confiance des électeurs. Je ne partage pas cette façon de voir. Si tel était mon avis, je considérerais que c'est mon devoir constitutionnel de prier Son Excellence le Gouverneur général de dissoudre immédiatement le Parlement. Il n'y a je crois, au Canada, aucun autre parti politique ni aucun groupement de partis politiques qui ait reçu du peuple canadien, depuis le début de la guerre, autant de marques de confiance. Si je devais annoncer ce soir que j'ai

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demandé une dissolution immédiate du Parlement afin de poser la question de confiance dans l'administration, une telle nouvelle serait accueillie non pas avec joie mais avec consternation.

Parallèle entre la situation politique actuelle et celle de 1940

En 1939, la guerre venait à peine de commencer et l'on nous déclarait que notre régime, en fonctions depuis 1935, n'avait plus la confiance du peuple canadien. En temps de guerre, il fallait, nous disait-on, non un gouvernement de parti mais ce que l'on appelait un gouvernement national. Et l'on alléguait que notre effort de guerre n'était pas suffisant. On disait à mon sujet que tout en étant acceptable comme chef d'un gouvernement en temps de paix, je n'étais pas le chef qu'il fallait pour diriger l'Etat en temps de guerre. Voilà quels étaient les propos de nos adversaires. Quelle fut la réponse du peuple canadien? Qu'est-il résulté de l'appel au peuple de mars 1940? Le Gouvernement fut non seulement maintenu en fonctions mais tous les membres du cabinet furent réélus. Presque tous les candidats du gouvernement national furent défaits. Comme chef du parti, j'obtenais une majorité de députés sans précédent dans les annales de la Chambre des communes.

Les résultats des élections générales de 1940 furent décisifs. Il s'agissait pour le peuple canadien de décider à quel parti politique il désirait confier la direction de notre effort de guerre. La réponse fut catégorique. L'important mandat de diriger les affaires de l'Etat pendant une période de guerre fut confié au gouvernement actuel. Depuis ce temps, le Gouvernement a toujours eu présent à l'esprit le mandat qu'il a reçu du peuple. Notre premier et plus important devoir était de porter toute notre attention à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre. C'est ce que nous avons fait tout en nous efforçant de faire face, de jour en jour et de mois en mois, aux problèmes d'ordre domestique auxquels la guerre devait inévitablement donner lieu. Nous n'avons pas négligé non plus d'envisager l'avenir et de nous préparer à faire face aux nombreux problèmes qui surgiront après la guerre.

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L'effort de guerre du Canada a été prodigieux

Aucun citoyen éclairé ne saurait mettre en doute l'ampleur de notre effort de guerre. Je défie qui que ce soit de démontrer, compte tenu des circonstances, que notre effort a été inférieur à celui d'un autre pays quel qu'il soit. Si un tel défi était relevé, j'invoquerais le témoignage, non pas d'hommes publics canadiens mais celui des chefs de l'une ou l'autre des Nations Unies. Je poserais la question aux chefs d'état major de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis qui, il y a quelques jours à peine, étaient réunis en conférence à Québec; et j'interrogerais sur ce point ces éminents hommes d'Etat, le premier ministre de Grande-Bretagne et le Président des Etats-Unis, entre les mains de qui se trouve actuellement la direction suprême de la guerre.

Il serait inconcevable que tout cela n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux du people canadien; que tout cela n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux des pères et des mères qui ont vu leurs fils et leurs filles quitter leur foyer pour aller servir aux quatre coins du globe; que cela enfin n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux des membres des forces armées. Dira-t-on que le Gouvernement actuel a perdu la confiance du people à cause de sa constante fidélité au devoir suprême? Dira-t-on que le peuple n'a plus confiance en nous parce que nous avons si bien accompli la tâche qui importait le plus; parce que nous nous sommes si bien acquittés de la mission qui est, et demeurera, le devoir suprême de tout gouvernement jusqu'à la victoire?

La victoire demeure le but suprême du Gouvernement

Ceux qui pensent ou qui disent qu'il n'en est pas ainsi, ne songent pas uniquement à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre. Ils ont d'autres visées et d'autres buts. Ils n'ont pas encore saisi l'enjeu véritable de cette guerre qui pose, pour les nations, la question de vie ou de mort; ils n'ont pas compris qu'en face des nations libres du monde se dressent encore les forces les plus puissantes qui aient jamais menacé la liberté des hommes; ils ne peuvent savoir qu'il s'agit d'une guerre qui menace tout ce qu'a de meilleur une civilisation qu'il a fallu des siècles pour édifier. Ceux qui affirment ou qui croient qu'il est aujourd'hui une tâche quelconque qui soit plus importante pour le Gouvernement que la direction constante d'un effort de guerre suprême en vue de la victoire ne se rendent aucun compte de l'ampleur de la tâche qui nous attend. Ils ne se font certes aucune idée des millions de vies précieuses qu'il faudra sacrifier avant que la guerre soit gagnée.

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Si comme gouvernement ou comme parti politique nous avions falli à la tâche essentielle, nous serions peut-être justifiables de nous croire indignes de la mission que nous avons acceptée. Si, au lieu de consacrer notre temps, nos pensées et nos énergies à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre, nous avions détourné le peuple de l'effort concerté nécessaire à la victoire; si nous avions agi de manière à rechercher des avantages politiques; si nous nous étions arrêtés à des questions qui tendent, non pas à unir, mais à diviser; et si nous avions cherché à miner les efforts des autres, nous pourrions avoir raison de penser que non seulement nous ne méritions plus la confiance du peuple canadien, mais aussi que nous avions perdu tout droit à cette confiance pour toujours. Heureusement, sous ce rapport, nous n'avons rien à nous reprocher. Ne vous imaginez pas que le peuple ne sait pas et ne comprend pas toutes ces choses; qu'il ne voit pas où se trouve son propre intérêt. Ne croyez pas qu'à un moment de crise mondiale il ne sait pas en quelles mains placer les intérêts et le sort de son pays.

Cause de l'agitation

Quelle est la cause de toute l'agitation suscitée dans certains milieux politiques? Elle n'est pas difficile à trouver. Le 4 août on a tenu des élections provinciales en Ontario et le gouvernement au pouvoir a été renversé. Au cours des élections fédérales partielles tenues le 9 août des candidats de l'opposition ont été élus.

Les partis opposés au Gouvernement actuel ont cherché depuis à faire un rapprochement entre les élections provinciales d'Ontario et les quatre élections fédérales partielles, et à attribuer les résultats dans tous les cas au mécontentement occasionné par le programme de l'Administration fédérale.

Le 15 septembre, à la suite des élections provinciales en Ontario et des élections fédérales partielles, il y a eu une autre élection provinciale, et cette dernière dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard. Quel a été le résultat? Le gouvernement libéral de cette province a été de nouveau porté au pouvoir et il a fait élire deux de ses partisans pour chaque membre du parti conservateur progressiste élu. La Fédération du commonwealth coopératif a mis un certain nombre de candidats sur les rangs. Pas un seul n'a été élu et tous ont perdu leur dépôt. Au cours des élections

on a répété à plusieurs reprises que le premier ministre Jones de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard se tenait en communication avec le Gouvernement à Ottawa. Je n'ai pas constaté que les membres du parti conservateur progressiste ou de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif aient dit aux Canadiens que le retour au pouvoir du gouvernement libéral de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard était la preuve d'un renouvellement de confiance de la part des électeurs de cette province dans l'Administration d'Ottawa.

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Les élections provinciales en Ontario.

Je n'ai pas l'intention en ce moment de tenir une enquête sur les causes de la défaite du gouvernement provincial d'Ontario, ou de la défaite des candidats du Gouvernement lors des récentes élections fédérales partielles. Cependant, je ne voudrais pas laisser passer ces deux événements sans en dire un mot. Au sujet des élections en Ontario je me contenterai de dire que les résultats sont l'expression de l'opinion des électeurs sur la manière dont les affaires publiques de cette province avaient été dirigées au cours des six années précédentes, tout comme, dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, les résultats révèlent les sentiments des habitants de cette province relativement à la gestion des affaires publiques chez eux. Dans chaque cas, les électeurs ont exprimé leur opinion, non pas sur des problèmes fédéraux, mais sur des questions d'intérêt provincial. En Ontario, ils ont démontré que le gouvernement provincial avait perdu la confiance du public; dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, le scrutin a démontré de façon aussi manifeste que le peuple avait encore confiance dans ses administrateurs.

(Intercaler p. 6 a ici)

6-A

Le scrutin Gallup.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de tirer des conclusions de certains événements politiques quantité de gens attachent une grande importance aux résultats du scrutin Gallup. Quant à moi je ne suis pas prêt à substituer les réponses données à un scrutin Gallup à mon propre jugement. Les organisateurs de ces scrutins ne s'attendent pas à cela de qui que ce soit. Nous ne devons pas leur faire dire plus qu'ils ne sont censés dire. Cependant, dans certains cas ils peuvent nous éclairer considérablement. Bien qu'il ne soit pas infaillible le scrutin Gallup a une certaine utilité. Nous en avons un exemple dans l'appréciation qu'on a faite des causes qui ont amené le résultat des récentes élections en Ontario. Dans un scrutin limité à la province d'Ontario, on a invoqué différentes raisons pour expliquer la défaite du gouvernement de cette province, et pour justifier les votes donnés aux conservateurs progressistes et à la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif respectivement. Ce qu'il y a de plus significatif à ce sujet c'est que dans aucun cas on n'a attribué ces résultats au programme de l'Administration fédérale.

Quant à l'importance du vote accordé à chacun des trois partis lors de l'élection provinciale, je crois qu'on peut l'attribuer, en

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On me permettra d'ajouter qu'à mon avis, si le gouvernement d'Ontario avait, durant cette période de guerre, coopéré avec le gouvernement fédéral de la même manière et dans la même mesure que les gouvernements de toutes les autres provinces du Canada, le parti libéral serait encore au pouvoir en Ontario à l'heure actuelle et quelques-uns des problèmes les plus épineux qui se sont présentés pour le parti n'auraient jamais surgi.

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grande partie, à l'efficacité de leurs organisations respectives.

Les élections fédérales partielles - Organisation de parti abandonnée par les libéraux.

Je dirai maintenant un mot des élections fédérales partielles. Dans ce cas il n'est pas nécessaire de chercher bien longtemps pour trouver l'explication de la défaite des candidats du Gouvernement.

Immédiatement après les élections de 1940 nous avons cessé tout travail d'organisation du parti libéral fédéral. Les bureaux du parti ont été fermés, et aucun tract de propagande politique n'a été imprimé ou distribué. Dans les circonscriptions où ont été tenues des élections partielles, le travail d'organisation n'a été repris que quelques semaines avant le jour de la votation. Depuis le début de la guerre, comme je l'ai déjà rappelé ce soir, notre parti n'a tenu aucune assemblée ou convention de portée nationale. Pour ce qui est des questions d'ordre fédéral, notre parti n'a fait aucun travail d'organisation durant toute cette période et n'a fait aucun effort organisé pour publier les programmes adoptés par le Gouvernement ou, même là où la chose s'imposait, pour en interpréter ou expliquer la portée sur les problèmes que posent ici même, dans notre pays, les exigences de la guerre.

Je ne cherche aucunement, pour l'instant, à dire si, du point de vue national, ou dans l'intérêt de notre parti, cette manière d'agir ou, devrais-je dire, ce défaut d'agir, a été la plus sage ou la meilleure ligne de conduite à suivre. Je me contente d'exposer les faits, pour ce qui touche à l'organisation du parti et à la publication des renseignements concernant son programme.

Si les autres partis avaient suivi la même ligne de conduite, je n'aurais plus rien à ajouter sur ce point. Mais comment, de fait, les autres partis se sont-ils conduits?

Organisation et tactique du parti conservateur

Je vous parlerai d'abord du parti conservateur, - que l'on appelle maintenant le parti conservateur progressiste. On me pardonnera s'il m'arrive de ne pas toujours le désigner sous ce dernier nom. Au cours des années que j'ai passées au Parlement, ce parti a bien des fois changé de nom et de chef. A peine les élections de 1940 étaient-elles terminées que l'on commença à percevoir des signes de gros temps dans les divergences d'opinions qui se manifestaient au sein même des mem-

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bres de l'opposition officielle. Dans leurs réunions secrètes, au Parlement et partout dans le pays, les membres du parti conservateur, - il ne s'appelait pas encore le parti conservateur progressiste, - ont lancé une campagne contre le gouvernement dans le but de diviser les forces du parti au pouvoir et de confier l'administration du pays à un parti autre que celui qui avait obtenu une majorité si écrasante. Pendant toute l'année 1941, on a mis de l'avant la question du service obligatoire outre-mer et on a ressuscité celle d'un gouvernement national pour en faire l'application. Aux mois de juillet et d'août de cette année-là, celui qui dirigeait alors l'opposition conservatrice, ainsi que des membres de son parti, ont fait une tournée dans l'ouest du Canada pour voir à ce que, entre autres choses, l'organisation fut bien à point dans toutes les circonscriptions. Au mois de novembre 1941, au cours d'une réunion tenue à Ottawa, le parti conservateur se choisit un nouveau chef. Il ne devait plus être question, dans la suite, de soi-disant collaboration avec le Gouvernement dans la mise à exécution de son effort de guerre, mais commençait alors ouvertement l'opposition au parti au pouvoir sur le parquet même de la Chambre des communes. Cette tentative de guerre ouverte a échoué à la suite de la défaite du nouveau chef dans la circonscription d'York-Sud, au mois de février 1942. C'est ainsi qu'on a épargné au Parlement la discussion de la question du service obligatoire qui aurait divisé le pays et grandement nui à l'effort de guerre du Canada. Cette question n'a pas été soulevée dans le pays, grâce à la tenue du plébiscite de 1942, lequel a clairement démontré que le Gouvernement était parfaitement libre d'adopter une mesure de service obligatoire outre-mer quand il le voudrait si, pour assurer la victoire finale, une telle mesure devait s'imposer. Depuis 1940 jusqu'à nos jours, à aucun moment le nombre des navires disponibles n'a été assez considérable pour nous permettre de transporter outre-mer les recrues qui se sont de plein gré enrôlées au Canada pour faire du service n'importe où. La situation a été la même pour ce qui est du transport des approvisionnements et des munitions disponibles.

Au mois de septembre de l'an dernier, au cours d'une assemblée tenue à Port-Hope, le parti conservateur a entrepris de refaire tout à neuf son organisation politique. Cette réunion a été suivie d'une convention nationale tenue à Winnipeg au mois de décembre. C'est à cette convention que ce parti s'est donné un nouveau nom, un nouveau chef, et un

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nouveau programme. Depuis ce jour, le parti conservateur progressiste a déployé beaucoup d'activité pour faire connaître son nouveau chef, pour organiser son bureau-chef à Ottawa et aussi dans toutes les circonscriptions de notre pays.

On peut difficilement dire que M. Bracken, le nouveau chef du parti conservateur progressiste a collaboré avec le gouvernement en vue de fournir un effort de guerre uni au point d'en faire son principal objectif. Compte tenu de sa position de chef du parti qui constitue l'opposition officielle au Parlement, M. Bracken, aurait dû durant toute la dernière session diriger l'opposition officielle à la Chambre des communes. Au lieu de celà, il a parcouru le Canada en tous sens dans l'intérêt du parti conservateur progressiste et aussi dans son propre intérêt à titre de chef de ce parti. Ce groupe politique a de plus retenu les services d'organisateurs qui consacrent tout leur temps à assurer l'organisation et la publicité du parti. Je ne veux pas affirmer que le parti conservateur progressiste n'a pas le droit de conduire ses propres affaires comme il l'entend. Je tiens uniquement à dire bien clairement qu'au point de vue de l'organisation et de la publicité d'ordre politique durant la guerre, ce parti a suivi une ligne de conduite diamétralement opposée à celle des membres du gouvernement et du parti ministériel.

Organisation et tactique du parti de la Fédération du Commonwealth coopératif.

La situation est la même dans le cas de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif.

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Chaque année, depuis le début de la guerre, les membres de ce parti se sont appliqués à édifier leur organisme politique. Ils ont maintenu des bureaux pour la publication et la distribution d'écrits politiques. Leur conseil national a tenu des assemblées annuelles ou semi-annuelles. Pendant l'été de l'année dernière, ils ont tenu un congrès national réunissant une foule nombreuse . Ils ont fait preuve d'un zèle infatigable dans leur travail de propagande politique.

La propagande de la C.C.F. a été des plus subtiles. A l'heure actuelle, ce parti manifeste le désir de livrer une guerre totale. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous rappeler quelle a été son attitude à cet égard en 1939. La C.C.F. était alors en faveur d'un effort de guerre limité à la défense de notre seul pays. Mais quand les membres de ce parti parlent aujourd'hui, en termes vagues, d'un effort de guerre total, ils refusent de mettre leurs conseils en pratique et d'appuyer les mesures propres à assurer cet effort maximum.

Les membres de la C.C.F. veulent faire croire à la population qu'ils sont les uniques champions des intérêts des ouvriers, des pauvres et des délaissés. Or, la C.C.F. n'a jamais appuyé sincèrement notre politique canadienne de la réglementation des prix, bien que cette mesure soit la plus importante qu'on ait jamais adoptée au Canada pour assurer aux membres les moins fortunés de la société un niveau de vie convenable. Les membres de ce parti cherchent sans cesse à semer la discorde autour de notre politique de stabilisation des prix et des salaires. Ils disent à la population que leur politique est calquée sur celle du gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande et ils parlent du sort des ouvriers de l'Australie; mais ils refusent de nous dire que la politique de réglementation des prix et des salaires adoptée en Nouvelle-Zélande et en Australie est la même que celle qui est en vigueur au Canada.

Les propagandistes de la C.C.F. prennent bien garde de dire à la population qu'effort de guerre total signifie pour tous et chacun fardeaux, rareté de produits, inconvénients et privations. Selon eux, la population a droit à un effort de guerre qui n'exige d'elle aucun sacrifice. Ces gens ne manquent pas d'exploiter tous les griefs et tous les

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mécontentements. Ont-ils souvent mentionné les sacrifices que nos militaires doivent consentir au front? Combien souvent les a-t-on entendu dire que tous doivent être prêts à porter des fardeaux de plus en plus lourds si l'on veut que la guerre se termine avant que la destruction de notre jeunesse ait atteint des proportions alarmantes?

Les membres de la C.C.F. ont travaillé les syndicats ouvriers du pays afin de se servir de ces syndicats pour satisfaire leurs ambitions et leurs fins politiques. Ils s'appliquent de leur mieux à faire croire aux ouvriers que le présent Gouvernement est hostile envers la classe ouvrière. Ils rendent ainsi plus difficile l'une des tâches les plus dures en temps de guerre, savoir le maintien des relations amicales entre le Gouvernement et les ouvriers, de la confiance et de la collaboration entre toutes les classes de la société. Ils ne peuvent attendre la fin de la guerre pour inviter les ouvriers syndiqués à lier leur sort à celui d'un parti politique. Ils déclarent ouvertement que tel est leur but et ils se servent de la guerre pour arriver à cette fin. Les dirigeants du Congrès canadien du travail ont déjà fait savoir qu'ils accepteraient cette alliance. Pour affermir cette alliance plus que douteuse, la C.C.F. exploite tous les mécontentements et tous les griefs possibles. Elle cite comme preuve de cette hostilité du Gouvernement envers les ouvriers ces règlements mêmes qui, en temps de guerre, sont nécessaires pour sauvegarder les intérêts des ouvriers, en même temps que ceux de toute la collectivité.

<u>Un mot aux ouvriers</u>

Je dirai aux ouvriers que dès avant 1900 lorsque je débutai dans la vie publique pour aider à l'organisation d'un ministère fédéral du Travail dont je devins le sous-ministre, et plus tard, en 1909, le titulaire, je n'ai cessé pendant tout ce temps, comme au cours des années subséquentes, de suivre avec le plus vif intérêt les progrès constants accomplis par la classe ouvrière prenant de plus en plus conscience de ses droits et de sa dignité. Je me suis intéressé à ses luttes pour la liberté économique parce que je crois que la classe ouvrière représente, dans ses buts et ses aspirations, les tendances et les sentiments des

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pauvres, des humbles et des petits dans leur lutte contre la pauvreté et l'adversité, contre le besoin et la misère, la seule lutte, à n'en pas douter, que puisse livrer celui qui conserve dans son coeur l'amour de son prochain. Mais jamais, à ma connaissance, je n'ai vu des ouvriers s'allier à un parti politique quelconque ou des ouvriers former leur propre parti politique, poursuivant sa propre fin sans se soucier de celle de la société en général, sans qu'une telle alliance ne finît tôt ou tard par être désastreuse tant pour les ouvriers eux-mêmes que pour le pays.

Les ouvriers ont besoin de toute la bonne volonté, de toute l'aide et de toute l'amitié qu'ils peuvent obtenir des hommes et des femmes de tous les partis politiques, comme de tous ceux qui ne possèdent aucune notion en ce domaine. Les ouvriers obtiendront toutes ces choses et ce, dans une mesure de plus en plus grande, à la condition qu'ils restent libres de donner leur appui à tous les mouvements susceptibles de servir le bien commun. Les besoins de l'humanité viennent avant ceux de l'industrie; ils viennent avant les besoins particuliers du capital ou du travail. C'est l'intérêt général, et non pas l'intérêt particulier, qui doit occuper la première place dans nos esprits à l'heure actuelle. Ce principe s'applique aux partis politiques tout comme aux groupements qui s'intéressent à l'industrie. Les partis politiques ne survivront qu'à la condition de servir les intérêts généraux et non les intérêts particuliers et à la condition que leurs cadres soient suffisamment larges pour admettre dans leurs rangs les hommes et les femmes de toutes les classes de la société, de toutes les croyances, de toutes les conditions sociales et de toutes les professions.

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Que les ouvriers se rappellent que leur sort dépend entièrement de l'issue du conflit mondial actuel. Le présent conflit titanesque qui met aux prises les forces de la tyrannie et celles de la liberté reproduit, sur une échelle mondiale, la lutte qu'ils livrent eux-mêmes. La bataille qui se poursuit aujourd'hui et qui cause tant de souffrances et de destruction dans toutes les parties du monde ne se limite nullement à un conflit entre diverses nations ni entre des peuples d'origine, de race ou de couleur différentes. C'est une lutte dont l'issue décidera si l'intérêt général de l'humanité doit primer tous les intérêts particuliers, qu'il s'agisse de la puissance militaire de l'Allemagne ou du Japon ou de l'intérêt particulier du nazisme, du fascisme ou de quelque autre genre de contrôle politique.

Cet appel que la C.C.F. lance aux ouvriers se joint à une propagande trompeuse au sujet du mercantilisme des classes riches. Aucun gouvernement du temps de guerre, dans un pays quelconque, n'a, dans cette guerre ou dans quelque autre conflit, adopté pour la prévention de toute exploitation, un programme plus complet que celui que s'est tracé le gouvernement actuel, et aucun gouvernement n'a appliqué ses mesures avec plus de rigueur.

Personne ne saurait trouver mauvais qu'un parti politique de l'opposition fasse valoir ses principes et sa politique et énonce son propre programme, même en temps de guerre. Tel est le devoir et le but d'une opposition. Il y a cependant loin de là à fonder des campagnes politiques sur des tactiques qui, quel que soit le but visé, ne peuvent avoir pour effet que de contribuer à saper l'effort de la nation en temps de guerre.

<u>Le Bloc populaire et les autres partis d'importance secondaire</u>

L'opposition comprend un troisième groupe dont je dirai maintenant quelques mots. C'est le plus récent et, songeant à l'unité canadienne, j'espère qu'il sera le plus éphémère. Je veux parler du Bloc populaire canadien. Ceux qui s'en sont arrogé la direction constituent un petit groupe de mécontents que la bonne renommée et la sécurité du Canada laissent indifférents. Ils prétendent que le Canada ne court aucun danger dans la guerre actuelle. A les entendre, la Grande-Bretagne et non l'Allemagne nazie serait le véritable ennemi. Ils s'opposent à ce que notre pays participe davantage à la guerre. Le Bloc populaire est, que je sache, l'unique parti dont le programme et la politique soient formulés par le simple mot "non". Cette doctrine négative et destructive est de nature à compromettre très gravement l'effort de guerre du Canada ainsi que l'avenir du pays.

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Le Bloc populaire cherche, de propos délibéré, à soulever le Québec contre le reste du Canada. Peu lui importe, apparemment, le tort qu'il causera à la population du Québec s'il réussit à ranger le reste du Canada, et à vrai dire le reste de l'Amérique du Nord, contre le Québec. Le but véritable de ses chefs est de capter des votes et de s'assurer de l'influence en exploitant les divergences ethniques et en fomentant les querelles de race. Ces appels aux préjugés de race, de religion et autres ont été poussés à l'extrême limite lors des élections complémentaires qui ont récemment eu lieu dans le Québec, et ils expliquent, en somme, la défaite des candidats du gouvernement. Peut-être aura-t-il été bon que la population du Québec ait ainsi été mise en garde dès le début. J'ai la certitude absolue qu'aucun groupe important de cette population ne se laissera tromper par ces faux prophètes. Ils ont déjà été dénoncés par une écrasante majorité des députés fédéraux de la province de Québec. Toutefois, qu'on ne s'y méprenne pas; le poison qu'ils répandent devra être neutralisé activement et vigoureusement par tous ceux qui ont à coeur l'unité du Canada et qui désirent le voir devenir une nation grande et libre.

Je ne m'arrêterai pas à parler des autres partis tels que celui du Crédit social, qui diminue rapidement en importance, ainsi que le plus récent de tous, c'est-à-dire le parti travailliste-progressiste. Toutefois, l'existence de ces partis d'importance secondaire révèle un danger qui menace le fonctionnement efficace de notre démocratie parlementaire. Il s'agit de la tendance des partis et des groupes à se multiplier. Le sort de la malheureuse France devrait constituer une terrible mise en garde contre cette tendance, qui constitue un péril national.

Ce que je viens de dire suffit à démontrer comment je m'explique la défaite des candidats du gouvernement lors des récentes élections complémentaires.

Personne, je crois, ne peut prétendre que, depuis le début de la guerre, j'ai négligé de signaler au peuple canadien la terrible gravité de la situation mondiale et l'importance du conflit lui-même. Je puis dire en toute vérité que j'ai fait tout mon possible pour éviter et atténuer toute polémique politique en ce temps de guerre et pour maintenir l'unité canadienne. Personne ne peut accuser le gouvernement de n'avoir pas consacré toute son énergie à gagner la guerre et à rendre l'effort de guerre du Canada aussi efficace que possible. Toutefois, bien que le gouvernement ait consacré presque exclusivement son temps et son attention à diriger l'effort de guerre du Canada et à résoudre les problèmes que la guerre fait surgir d'un jour à l'autre, les partis politiques qui lui font la lutte ont pris une attitude différente.

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Au lieu d'aider le gouvernement à faire comprendre au peuple l'extrême gravité du conflit mondial et la nature urgente des nécessités de la guerre, ils ont élaboré et perfectionné leur organisation politique, disséminant leur propagande de parti et exploitant le mécontentement que suscitent inévitablement les mesures de contrôle nécessaires en temps de guerre, ainsi que l'irritation que font naître toutes restrictions, de quelque nature qu'elles soient. Pour le gouvernement d'un pays en guerre, c'est là une situation intolérable, qu'on ne saurait laisser se perpétuer.

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La question d'une élection générale

Le samedi 18 courant, à Toronto, au cours d'un dîner qui inaugurait le congrès de quatre jours du conseil de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif pour l'Ontario, M. E.B. Jolliffe, chef provincial de ce groupe, a prédit une élection fédérale prochaine. Il a donné comme signes avant-coureurs des événements futurs les succès que son parti a remportés dans la province d'Ontario. D'après un rapport, M. Jolliffe aurait prononcé les paroles suivantes: "La prochaine élection fédérale est la plus importante de l'histoire du peuple canadien. La province d'Ontario est le pivot qui déterminera les résultats de la prochaine élection qui peut maintenant avoir lieu d'un moment à l'autre." On rapporte qu'il aurait tenu au sujet du gouvernement d'Ottawa les propos suivants: "Il peut tenir une élection en vitesse dans l'espoir que les électeurs appuieront encore une fois l'administration King plutôt que de changer de monture au milieu du ruisseau." On dit aussi que M. Jolliffe a invité son parti "à mener la campagne fédérale avec une énergie et une détermination sans précédent." Voilà pour les paroles prononcées, d'après les rapports, au cours de ce dîner. Le rapport de la Presse canadienne se termine ainsi: "A la réunion d'aujourd'hui, tenue à huis clos, on organise une campagne en vue d'étendre à toutes les circonscriptions de l'Ontario les activités du parti."

Pour les forces armées canadiennes en service outremer, la présente année et toute la période qui doit suivre représente, de toute évidence, sinon le milieu du ruisseau de la guerre, du moins et certainement son courant le plus violent et le plus dangereux. Si transporté qu'il soit, à la suite des récents succès de son parti lors de la campagne provinciale d'Ontario, M. Jolliffe se rend compte qu'une élection immédiate dans le domaine fédéral différerait beaucoup de la récente campagne provinciale d'Ontario. Il lui appert, même avec son expérience politique limitée, que la population canadienne n'est pas prête à remplacer l'administration actuelle par un gouvernement de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif pour traverser la période de guerre. Si, en effet, une élection devait avoir lieu demain, la population du Canada ne serait pas plus disposée que celles de l'Afrique du Sud, de l'Australie, et de la Nouvelle-Zélande où des élections ont eu lieu au cours de la guerre actuelle, à

confier à un autre gouvernement que celui qui est maintenant chargé de la direction de notre effort de guerre, la tâche formidable de veiller aux destinées du Canada jusqu'à la fin de cette guerre.

Si, au lieu de penser, comme je le fais, à gagner la guerre, je ne songeais, comme M. Jolliffe, qu'à gagner des élections, je trouverais dans les assertions de ce dernier et dans celles d'autres qui prétendent que le gouvernement actuel ne jouit pas de la confiance du pays, des motifs suffisants pour conseiller à Son Excellence le Gouverneur général d'accorder la dissolution immédiate du Parlement. Je n'entretiens aucun doute sur les résultats de cet appel au peuple. M. Jolliffe constaterait, comme l'ont fait en 1940 d'autres dont l'objectif principal était un changement de gouvernement, que la population canadienne a un sens beaucoup plus profond de la gravité de la situation mondiale actuelle que certains ne le croient. A l'heure présente, la population du Canada est moins que jamais disposée à se prêter à un changement d'administration susceptible d'amoindrir ou de compromettre la portée et la puissance du magnifique effort de guerre du pays.

<u>Le Canada doit s'intéresser avant tout à ses combattants</u>.

Le rôle important que les forces armées canadiennes ont joué dans l'invasion de la Sicile a exalté d'une façon intense la fierté du peuple canadien, avant l'ajournement du Parlement. J'ai pu alors signaler le contraste qui existait entre la situation à ce moment-là et celle qui se présentait l'année précédente au moment de l'ajournement. Les Nations Unies avaient connu jusque-là près de huit mois de revers et de reculs. Notre continent était directement menacé du côté de l'Ouest. A l'Est, les sous-marins ennemis faisaient des ravages le long de la côte et jusque dans le golfe et le fleuve Saint-Laurent. Cette année avant l'ajournement des Chambres, la tournure des événements avait heureusement changé. Les armées de la liberté avaient partout saisi l'initiative.

D 46650

Le matin de l'ajournement, je faisais, dans l'enceinte de la Chambre des communes, aux membres du Parlement et à la population du Canada, un exposé très clair et très précis de la situation telle qu'elle me paraissait alors. Je savais qu'avant la réunion du Parlement l'an prochain, la ligne de conduite que le gouvernement pourrait suivre relativement à la tenue d'une élection générale donnerait lieu à bien des conjectures. Je tenais à ce que la controverse politique, inévitable à la veille des élections provinciales d'Ontario et des élections complémentaires fédérales, n'aboutisse pas, si c'était possible, indépendamment du résultat de ces élections, à détourner, avant la victoire définitive, l'attention de la population canadienne de la nécessité d'un effort suprême en vue de gagner la guerre. J'ai donc exposé en termes non équivoques mes propres vues sur la ligne de conduite que selon moi le gouvernement doit suivre. Voici les termes de cet exposé:

> "Bien que nos craintes sur l'issue du conflit aient diminué, la guerre ne nous touche néanmoins que plus directement. Toutes les armes de nos forces combattantes sont maintenant au fort de la mêlée. Nos soldats sont certains de rester dans la lutte sur plusieurs fronts jusqu'à ce que l'ennemi ait capitulé. Nul ne peut dire combien de temps cela prendra. Nos soldats sont engagés dans une lutte terrible. Jusqu'à ce que nous ayons remporté la victoire, ils doivent engendrer dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits une ferme et unique résolution, celle de les appuyer par toutes les ressources dont dispose notre pays."

Tout ce qui s'est produit dans les arènes politiques provinciale ou fédérale depuis que ces paroles ont été prononcées, ne motive aucun changement à la ligne de conduite que je traçais alors. En vérité, les événements qui se sont produits sur le théâtre de la guerre, m'apportent les motifs les plus impérieux de m'en tenir avec une détermination plus irréductible que jamais à la résolution que je formulais et dont je cite de nouveau les termes:

> "Nos soldats sont engagés dans une lutte terrible. Jusqu'à ce que nous ayons remporté la victoire, ils doivent engendrer dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits une ferme et unique résolution, celle de les appuyer par toutes les ressources dont dispose notre pays."

D 46651

Au moment de l'ajournement du Parlement le 24 juillet, j'estimais qu'en déterminant la date d'une élection générale au Canada il fallait tenir compte de ce fait et de ce fait seulement. Je le crois encore aujourd'hui et plus fermement que jamais.

Circonstances qui déterminent la date d'une élection

Cela ne signifie pas qu'il n'y aura pas lieu de tenir des élections générales avant la fin de la guerre ou plutôt avant la signature d'un armistice en Europe à la suite d'une capitulation sans condition de la part de l'Allemagne. Personne ne sait combien de temps il faudra pour abattre la tyrannie nazie et pour réduire la puissance militaire de l'Allemagne. Il n'est pour ainsi dire qu'une seule chose qui soit raisonnablement certaine et c'est que, comme M. Churchill l'a déclaré à la Chambre des communes anglaise l'autre jour les combats les plus sanglants sont encore à venir. Tant que ces jours terribles ne seront pas révolus personne ne pourrait désirer que l'on tienne des élections générales au Canada, s'il est possible de s'en abstenir. Cependant, il se peut que la tenue d'élections générales soit inévitable avant la fin du conflit en Europe.

Tout d'abord, la constitution impose certaines restrictions quant à la durée d'une législature. J'ai des idées bien arrêtées sur le devoir qui incombe à un gouvernement de respecter le droit constitutionnel qu'a le peuple de désigner, à des périodes déterminées, les représentants qui doivent légiférer et administrer la chose publique. Si la guerre en Europe se prolongeait jusqu'en 1945, il faudrait de toute nécessité, sans tenir compte des événements qui pourraient se dérouler dans l'intervalle, que le gouvernement fournisse l'occasion au peuple, à un moment donné au cours de cette année là, de choisir ceux à qui il voudrait confier l'administration des affaires du pays durant la législature suivante.

Abstraction faite des restrictions constitutionnelles, des circonstances pourraient surgir qui obligeraient le Gouvernement à en appeler au peuple en tout temps. Il pourrait en être ainsi si on était bien convaincu qu'une partie considérable de la population ne voudrait plus appuyer le programme qui, de l'avis du Gouvernement, serait nécessaire à la poursuite de l'effort de guerre du pays, d'une manière qui assurerait à nos forces combattantes tout l'appui possible pendant qu'elles continuent de faire face à cette épreuve terrible.

S'il est une chose qu'aucune administration ne saurait favoriser, c'est de permettre que la confiance placée en elle par le pays soit minée par des activités partisannes, indignes et injustifiées, suscitées par des adversaires politiques, alors que l'administration elle-même doit donner toute son attention et consacrer toutes ses énergies à la poursuite de l'effort de guerre.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 46652

Difficultés qui peuvent surgir au Parlement

Une autre situation semblable résulterait du genre et de l'importance de l'obstruction dont le Gouvernement pourrait être l'objet au Parlement de la part des membres des partis et des groupes qui composent l'opposition. Je me demande si la population du Canada se rend pleinement compte du fait que, bien que le Gouvernement représente la majorité au Parlement, il doit faire face à une opposition formée d'une série de groupes minoritaires, - le parti Conservateur progressiste, le parti de la fédération du commonwealth coopératif, le parti du crédit social, auxquels est venu s'ajouter récemment un groupe d'éléments divers composé des membres du bloc populaire, des soit-disant indépendants et des travaillistes progressistes qui tous ont des ambitions qui leur sont propres. On pouvait croire à certains moments que chacun des membres de ces groupes et de ces partis se pensait obligé de rivaliser de zèle avec les autres en vue de s'assurer l'appui des électeurs ou en vue de critiquer le gouvernement. On peut presque dire que chacun de ces groupes, pour ne pas parler d'une association de deux ou de plusieurs d'entre eux, pourrait, s'il le voulait, tellement entraver la marche des travaux au Parlement, ou dénaturer et fausser les programmes du gouvernement que ce dernier se trouverait dans l'impossibilité de continuer à administrer les affaires du pays. Une telle situation serait déjà assez critique en temps ordinaire. Ce serait une situation impossible pour un gouvernement chargé de la conduite des affaires publiques en temps de guerre. Cela ne laisserait au gouvernement d'autre choix que la dissolution des chambres.

Une autre éventualité est possible. Pour des causes tout à fait imprévues dans le moment, il pourrait surgir dans le gouvernement lui-même et parmi ses partisans, des divergences d'opinion inconciliables sur la politique à suivre. En pareil cas, l'unique solution serait un appel au peuple. Pour ma part, je redoute peu une telle éventualité. Mais étant donné les problèmes d'administration après quatre ans de guerre, aucun chef de gouvernement ne peut se permettre d'ignorer la possibilité de la chose dans l'atmosphère de tension que produit un tel conflit.

Il faut ajouter à tous ces éléments, en envisageant la date d'élections possibles, les événements qui nous échappent actuelle-

D 13653

ment tout à fait imprévisibles tant à l'étranger qu'au pays, dont aucun peut entraîner l'opportunité ou la nécessité d'une reconstitution du cabinet ou d'un appel immédiat au peuple.

L'appui à donner à nos combattants est la première considération dont il faut tenir compte dans la question des élections.

Je tiens beaucoup à mettre la population le plus possible dans ma confidence dans une question aussi importante que celle d'élections générales en temps de guerre. Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que j'espère qu'il ne sera pas nécessaire de tenir des élections générales avant le jour où nous nous préparerons à souhaiter la bienvenue à nos fils et à nos filles qui reviendront en grand nombre dans leur patrie après avoir participé aux combats sur les divers théâtres de la guerre. Je ne saurais dire s'il sera possible de retarder jusqu'à cette époque la tenue d'élections générales. Je vous ai indiqué, dans la mesure où il m'est possible présentement de prévoir ce qui arrivera, les facteurs susceptibles d'influencer pareille décision.

C'est notre devoir d'assurer à nos combattants, par l'union de nos efforts, le succès de leurs armes. Ce succès, nous le devons également à la mémoire de ceux qui sur terre, sur mer et dans l'air ont déjà donné leur vie, de même qu'à ceux qui ont sacrifié leurs forces ou leur liberté pour que nous puissions par là continuer à jouir de notre liberté et l'assurer à d'autres dans une mesure plus grande que celle que la plupart des hommes ont connue jusqu'ici. Voilà un objectif qu'il sera possible d'atteindre à mon sens, pourvu que d'ici la fin de la guerre, nos combattants occupent une place d'honneur dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits et que notre pays leur accorde tout l'appui dont il est capable.

Collègues du parti libéral canadien:

Au début de mes remarques, ce soir, j'ai parlé de la mémorable réunion tenue par notre parti à Toronto le 8 août 1939. Le discours que je prononçai en cette occasion se terminait ainsi:

"Le libéralisme a débuté par une lutte pour l'extension et la défense de la liberté. Au cours des ans, son oeuvre a représenté un effort en vue de l'extension et de la défense de la liberté. Dans le passé, cet effort a surtout porté sur la liberté au sein de notre propre pays. Pour l'avenir, si nous sommes

D 46654

fidèles à notre cause, nous, libéraux, chercherons à accroître et à défendre la liberté non seulement pour nous-mêmes dans notre propre pays, mais aussi, selon les circonstances, dans l'intérêt de l'humanité."

En m'exprimant ainsi, je disais au peuple canadien, tout autant qu'aux membres de mon propre parti, que je croyais notre pays déjà exposé à la guerre et que, si la guerre venait à éclater, elle menacerait la liberté de tout le genre humain.

Nous reportant ce soir à une période de plus de quatre années de guerre, nous pouvons tous trouver un motif de profonde satisfaction dans le fait que le libéralisme canadien a été fidèle à son principe fondamental, la défense de la liberté. La tâche du libéralisme ne se trouvera pas terminée lorsque la victoire aura été remportée. Ce moment suprême ne fera que marquer le début d'une ère nouvelle. La tâche future du parti libéral ne consistera pas à défendre les privilèges d'une minorité ou à soulever les préjugés des masses. Elle consistera à servir toute la collectivité et à assurer la sécurité et la liberté de tous les citoyens. Dans la solution des problèmes de l'après-guerre, la tâche du libéralisme continuera d'être le maintien et l'extension de la liberté.

D46655

Discours du très hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,

premier ministre du Canada

devant la Fédération libérale nationale

Au Château Laurier, Ottawa, le 27 septembre 1943.

Le 8 août 1939, les membres du parti libéral de toutes les régions du pays se réunirent à Toronto. Le souvenir de cette grande réunion occupe mon esprit, ce soir. C'est la dernière fois qu'il m'a été donné de rencontrer d'autres chefs et adeptes du parti à une réunion politique et sociale, réunion à laquelle on peut faire une revue des réalisations passées du parti, de son état actuel et de ses visées et des ambitions qu'il caresse pour l'avenir.

Confiance du parti dans son chef depuis un quart de siècle

Je venais de compléter une période de vingt ans à la direction du parti et la réunion en question avait partiellement pour objet de commémorer cet événement. Plus de quatre ans, -- la durée moyenne d'un Parlement, -- sans aucune réunion entre le chef d'un parti politique et ceux à la confiance desquels il doit d'abord son poste important, c'est beaucoup. Les années d'intervalle ont été des années de guerre. Ellesne m'ont permis de prendre contact qu'en de rares et brèves occasions avec les membres du parti autres que mes collègues du cabinet. Si l'on tient compte de ces circonstances, il est vraiment surprenant de constater que la présente assemblée ne témoigne pas moins de confiance et de bienveillance de la part du parti envers son chef que la réunion d'il y a quatre ans. Cela indique combien grande était la confiance qui s'est établie entre nous dans les années antérieures à la guerre, et combien ferme elle est demeurée dans les rudes années d'épreuve de la guerre.

Je suis profondément reconnaissant de ce maintien de la confiance du parti libéral canadien dans ma direction. J'ai raison de dire qu'aucun chef vivant d'un parti politique, en aucun pays, n'a été, sans interruption, dans une si longue période, l'objet de la confiance et de l'estime de ses partisans politiques. C'est une chose que je ne pourrai jamais oublier. C'est une chose que rien ne pourra jamais supprimer. C'est une chose dont je ne saurais vous remercier trop chaleureusement. C'est une dette de gratitude dont je reconnais de tout mon coeur l'existence, ce soir.

Quel que soit le sort que l'avenir nous réserve à vous et à moi, la pensée de la confiance et de l'appui ininterrompus dont j'ai joui comme chef du parti durant presque un quart de siècle sera le trésor le plus

D 46656

précieux de ma vie publique.

Confiance des électeurs dans le parti libéral durant presque un quart de siècle

L'existence de cette loyauté et de cette collaboration entre le parti et son chef a rendu possible un autre témoignage de confiance qu'on me pardonnera de trouver encore plus grand. Il me semble tel parce qu'il ne se limite pas à ma personne, mais s'adresse au parti libéral, aux principes qu'il a préconisés et au programme qu'il s'est efforcé d'exécuter. Je parle de la confiance que depuis un quart de siècle la population a témoigné au parti libéral, dans son habileté à deviner les besoins de la population et dans l'habileté des gouvernements libéraux à gouverner conformément à la volonté et aux désirs de la majorité.

Lorsque j'ai été choisi comme son chef le 7 août 1919, notre parti était dans l'opposition. Il y est resté jusqu'à ce que les élections générales de 1921 aient fourni aux électeurs l'occasion d'indiquer à quel parti ils voulaient confier l'administration des affaires du pays. Depuis lors jusqu'à aujourd'hui, sauf une période d'un peu plus de cinq ans, un gouvernement libéral a été au pouvoir au pays depuis les vingt-deux dernières années. Dans les deux dernières législatures, la majorité du gouvernement actuel a été plus grande que celle dont ait jamais disposé un gouvernement depuis l'établissement de la Confédération. C'est un témoignage de confiance que je tiens à reconnaître ce soir. C'est une dette qu'au nom du parti libéral je tiens à reconnaître envers la population canadienne. C'est un exploit dont tous les assistants et tous les membres du parti libéral ont droit d'être fiers.

Le gouvernement continue à jouir de la confiance publique

D'aucuns ont commencé à affirmer depuis quelques semaines que le gouvernement actuel ne jouit plus de la confiance des électeurs. Je ne partage pas cette façon de voir. Si tel était mon avis, je considérerais que c'est mon devoir constitutionnel de prier Son Excellence le Gouverneur général de dissoudre immédiatement le Parlement. Il n'y a je crois, au Canada, aucun autre parti politique ni aucun groupement de partis politiques qui ait reçu du peuple canadien, depuis le début de la guerre, autant de marques de confiance. Si je devais annoncer ce soir que j'ai

D 46657

demandé une dissolution immédiate du Parlement afin de poser la question de confiance dans l'administration, une telle nouvelle serait accueillie non pas avec joie mais avec consternation.

Parallèle entre la situation politique actuelle et celle de 1940

En 1939, la guerre venait à peine de commencer et l'on nous déclarait que notre régime, en fonctions depuis 1935, n'avait plus la confiance du peuple canadien. En temps de guerre, il fallait, nous disait-on, non un gouvernement de parti mais ce que l'on appelait un gouvernement national. Et l'on alléguait que notre effort de guerre n'était pas suffisant. On disait à mon sujet que tout en étant acceptable comme chef d'un gouvernement en temps de paix, je n'étais pas le chef qu'il fallait pour diriger l'Etat en temps de guerre. Voilà quels étaient les propos de nos adversaires. Quelle fut la réponse du peuple canadien? Qu'est-il résulté de l'appel au peuple de mars 1940? Le Gouvernement fut non seulement maintenu en fonctions mais tous les membres du cabinet furent réélus. Presque tous les candidats du gouvernement national furent défaits. Comme chef du parti, j'obtenais une majorité de députés sans précédent dans les annales de la Chambre des communes.

Les résultats des élections générales de 1940 furent décisifs. Il s'agissait pour le peuple canadien de décider à quel parti politique il désirait confier la direction de notre effort de guerre. La réponse fut catégorique. L'important mandat de diriger les affaires de l'Etat pendant une période de guerre fut confié au gouvernement actuel. Depuis ce temps, le Gouvernement a toujours eu présent à l'esprit le mandat qu'il a reçu du peuple. Notre premier et plus important devoir était de porter toute notre attention à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre. C'est ce que nous avons fait tout en nous efforçant de faire face, de jour en jour et de mois en mois, aux problèmes d'ordre domestique auxquels la guerre devait inévitablement donner lieu. Nous n'avons pas négligé non plus d'envisager l'avenir et de nous préparer à faire face aux nombreux problèmes qui surgiront après la guerre.

D 46658

L'effort de guerre du Canada a été prodigieux

Aucun citoyen éclairé ne saurait mettre en doute l'ampleur de notre effort de guerre. Je défie qui que ce soit de démontrer, compte tenu des circonstances, que notre effort a été inférieur à celui d'un autre pays quel qu'il soit. Si un tel défi était relevé, j'invoquerais le témoignage, non pas d'hommes publics canadiens mais celui des chefs de l'une ou l'autre des Nations Unies. Je poserais la question aux chefs d'état major de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis qui, il y a quelques jours à peine, étaient réunis en conférence à Québec; et j'interrogerais sur ce point ces éminents hommes d'Etat, le premier ministre de Grande-Bretagne et le Président des Etats-Unis, entre les mains de qui se trouve actuellement la direction suprême de la guerre.

Il serait inconcevable que tout cela n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux du people canadien; que tout cela n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux des pères et des mères qui ont vu leurs fils et leurs filles quitter leur foyer pour aller servir aux quatre coins du globe; que cela enfin n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux des membres des forces armées. Dira-t-on que le Gouvernement actuel a perdu la confiance du people à cause de sa constante fidélité au devoir suprême? Dira-t-on que le peuple n'a plus confiance en nous parce que nous avons si bien accompli la tâche qui importait le plus; parce que nous nous sommes si bien acquittés de la mission qui est, et demeurera, le devoir suprême de tout gouvernement jusqu'à la victoire?

La victoire demeure le but suprême du Gouvernement

Ceux qui pensent ou qui disent qu'il n'en est pas ainsi, ne songent pas uniquement à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre. Ils ont d'autres visées et d'autres buts. Ils n'ont pas encore saisi l'enjeu véritable de cette guerre qui pose, pour les nations, la question de vie ou de mort; ils n'ont pas compris qu'en face des nations libres du monde se dressent encore les forces les plus puissantes qui aient jamais menacé la liberté des hommes; ils ne peuvent savoir qu'il s'agit d'une guerre qui menace tout ce qu'a de meilleur une civilisation qu'il a fallu des siècles pour édifier. Ceux qui affirment ou qui croient qu'il est aujourd'hui une tâche quelconque qui soit plus importante pour le Gouvernement que la direction constante d'un effort de guerre suprême en vue de la victoire ne se rendent aucun compte de l'ampleur de la tâche qui nous attend. Ils ne se font certes aucune idée des millions de vies précieuses qu'il faudra sacrifier avant que la guerre soit gagnée.

D 46659

Si comme gouvernement ou comme parti politique nous avions falli à la tâche essentielle, nous serions peut-être justifiables de nous croire indignes de la mission que nous avons acceptée. Si, au lieu de consacrer notre temps, nos pensées et nos énergies à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre, nous avions détourné le peuple de l'effort concerté nécessaire à la victoire; si nous avions agi de manière à rechercher des avantages politiques; si nous nous étions arrêtés à des questions qui tendent, non pas à unir, mais à diviser; et si nous avions cherché à miner les efforts des autres, nous pourrions avoir raison de penser que non seulement nous ne méritions plus la confiance du peuple canadien, mais aussi que nous avions perdu tout droit à cette confiance pour toujours. Heureusement, sous ce rapport, nous n'avons rien à nous reprocher. Ne vous imaginez pas que le peuple ne sait pas et ne comprend pas toutes ces choses; qu'il ne voit pas où se trouve son propre intérêt. Ne croyez pas qu'à un moment de crise mondiale il ne sait pas en quelles mains placer les intérêts et le sort de son pays.

<u>Cause de l'agitation</u>

Quelle est la cause de toute l'agitation suscitée dans certains milieux politiques? Elle n'est pas difficile à trouver. Le 4 août on a tenu des élections provinciales en Ontario et le gouvernement au pouvoir a été renversé. Au cours des élections fédérales particlles tenues le 9 août des candidats de l'opposition ont été élus.

Les partis opposés au Gouvernement actuel ont cherché depuis à faire un rapprochement entre les élections provinciales d'Ontario et les quatre élections fédérales partielles, et à attribuer les résultats dans tous les cas au mécontentement occasionné par le programme de l'Administration fédérale.

Le 15 septembre, à la suite des élections provinciales en Ontario et des élections fédérales partielles, il y a eu une autre élection provinciale, et cette dernière dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard. Quel a été le résultat? Le gouvernement libéral de cette province a été de nouveau porté au pouvoir et il a fait élire deux de ses partisans pour chaque membre du parti conservateur progressiste élu. La Fédération du commonwealth coopératif a mis un certain nombre de candidats sur les rangs. Pas un seul n'a été élu et tous ont perdu leur dépôt. Au cours des élections on a répété à plusieurs reprises que le premier ministre Jones de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard se tenait en communication avec le Gouvernement à Ottawa. Je n'ai pas constaté que les membres du parti conservateur progressiste ou de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif aient dit aux Canadiens que le retour au pouvoir du gouvernement libéral de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard était la preuve d'un renouvellement de confiance de la part des électeurs de cette province dans l'Administration d'Ottawa.

D 46660

Les élections provinciales en Ontario.

Je n'ai pas l'intention en ce moment de tenir une enquête sur les causes de la défaite du gouvernement provincial d'Ontario, ou de la défaite des candidats du Gouvernement lors des récentes élections fédérales partielles. Cependant, je ne voudrais pas laisser passer ces deux événements sans en dire un mot. Au sujet des élections en Ontario je me contenterai de dire que les résultats sont l'expression de l'opinion des électeurs sur la manière dont les affaires publiques de cette province avaient été dirigées au cours des six années précédentes, tout comme, dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, les résultats révèlent les sentiments des habitants de cette province relativement à la gestion des affaires publiques chez eux. Dans chaque cas, les électeurs ont exprimé leur opinion, non pas sur des problèmes fédéraux, mais sur des questions d'intérêt provincial. En Ontario, ils ont démontré que le gouvernement provincial avait perdu la confiance du public; dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, le scrutin a démontré de façon aussi manifeste que le peuple avait encore confiance dans ses administrateurs. (Intercaler p.6 A ici)

Le scrutin Gallup.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de tirer des conclusions de certains événements politiques quantité de gens attachent une grande importance aux résultats du scrutin Gallup. Quant à moi je ne suis pas prêt à substituer les réponses données à un scrutin Gallup à mon propre jugement. Les organisateurs de ces scrutins ne s'attendent pas à cela de/qui que ce soit. Nous ne devons pas leur faire dire plus qu'ils ne sont censés dire. Cependant, dans certains cas ils peuvent nous éclairer considérablement. Bien qu'il ne soit pas infaillible le scrutin Gallup a une certaine utilité. Nous en avons un exemple dans l'appréciation qu'on a faite des causes qui ont amené le résultat des récentes élections en Ontario. Dans un scrutin limité à la province d'Ontario, on a invoqué différentes raisons pour expliquer la défaite du gouvernement de cette province, et pour justifier les votes donnés aux conservateurs progressistes et/à la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif respectivement. Ce qu'il y a de plus significatif à ce sujet c'est que dans aucun cas on n'a attribué ces résultats au programme de l'Administration fédérale.

Quant à l'importance du vote accordé à chacun des trois partis lors de l'élection provinciale, je crois qu'on peut l'attribuer, en

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On me permettra d'ajouter qu'à mon avis, si le gouvernement d'Ontario avait, durant cette période de guerre, coopéré avec le gouvernement fédéral de la même manière et dans la même mesure que les gouvernements de toutes les autres provinces du Canada, le parti libéral serait encore au pouvoir en Ontario à l'heure actuelle et quelques-uns des problèmes les plus épineux qui se sont présentés pour le parti n'auraient jamais surgi.

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grande partie, à l'efficacité de leurs organisations respectives.

Les élections fédérales partielles - Organisation de parti abandonnée par les libéraux.

Je dirai maintenant un mot des élections fédérales partielles. Dans ce cas il n'est pas nécessaire de chercher bien longtemps pour trouver l'explication de la défaite des candidats du Gouvernement.

Immédiatement après les élections de 1940 nous avons cessé tout travail d'organisation du parti libéral fédéral. Les bureaux du parti ont été fermés, et aucun tract de propagande politique n'a été imprimé ou distribué. Dans les circonscriptions où ont été tenues des élections partielles, le travail d'organisation n'a été repris que quelques semaines avant le jour de la votation. Depuis le début de la guerre, comme je l'ai déjà rappelé ce soir, notre parti n'a tenu aucune assemblée ou convention de portée nationale. Pour ce qui est des questions d'ordre fédéral, notre parti n'a fait aucun travail d'organisation durant toute cette période et n'a fait aucun effort organisé pour publier les programmes adoptés par le Gouvernement ou, même là où la chose s'imposait, pour en interpréter ou expliquer la portée sur les problèmes que posent ici même, dans notre pays, les exigences de la guerre.

Je ne cherche aucunement, pour l'instant, à dire si, du point de vue national, ou dans l'intérêt de notre parti, cette manière d'agir ou, devrais-je dire, ce défaut d'agir, a été la plus sage ou la meilleure ligne de conduite à suivre. Je me contente d'exposer les faits, pour ce qui touche à l'organisation du parti et à la publication des renseignements concernant son programme.

Si les autres partis avaient suivi la même ligne de conduite, je n'aurais plus rien à ajouter sur ce point. Mais comment, de fait, les autres partis se sont-ils conduits?

Organisation et tactique du parti conservateur

Je vous parlerai d'abord du parti conservateur, - que l'on appelle maintenant le parti conservateur progressiste. On me pardonnera s'il m'arrive de ne pas toujours le désigner sous ce dernier nom. Au cours des années que j'ai passées au Parlement, ce parti a bien des fois changé de nom et de chef. A peine les élections de 1940 étaient-elles terminées que l'on commença à percevoir des signes de gros temps dans les divergences d'opinions qui se manifestaient au sein même des mem-

bres de l'opposition officielle. Dans leurs réunions secrètes, au Parlement et partout dans le pays, les membres du parti conservateur, - il ne s'appelait pas encore le parti conservateur progressiste, - ont lancé une campagne contre le gouvernement dans le but de diviser les forces du parti au pouvoir et de confier l'administration du pays à un parti autre que celui qui avait obtenu une majorité si écrasante. Pendant toute l'année 1941, on a mis de l'avant la question du service obligatoire outre-mer et on a ressuscité celle d'un gouvernement national pour en faire l'application. Aux mois de juillet et d'août de cette année-là, celui qui dirigeait alors l'opposition conservatrice, ainsi que des membres de son parti, ont fait une tournée dans l'ouest du Canada pour voir à ce que, entre autres choses, l'organisation fut bien à point dans toutes les circonscriptions. Au mois de novembre 1941, au cours d'une réunion tenue à Ottawa, le parti conservateur se choisit un nouveau chef. Il ne devait plus être question, dans la suite, de soi-disant collaboration avec le Gouvernement dans la mise à exécution de son effort de guerre, mais commençait alors ouvertement l'opposition au parti au pouvoir sur le parquet même de la Chambre des communes. Cette tentative de guerre ouverte a échoué à la suite de la défaite du nouveau chef dans la circonscription d'York-Sud, au mois de février 1942. C'est ainsi qu'on a épargné au Parlement la discussion de la question du service obligatoire qui aurait divisé le pays et grandement nui à l'effort de guerre du Canada. Cette question n'a pas été soulevée dans le pays, grâce à la tenue du plébiscite de 1942, lequel a clairement démontré que le Gouvernement était parfaitement libre d'adopter une mesure de service obligatoire outre-mer quand il le voudrait si, pour assurer la victoire finale, une telle mesure devait s'imposer. Depuis 1940 jusqu'à nos jours, à aucun moment le nombre des navires disponibles n'a été assez considérable pour nous permettre de transporter outre-mer les recrues qui se sont de plein gré enrôlées au Canada pour faire du service n'importe où. La situation a été la même pour ce qui est du transport des approvisionnements et des munitions disponibles.

Au mois de septembre de l'an dernier, au cours d'une assemblée tenue à Port-Hope, le parti conservateur a entrepris de refaire tout à neuf son organisation politique. Cette réunion a été suivie d'une convention nationale tenue à Winnipeg au mois de décembre. C'est à cette convention que ce parti s'est donné un nouveau nom, un nouveau chef, et un

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nouveau programme. Depuis ce jour, le parti conservateur progressiste a déployé beaucoup d'activité pour faire connaître son nouveau chef, pour organiser son bureau-chef à Ottawa et aussi dans toutes les circonscriptions de notre pays.

On peut difficilement dire que M. Bracken, le nouveau chef du parti conservateur progressiste a collaboré avec le gouvernement en vue de fournir un effort de guerre uni au point d'en faire son principal objectif. Compte tenu de sa position de chef du parti qui constitue l'opposition officielle au Parlement, M. Bracken, aurait dû durant toute la dernière session diriger l'opposition officielle à la Chambre des communes. Au lieu de celà, il a parcouru le Canada en tous sens dans l'intérêt du parti conservateur progressiste et aussi dans son propre intérêt à titre de chef de ce parti. Ce groupe politique a de plus retenu les services d'organisateurs qui consacrent tout leur temps à assurer l'organisation et la publicité du parti. Je ne veux pas affirmer que le parti conservateur progressiste n'a pas le droit de conduire ses propres affaires comme il l'entend. Je tiens uniquement à dire bien clairement qu'au point de vue de l'organisation et de la publicité d'ordre politique durant la guerre, ce parti a suivi une ligne de conduite diamétralement opposée à celle des membres du gouvernement et du parti ministériel.

Organisation et tactique du parti de la Fédération du Commonwealth coopératif.

La situation est la même dans le cas de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif.

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Chaque année, depuis le début de la guerre, les membres de ce parti se sont appliqués à édifier leur organisme politique. Ils ont maintenu des bureaux pour la publication et la distribution d'écrits politiques. Leur conseil national a tenu des assemblées annuelles ou semi-annuelles. Pendant l'été de l'année dernière, ils ont tenu un congrès national réunissant une foule nombreuse . Ils ont fait preuve d'un zèle infatigable dans leur travail de propagande politique.

La propagande de la C.C.F. a été des plus subtiles. A l'heure actuelle, ce parti manifeste le désir de livrer une guerre totale. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous rappeler quelle a été son attitude à cet égard en 1939. La C.C.F. était alors en faveur d'un effort de guerre limité à la défense de notre seul pays. Mais quand les membres de ce parti parlent aujourd'hui, en termes vagues, d'un effort de guerre total, ils refusent de mettre leurs conseils en pratique et d'appuyer les mesures propres à assurer cet effort maximum.

Les membres de la C.C.F. veulent faire croire à la population qu'ils sont les uniques champions des intérêts des ouvriers, des pauvres et des délaissés. Or, la C.C.F. n'a jamais appuyé sincèrement notre politique canadienne de la réglementation des prix, bien que cette mesure soit la plus importante qu'on ait jamais adoptée au Canada pour assurer aux membres les moins fortunés de la société un niveau de vie convenable. Les membres de ce parti cherchent sans cesse à semer la discorde autour de notre politique de stabilisation des prix et des salaires. Ils disent à la population que leur politique est calquée sur celle du gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande et ils parlent du sort des ouvriers de l'Australie; mais ils refusent de nous dire que la politique de réglementation des prix et des salaires adoptée en Nouvelle-Zélande et en Australie est la même que celle qui est en vigueur au Canada.

Les propagandistes de la C.C.F. prennent bien garde de dire à la population qu'effort de guerre total signifie pour tous et chacun fardeaux, rareté de produits, inconvénients et privations. Selon eux, la population a droit à un effort de guerre qui n'exige d'elle aucun sacrifice. Ces gens ne manquent pas d'exploiter tous les griefs et tous les

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mécontentements. Ont-ils souvent mentionné les sacrifices que nos militaires doivent consentir au front? Combien souvent les a-t-on entendu dire que tous doivent être prêts à porter des fardeaux de plus en plus lourds si l'on veut que la guerre se termine avant que la destruction de notre jeunesse ait atteint des proportions alarmantes?

Les membres de la C.C.F. ont travaillé les syndicats ouvriers du pays afin de se servir de ces syndicats pour satisfaire leurs ambitions et leurs fins politiques. Ils s'appliquent de leur mieux à faire croire aux ouvriers que le présent Gouvernement est hostile envers la classe ouvrière. Ils rendent ainsi plus difficile l'une des tâches les plus dures en temps de guerre, savoir le maintien des relations amicales entre le Gouvernement et les ouvriers, de la confiance et de la collaboration entre toutes les classes de la société. Ils ne peuvent attendre la fin de la guerre pour inviter les ouvriers syndiqués à lier leur sort à celui d'un parti politique. Ils déclarent ouvertement que tel est leur but et ils se servent de la guerre pour arriver à cette fin. Les dirigeants du Congrès canadien du travail ont déjà fait savoir qu'ils accepteraient cette alliance. Pour affermir cette alliance plus que douteuse, la C.C.F. exploite tous les mécontentements et tous les griefs possibles. Elle cite comme preuve de cette hostilité du Gouvernement envers les ouvriers ces règlements mêmes qui, en temps de guerre, sont nécessaires pour sauvegarder les intérêts des ouvriers, en même temps que ceux de toute la collectivité.

<u>Un mot aux ouvriers</u>

Je dirai aux ouvriers que dès avant 1900 lorsque je débutai dans la vie publique pour aider à l'organisation d'un ministère fédéral du Travail dont je devins le sous-ministre, et plus tard, en 1909, le titulaire, je n'ai cessé pendant tout ce temps, comme au cours des années subséquentes, de suivre avec le plus vif intérêt les progrès c onstants accomplis par la classe ouvrière prenant de plus en plus conscience de ses droits et de sa dignité. Je me suis intéressé à ses luttes pour la liberté économique parce que je crois que la classe ouvrière représente, dans ses buts et ses aspirations, les tendances et les sentiments des

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pauvres, des humbles et des petits dans leur lutte contre la pauvreté et l'adversité, contre le besoin et la misère, la seule lutte, à n'en pas douter, que puisse livrer celui qui conserve dans son coeur l'amour de son prochain. Mais jamais, à ma connaissance, je n'ai vu des ouvriers s'allier à un parti politique quelconque ou des ouvriers former leur propre parti politique, poursuivant sa propre fin sans se soucier de celle de la société en général, sans qu'une telle alliance ne finît tôt ou tard par être désastreuse tant pour les ouvriers eux-mêmes que pour le pays.

Les ouvriers ont besoin de toute la bonne volonté, de toute l'aide et de toute l'amitié qu'ils peuvent obtenir des hommes et des femmes de tous les partis politiques, comme de tous ceux qui ne possèdent aucune notion en ce domaine. Les ouvriers obtiendront toutes ces choses et ce, dans une mesure de plus en plus grande, à la condition qu'ils restent libres de donner leur appui à tous les mouvements susceptibles de servir le bien commun. Les besoins de l'humanité viennent avant ceux de l'industrie; ils viennent avant les besoins particuliers du capital ou du travail. C'est l'intérêt général, et non pas l'intérêt particulier, qui doit occuper la première place dans nos esprits à l'heure actuelle. Ce principe s'applique aux partis politiques tout comme aux groupements qui s'intéressent à l'industrie. Les partis politiques ne survivront qu'à la condition de servir les intérêts généraux et non les intérêts particuliers et à la condition que leurs cadres soient suffisamment larges pour admettre dans leurs rangs les hommes et les femmes de toutes les classes de la société, de toutes les croyances, de toutes les conditions sociales et de toutes les professions.

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Que les ouvriers se rappellent que leur sort dépend entièrement de l'issue du conflit mondial actuel. Le présent conflit titanesque qui met aux prises les forces de la tyrannie et celles de la liberté reproduit, sur une échelle mondiale, la lutte qu'ils livrent eux-mêmes. La bataille qui se poursuit aujourd'hui et qui cause tant de souffrances et de destruction dans toutes les parties du monde ne se limite nullement à un conflit entre diverses nations ni entre des peuples d'origine, de race ou de couleur différentes. C'est une lutte dont l'issue décidera si l'intérêt général de l'humanité doit primer tous les intérêts particuliers, qu'il s'agisse de la puissance militaire de l'Allemagne ou du Japon ou de l'intérêt particulier du nazisme, du fascisme ou de quelque autre genre de contrôle politique.

Cet appel que la C.C.F. lance aux ouvriers se joint à une propagande trompeuse au sujet du mercantilisme des classes riches. Aucun gouvernement du temps de guerre, dans un pays quelconque, n'a, dans cette guerre ou dans quelque autre conflit, adopté pour la prévention de toute exploitation, un programme plus complet que celui que s'est tracé le gouvernement actuel, et aucun gouvernement n'a appliqué ses mesures avec plus de rigueur.

Personne ne saurait trouver mauvais qu'un parti politique de l'opposition fasse valoir ses principes et sa politique et énonce son propre programme, même en temps de guerre. Tel est le devoir et le but d'une opposition. Il y a cependant loin de là à fonder des campagnes politiques sur des tactiques qui, quel que soit le but visé, ne peuvent avoir pour effet que de contribuer à saper l'effort de la nation en temps de guerre.

<u>Le Bloc populaire et les autres partis d'importance secondaire</u>

L'opposition comprend un troisième groupe dont je dirai maintenant quelques mots. C'est le plus récent et, songeant à l'unité canadienne, j'espère qu'il sera le plus éphémère. Je veux parler du Bloc populaire canadien. Ceux qui s'en sont arrogé la direction constituent un petit groupe de mécontents que la bonne renommée et la sécurité du Canada laissent indifférents. Ils prétendent que le Canada ne court aucun danger dans la guerre actuelle. A les entendre, la Grande-Bretagne et non l'Allemagne nazie serait le véritable ennemi. Ils s'opposent à ce que notre pays participe davantage à la guerre. Le Bloc populaire est, que je sache, l'unique parti dont le programme et la politique soient formulés par le simple mot "non". Cette doctrine négative et destructive est de nature à compromettre très gravement l'effort de guerre du Canada ainsi que l'avenir du pays.

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Le Bloc populaire cherche, de propos délibéré, à soulever le Québec contre le reste du Canada. Peu lui importe, apparemment, le tort qu'il causera à la population du Québec s'il réussit à ranger le reste du Canada, et à vrai dire le reste de l'Amérique du Nord, contre le Québec. Le but véritable de ses chefs est de capter des votes et de s'assurer de l'influence en exploitant les divergences ethniques et en fomentant les querelles de race. Ces appels aux préjugés de race, de religion et autres ont été poussés à l'extrême limite lors des élections complémentaires qui ont récemment eu lieu dans le Québec, et ils expliquent, en somme, la défaite des candidats du gouvernement. Peut-être aura-t-il été bon que la population du Québec ait ainsi été mise en garde dès le début. J'ai la certitude absolue qu'aucun groupe important de cette population ne se laissera tromper par ces faux prophètes. Ils ont déjà été dénoncés par une écrasante majorité des députés fédéraux de la province de Québec. Toutefois, qu'on ne s'y méprenne pas; le poison qu'ils répandent devra être neutralisé activement et vigoureusement par tous ceux qui ont à coeur l'unité du Canada et qui désirent le voir devenir une nation grande et libre.

Je ne m'arrêterai pas à parler des autres partis tels que celui du Crédit social, qui diminue rapidement en importance, ainsi que le plus récent de tous, c'est-à-dire le parti travailliste-progressiste. Toutefois, l'existence de ces partis d'importance secondaire révèle un danger qui menace le fonctionnement efficace de notre démocratie parlementaire. Il s'agit de la tendance des partis et des groupes à se multiplier. Le sort de la malheureuse France devrait constituer une terrible mise en garde contre cette tendance, qui constitue un péril national.

Ce que je viens de dire suffit à démontrer comment je m'explique la défaite des candidats du gouvernement lors des récentes élections complémentaires.

Personne, je crois, ne peut prétendre que, depuis le début de la guerre, j'ai négligé de signaler au peuple canadien la terrible gravité de la situation mondiale et l'importance du conflit lui-même. Je puis dire en toute vérité que j'ai fait tout mon possible pour éviter et atténuer toute polémique politique en ce temps de guerre et pour maintenir l'unité canadienne. Personne ne peut accuser le gouvernement de n'avoir pas consacré toute son énergie à gagner la guerre et à rendre l'effort de guerre du Canada aussi efficace que possible. Toutefois, bien que le gouvernement ait consacré presque exclusivement son temps et son attention à diriger l'effort de guerre du Canada et à résoudre les problèmes que la guerre fait surgir d'un jour à l'autre, les partis politiques qui lui font la lutte ont pris une attitude différente.

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Au lieu d'aider le gouvernement à faire comprendre au peuple l'extrême gravité du conflit mondial et la nature urgente des nécessités de la guerre, ils ont élaboré et perfectionné leur organisation politique, disséminant leur propagande de parti et exploitant le mécontentement que suscitent inévitablement les mesures de contrôle nécessaires en temps de guerre, ainsi que l'irritation que font naître toutes restrictions, de quelque nature qu'elles soient. Pour le gouvernement d'un pays en guerre, c'est là une situation intolérable, qu'on ne saurait laisser se perpétuer.

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La question d'une élection générale

Le samedi 18 courant, à Toronto, au cours d'un dîner qui inaugurait le congrès de quatre jours du conseil de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif pour l'Ontario, M. E.B. Jolliffe, chef provincial de ce groupe, a prédit une élection fédérale prochaine. Il a donné comme signes avant-coureurs des événements futurs les succès que son parti a remportés dans la province d'Ontario. D'après un rapport, M. Jolliffe aurait prononcé les paroles suivantes: "La prochaine élection fédérale est la plus importante de l'histoire du peuple canadien. La province d'Ontario est le pivot qui déterminera les résultats de la prochaine élection qui peut maintenant avoir lieu d'un moment à l'autre." On rapporte qu'il aurait tenu au sujet du gouvernement d'Ottawa les propos suivants: "Il peut tenir une élection en vitesse dans l'espoir que les électeurs appuieront encore une fois l'administration King plutôt que de changer de monture au milieu du ruisseau." On dit aussi que M. Jolliffe a invité son parti "à mener la campagne fédérale avec une énergie et une détermination sans précédent." Voilà pour les paroles prononcées, d'après les rapports, au cours de ce dîner. Le rapport de la Presse canadienne se termine ainsi: "A la réunion d'aujourd'hui, tenue à huis clos, on organise une campagne en vue d'étendre à toutes les circonscriptions de l'Ontario les activités du parti."

Pour les forces armées canadiennes en service outremer, la présente année et toute la période qui doit suivre représente, de toute évidence, sinon le milieu du ruisseau de la guerre, du moins et certainement son courant le plus violent et le plus dangereux. Si transporté qu'il soit, à la suite des récents succès de son parti lors de la campagne provinciale d'Ontario, M. Jolliffe se rend compte qu'une élection immédiate dans le domaine fédéral différerait beaucoup de la récente campagne provinciale d'Ontario. Il lui appert, même avec son expérience politique limitée, que la population canadienne n'est pas prête à remplacer l'administration actuelle par un gouvernement de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif pour traverser la période de guerre. Si, en effet, une élection devait avoir lieu demain, la population du Canada ne serait pas plus disposée que celles de l'Afrique du Sud, de l'Australie, et de la Nouvelle-Zélande où des élections ont eu lieu au cours de la guerre actuelle, à

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confier à un autre gouvernement que celui qui est maintenant chargé de la direction de notre effort de guerre, la tâche formidable de veiller aux destinées du Canada jusqu'à la fin de cette guerre.

Si, au lieu de penser, comme je le fais, à gagner la guerre, je ne songeais, comme M. Jolliffe, qu'à gagner des élections, je trouverais dans les assertions de ce dernier et dans celles d'autres qui prétendent que le gouvernement actuel ne jouit pas de la confiance du pays, des motifs suffisants pour conseiller à Son Excellence le Gouverneur général d'accorder la dissolution immédiate du Parlement. Je n'entretiens aucun doute sur les résultats de cet appel au peuple. M. Jolliffe constaterait, comme l'ont fait en 1940 d'autres dont l'objectif principal était un changement de gouvernement, que la population canadienne a un sens beaucoup plus profond de la gravité de la situation mondiale actuelle que certains ne le croient. A l'heure présente, la population du Canada est moins que jamais disposée à se prêter à un changement d'administration susceptible d'amoindrir ou de compromettre la portée et la puissance du magnifique effort de guerre du pays. Le Canada doit s'intéresser avant tout à ses combattants.

Le rôle important que les forces armées canadiennes ont joué dans l'invasion de la Sicile a exalté d'une façon intense la fierté du peuple canadien, avant l'ajournement du Parlement. J'ai pu alors signaler le contraste qui existait entre la situation à ce moment-là et celle qui se présentait l'année précédente au moment de l'ajournement. Les Nations Unies avaient connu jusque-là près de huit mois de revers et de reculs. Notre continent était directement menacé du côté de l'Ouest. A l'Est, les sous-marins ennemis faisaient des ravages le long de la côte et jusque dans le golfe et le fleuve Saint-Laurent. Cette année avant l'ajournement des Chambres, la tournure des événements avait heureusement changé. Les armées de la liberté avaient partout saisi l'initiative.

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Le matin de l'ajournement, je faisais, dans l'enceinte de la Chambre des communes, aux membres du Parlement et à la population du Canada, un exposé très clair et très précis de la situation telle qu'elle me paraissait alors. Je savais qu'avant la réunion du Parlement l'an prochain, la ligne de conduite que le gouvernement pourrait suivre relativement à la tenue d'une élection générale donnerait lieu à bien des conjectures. Je tenais à ce que la controverse politique, inévitable à la veille des élections provinciales d'Ontario et des élections complémentaires fédérales, n'aboutisse pas, si c'était possible, indépendamment du résultat de ces élections, à détourner, avant la victoire définitive, l'attention de la population canadienne de la nécessité d'un effort suprême en vue de gagner la guerre. J'ai donc exposé en termes non équivoques mes propres vues sur la ligne de conduite que selon moi le gouvernement doit suivre. Voici les termes de cet exposé:

> "Bien que nos craintes sur l'issue du conflit aient diminué, la guerre ne nous touche néanmoins que plus directement. Toutes les armes de nos forces combattantes sont maintenant au fort de la mêlée. Nos soldats sont certains de rester dans la lutte sur plusieurs fronts jusqu'à ce que l'ennemi ait capitulé. Nul ne peut dire combien de temps cela prendra. Nos soldats sont engagés dans une lutte terrible. Jusqu'à ce que nous ayons remporté la victoire, ils doivent engendrer dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits une ferme et unique résolution, celle de les appuyer par toutes les ressources dont dispose notre pays."

Tout ce qui s'est produit dans les arènes politiques provinciale ou fédérale depuis que ces paroles ont été prononcées, ne motive aucun changement à la ligne de conduite que je traçais alors. En vérité, les événements qui se sont produits sur le théâtre de la guerre, m'apportent les motifs les plus impérieux de m'en tenir avec une détermination plus irréductible que jamais à la résolution que je formulais et dont je cite de nouveau les termes:

> "Nos soldats sont engagés dans une lutte terrible. Jusqu'à ce que nous ayons remporté la victoire, ils doivent engendrer dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits une ferme et unique résolution, celle de les appuyer par toutes les ressources dont dispose notre pays."

D 46674

Au moment de l'ajournement du Parlement le 24 juillet, j'estimais qu'en déterminant la date d'une élection générale au Canada il fallait tenir compte de ce fait et de ce fait seulement. Je le crois encore aujourd'hui et plus fermement que jamais.

Circonstances qui déterminent la date d'une élection

Cela ne signifie pas qu'il n'y aura pas lieu de tenir des élections générales avant la fin de la guerre ou plutôt avant la signature d'un armistice en Europe à la suite d'une capitulation sans condition de la part de l'Allemagne. Personne ne sait combien de temps il faudra pour abattre la tyrannie nazie et pour réduire la puissance militaire de l'Allemagne. Il n'est pour ainsi dire qu'une seule chose qui soit raisonnablement certaine et c'est que, comme M. Churchill l'a déclaré à la Chambre des communes anglaise l'autre jour les combats les plus sanglants sont encore à venir. Tant que ces jours terribles ne seront pas révolus personne ne pourrait désirer que l'on tienne des élections générales au Canada, s'il est possible de s'en abstenir. Cependant, il se peut que la tenue d'élections générales soit inévitable avant la fin du conflit en Europe.

Tout d'abord, la constitution impose certaines restrictions quant à la durée d'une législature. J'ai des idées bien arrêtées sur le devoir qui incombe à un gouvernement de respecter le droit constitutionnel qu'a le peuple de désigner, à des périodes déterminées, les représentants qui doivent légiférer et administrer la chose publique. Si la guerre en Europe se prolongeait jusqu'en 1945, il faudrait de toute nécessité, sans tenir compte des événements qui pourraient se dérouler dans l'intervalle, que le gouvernement fournisse l'occasion au peuple, à un moment donné au cours de cette année là, de choisir ceux à qui il voudrait confier l'administration des affaires du pays durant la législature suivante.

Abstraction faite des restrictions constitutionnelles, des circonstances pourraient surgir qui obligeraient le Gouvernement à en appeler au peuple en tout temps. Il pourrait en être ainsi si on était bien convaincu qu'une partie considérable de la population ne voudrait plus appuyer le programme qui, de l'avis du Gouvernement, serait nécessaire à la poursuite de l'effort de guerre du pays, d'une manière qui assurerait à nos forces combattantes tout l'appui possible pendant qu'elles continuent de faire face à cette épreuve terrible.

S'il est une chose qu'aucune administration ne saurait favoriser, c'est de permettre que la confiance placée en elle par le pays soit minée par des activités partisannes, indignes et injustifiées, suscitées par des adversaires politiques, alors que l'administration elle-même doit donner toute son attention et consacrer toutes ses énergies à la poursuite de l'effort de guerre.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 46675

Difficultés qui peuvent surgir au Parlement

Une autre situation semblable résulterait du genre et de l'importance de l'obstruction dont le Gouvernement pourrait être l'objet au Parlement de la part des membres des partis et des groupes qui composent l'opposition. Je me demande si la population du Canada se rend pleinement compte du fait que, bien que le Gouvernement représente la majorité au Parlement, il doit faire face à une opposition formée d'une série de groupes minoritaires, - le parti Conservateur progressiste, le parti de la fédération du commonwealth coopératif, le parti du crédit social, auxquels est venu s'ajouter récemment un groupe d'éléments divers composé des membres du bloc populaire, des soit-disant indépendants et des travaillistes progressistes qui tous ont des ambitions qui leur sont propres. On pouvait croire à certains moments que chacun des membres de ces groupes et de ces partis se pensait obligé de rivaliser de zèle avec les autres en vue de s'assurer l'appui des électeurs ou en vue de critiquer le gouvernement. On peut presque dire que chacun de ces groupes, pour ne pas parler d'une association de deux ou de plusieurs d'entre eux, pourrait, s'il le voulait, tellement entraver la marche des travaux au Parlement, ou dénaturer et fausser les programmes du gouvernement que ce dernier se trouverait dans l'impossibilité de continuer à administrer les affaires du pays. Une telle situation serait déjà assez critique en temps ordinaire. Ce serait une situation impossible pour un gouvernement chargé de la conduite des affaires publiques en temps de guerre. Cela ne laisserait au gouvernement d'autre choix que la dissolution des chambres.

Une autre éventualité est possible. Pour des causes tout à fait imprévues dans le moment, il pourrait surgir dans le gouvernement lui-même et parmi ses partisans, des divergences d'opinion inconciliables sur la politique à suivre. En pareil cas, l'unique solution serait un appel au peuple. Pour ma part, je redoute peu une telle éventualité. Mais étant donné les problèmes d'administration après quatre ans de guerre, aucun chef de gouvernement ne peut se permettre d'ignorer la possibilité de la chose dans l'atmosphère de tension que produit un tel conflit.

Il faut ajouter à tous ces éléments, en envisageant la date d'élections possibles, les événements qui nous échappent actuelle-

D 46676

ment tout à fait imprévisibles tant à l'étranger qu'au pays, dont aucun peut entraîner l'opportunité ou la nécessité d'une reconstitution du cabinet ou d'un appel immédiat au peuple.

L'appui à donner à nos combattants est la première considération dont il faut tenir compte dans la question des élections.

Je tiens beaucoup à mettre la population le plus possible dans ma confidence dans une question aussi importante que celle d'élections générales en temps de guerre. Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que j'espère qu'il ne sera pas nécessaire de tenir des élections générales avant le jour où nous nous préparerons à souhaiter la bienvenue à nos fils et à nos filles qui reviendront en grand nombre dans leur patrie après avoir participé aux combats sur les divers théâtres de la guerre. Je ne saurais dire s'il sera possible de retardor jusqu'à cette époque la tenue d'élections générales. Je vous ai indiqué, dans la mesure où il m'est possible présentement de prévoir ce qui arrivera, les facteurs susceptibles d'influencer pareille décision.

C'est notre devoir d'assurer à nos combattants, par l'union de nos efforts, le succès de leurs armes. Ce succès, nous le devons également à la mémoire de ceux qui sur terre, sur mer et dans l'air ont déjà donné leur vie, de même qu'à ceux qui ont sacrifié leurs forces ou leur liberté pour que nous puissions par là continuer à jouir de notre liberté et l'assurer à d'autres dans une mesure plus grande que celle que la plupart des hommes ont connue jusqu'ici. Voilà un objectif qu'il sera possible d'atteindre à mon sens, pourvu que d'ici la fin de la guerre, nos combattants occupent une place d'honneur dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits et que notre pays leur accorde tout l'appui dont il est capable.

Collègues du parti libéral canadien:

Au début de mes remarques, ce soir, j'ai parlé de la mémorable réunion tenue par notre parti à Toronto le 8 août 1939. Le discours que je prononçai en cette occasion se terminait ainsi:

"Le libéralisme a débuté par une lutte pour l'extension et la défense de la liberté. Au cours des ans, son oeuvre a représenté un effort en vue de l'extension et de la défense de la liberté. Dans le passé, cet effort a surtout porté sur la liberté au sein de notre propre pays. Pour l'avenir, si nous sommes

D 46677

fidèles à notre cause, nous, libéraux, chercherons à accroître et à défendre la liberté non seulement pour nous-mêmes dans notre propre pays, mais aussi, selon les circonstances, dans l'intérêt de l'humanité."

En m'exprimant ainsi, je disais au peuple canadien, tout autant qu'aux membres de mon propre parti, que je croyais notre pays déjà exposé à la guerre et que, si la guerre venait à éclater, elle menacerait la liberté de tout le genre humain.

Nous reportant ce soir à une période de plus de quatre années de guerre, nous pouvons tous trouver un motif de profonde satisfaction dans le fait que le libéralisme canadien a été fidèle à son principe fondamental, la défense de la liberté. La tâche du libéralisme ne se trouvera pas terminée lorsque la victoire aura été remportée. Ce moment suprême ne fera que marquer le début d'une ère nouvelle. La tâche future du parti libéral ne consistera pas à défendre les privilèges d'une minorité ou à soulever les préjugés des masses. Elle consistera à servir toute la collectivité et à assurer la sécurité et la liberté de tous les citoyens. Dans la solution des problèmes de l'après-guerre, la tâche du libéralisme continuera d'être le maintien et l'extension de la liberté.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D46678

MEMORANDUM

September 19, 1943

PRIME MINISTER

The attached material may possibly be of use in preparation for your address on September 27. It deals mainly with the nature of the war, the urgency of winning the war, with some "escapist" attitudes, and with what I have called "enemies on the home front". It is probably too long as it stands, but the general line may perhaps be helpful.

Any part which is incompelete this afternoon (car leaving at 5 pm) will be forwarded tomorrow.

JAG

JAG

Pls. clear for future use in preparation of speeches

JAG
19/9/43

~~NEW SECTION~~

D 46679

ESCAPIST ATTITUDES

We have laid much stress upon the fact that the war has still to be won; that many decisive battles still lie ahead, and that still greater fortitude, still heavier sacrifices will be demanded before victory can be achieved.

We do well, in taking stock of these sober judgments, to recall how different this war is from any other war of our lifetimes. It did not become a war among nations until many well-intentioned efforts for adjustment of differences had failed. It did not become, immediately, a conflict involving warfare of unparalleled swiftness and intensity, warfare on all the seas, in the skies, over many lands, on battlefronts in far-flung quarters of the globe.

But it was apparent, from the first advent of the Nazi leaders in Germany, that armed conflict, if it came, would be for no ordinary stakes. Strategic frontiers, far-reaching territorial conquests, access to raw materials, supremacy at sea, the overlordship of the air, these were but incidents when confronted by the schemes of Hitler and his Nazi hierarchy. What they sought was nothing less than the domination of the world. Only when their own petty structures of authoritarianism came tumbling down around their own ears will this design be exploded; and before that happens there may be many months of war.

D 46680

All of this will help to explain how fatal, how perilous, ~~is~~ are the escapist attitudes which recent Allied successes have thrown into sharp outline.

Some escapists, for example, say something like this: "The fighting seems to be going better. There is a general feeling of greater optimism about the outcome of the war. Perhaps we had better polish up our favourite ideas on the post-war world. Perhaps we have reached the stage where we can do with less economic controls. Perhaps we can afford to agitate for drastic changes in the government's labour policy. Perhaps we can think in terms of some relaxation of the price ceiling."

You have perhaps heard more talk of this kind in the last few months than at any earlier stage of the war. If talk of this kind is not combatted, swiftly and thoroughly, we are in danger of losing all the opportunities for hammer blows against the enemy which it has taken more than three years of hard fighting, and three years filled with many disappointments, to provide. I cannot see how anyone who looks realistically at the issue in this struggle, or at the course of the war through four heavy years, and who reckons up the battle still to be won, can tolerate such escapist attitudes. I cannot understand how they think this war - any war - can be won by relaxing of the common effort at the very moment when mounting successes have rewarded the skill and training and valour of allied arms.

D 46681

This does not mean that we do not think about the world - after - the - war. I still believe strongly, what I first said more than two years ago, that if a new world order is not on the way before this war ends, we may look for it in vain. We do need to plan, carefully and thoroughly, for the tremendous tasks of re-adjustment which the end of hostilities will create in Canada, not only for men and women of the armed services, but for hundreds of thousands of civilians as well. We do need to think in terms of aiding strongly in the rebuilding of shattered countries, providing food for their people, seed for their farms, skilled medical assistance for physical rebuilding, skilled engineers to help in public projects of reconstruction. Already it is apparent that the assitance we have been able to furnish in war potential, most recently through the operation of Mutual Aid Legislation, is but a part of a continuing assistance to the same allies under conditions of returning peace.

In addition, we shall have to reconsider problems of population, settlement and immigration. We shall have to prepare for participation in many forms of international organization; some concerned with security and the rule of law, others dealing with public health, transport, education, and the myriad social needs and material wants of civilized communities.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 40082

All of this we shall need, and yet we must not let our zeal outrun our discretion, nor our humanitarian principles outstrip our fighting needs at this moment. We cannot indulge in visions of plenty for ourselves and at the same time ignore the needs of people - the sheer, humble, decent people - elsewhere in a needy world. We cannot ask our people to accept direct taxation for no matter what social benefits, and neglect the urgency of liberation from tyranny of other nations. We shall find ourselves, on the morrow of victory, bound up in a great bundle of life. We may never know whence the faggots of this bundle were gathered, but we cannot be unaware of the strength of the bundle as a whole. If this be true, then our effort now, this week, this year, and every day until victory is attained, must become stronger wherever we can make it strong. Still more determined wherever determination animates the peoples' will, and unrelenting in the faith that this cause, of freedom, liberation, peace, demands the utmost which all our resources of skill and work and purpose can provide.

J. A. G.
18.9.43

D 46683

ENEMIES ON THE HOME FRONT

Not all of the enemies of the United Nations are the Axis powers against whom battle has been joined. Not all the menace of Hitler and his sattelites is to be found in his U-boats and his panzer divisions. There are now, as there have been throughout four years of war, insidious enemies who never reach a battlefront abroad. They do not need to, for in fact they wage a disastrous kind of war right in our midst, here on the home front. Their greatest victories are not in successes of arms, but in a far more subtle and dangerous field.

These enemies are known by curious names. They are complacency, selfishness, rumour-mongering, defeatism. They are peculiarly the enemies of the civil population. They run with the speed of a prairie fire, inflaming the minds and searing the consciences of ordinary, decent people. The wider the battlefront on which they operate, the deeper their villainy strikes into the very heart of the war effort. Now, more than ever before in this world-wide, this total war, these unseen ememies must be hunted out and destroyed.

Hitler - the many powers destroying enemies -

D46684

The enemy of complacency, which is home-front enemy Number One, says something like this: "Our war effort is already impressive. It is bigger than any effort, this country ever made before. Our war production has nearly reached its peak. We are beginning to win victories abroad. Perhaps the war will not last much longer. We are sure to win in the end. We can begin to take things a bit more easily."

This enemy is unscrupulous and persistent. He crops up everywhere. But he can be beaten. He can be beaten if people everywhere on the home front will meet him with weapons of realistic argument. The enemy of complacency cannot afford to survive against the weapons of truth and determination. He cannot exist if he is attacked in this way: "Our war effort must remain the utmost effort of all the people of Canada. It has to be the largest effort we have ever made because never in our history has so much been at stake. We must keep our war production at a maximum level and, at the same time, make the very best possible use of all of our resources, human and material. The success of our arms abroad only makes sharper the decisive battles which will still have to be fought and won. We do not know how long the war will last. But we do know, after

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four years of war that we cannot afford to relax even for an instant our vigilance, our effort and our determination. We shall win in the end only if we are able to meet the enemy with superior forces and armament, and if here at home we [redacted] back up our fighting men, wherever they serve, with all the strength we can muster."

I do not need to ask you which of these voices sounds like the real voice of the people of Canada.

The second enemy of the home front - the enemy of selfishness - is not an enemy particularly of wartime, though he is a particularly dastardly sort of enemy at a moment when people are being asked to deny themselves many articles of comfort and to increase their savings and their investments in war savings stamps and victory loans. This enemy of selfishness is a sneaking enemy. He appeals to the baser natures of people in every walk of life. This is what he says: "I don't see why I should have to pay taxes. I pay enough already. I have more money now than I have had in twenty years. Why shouldn't I spend it for the things I have always wanted? I know that there is so great a demand for some things of which a supply is limited that there isn't enough for everybody. I suppose it is true that if there weren't strict price

D46686

control buying whatever we wanted would lead to inflation with still higher prices and still less connection between the prices asked and the value received. But I guess it won't matter if I don't heed the warnings of the government not to buy things I can do without. Some people will heed these warnings and that will leave more for me."

In fighting this enemy the government cannot ever win the battle by itself. No amount of economic control - whether rationing, or price control, or compulsory savings - can ever avail if people are going to be persuaded to talk as this enemy talks. The whole success of any scheme designed to provide fair distribution of goods in short supply, and at the same time to avoid the notorious evils of inflation, depends upon the loyal help of every citizen concerned. It means that every person who earns money and who buys food or clothing must play the game or the system will break down. If it breaks down, the people who have least to go on will be the heaviest losers. If it breaks down no one will really gain in the long run, no matter whether he tries to hoard or whether he spends recklessly what he has.

There is another side to this question. In wartime the government has to ask people to submit to many regulations which never applied in peacetime. One reason why they are needed in wartime is that nearly half our entire national in-

D 46687

come is being devoted to war purposes. This means that purchases of consumers goods generally has to be subject to some control. It means that some articles - sugar and meat and butter and gasoline, for example, have to be rationed. It means that unlimited buying of other goods has to be discouraged by some means or other. In short, to meet the tremendously increased obligations of paying for one war effort, the government has to depend on obtaining more money. Some of that money can be obtained through taxation, on incomes, on luxury articles, on business profits, and so on. More of this money can be obtained by loans from the citizens themselves, loans which are guaranteed as to repayment by the full faith and resources of the Government.

These needs of the war effort are so imperative, now, and for every week until victory has been won, that I cannot believe that any fair-minded Canadian will shirk his duty to share in this urgent task. Indeed, the response of the Canadian people throughout four years of war has been so strking as to bring the enemy of selfishness out into the open. Once exposed to the light of determination, expressed by the support of the people of Canada, this enemy will not, as he does not deserve to, survive.

D46688

The third enemy I have mentioned is rumour-mongering. That phrase is one so alien to our past experience that to many of our citizens it has a curious, frightening sound. The people who aid the most contemptibel enemy are frequently well-intentioned and respectable citizens. But they are people who are too ready to believe everything they hear. Worse still, hearing anything they can believe, they then proceed to pass it about, whether by shouts or whispers makes no difference, without ever asking themselves certain questions. Instead of asking: "Is this true? Do I know it to be true? Will it help the war effort if I repeat it", these aiders of the enemy retail the latest rumour to any willing listener, until an apparently harmless statement, gaining the currency of repetition, penetrates into innumerable places, quite possibly causing needless anguish and unnecessary hardship as it goes.

This is perhaps the hardest of all enemies to defeat. The law provides summary treatment for persons who deliberately impair the war effort. The rumour-mongers are not often deliberate, but they are careless and unthinking. If they are in doubt as to the wisdom of making any particular statement, they should pause long enough to make sure that their assertions are true. If they are still in doubt, they should then keep silence rather than create false impressions. It is the false impressions, the near-panic mentality, the unthinking repetition which can be cruel and painful, which help the enemy against which we fight. Let us not add to our burdens by encouraging an

D 46689

enemy at home.

The fourth enemy of defeatism does not often raise his head, for he deserves no place in the thoughts of a nation pledged to wage war without respite until victory is won. The people who listen to the defeatist enemy are of three kinds. Among these, some have never believed that the war could be won, and because of their disbelief they belittle and discredit the efforts of those who are fighting with every sinew of their strength. These particular defeatists would snatch at any straw to end the war, for, in the main, they have not perceived the issue in this gigantic struggle. It is an issue of the survival of civilization itself. It is an issue of servitude or freedom. There can be no choice which stops part-way towards the goal. There can be no compromise with the forces of tyranny and degredation. There can be no peace without victory; and so long, therefore, as the war lasts, there can be no place for defeatism.

There are others who see and know something of what is involved in this titanic struggle, but who have perhaps grown tired in the struggle and who sometimes utterly despair. There is no place for despair in our mentality so long as the fight can be waged against the enemy, anywhere he may be found. We have triumphed over many an occasion for despair, many a tragic reverse, not a few grievous disappointments. But we have fought on, and fight on we shall while breath is left in our bodies.

D 46690

This spirit is no less important now that the initiative on the fighting fronts has passed to the Allied Nations, and it is the Axis enemy which has suffered the reverses. These very successes must make us press forward as never before. What, one may ask, would have happened to China, if her humble and worthy people had resisted less tenaciously in the long war imposed by Japan? What could be said for the armies of the Soviet Union, if despair had ever been a counsel among the Russian people in their titanic battles against the Nazi aggressors? How could the solid people of Britain have endured throughout the worst of the war from the air if despair had ever seized hold of their minds? And what of the extensive and powerful underground movements of France, of Norway, of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other nations occupied by the enemy. People who risk death every day have no time to think about despair.

The last kind of defeatists are the worst of all. They are unscrupulous people who think pocketbooks more important than patriotism. They are the people who hope to profit from the doubts of other people. They are the ones who "sell the war effort short", and who think in terms of some distant gain for which they are preparing now.

Enemies of this kind are despicable in any community. They have no place in Canada. They must be defeated wherever they appear.

D 46691

The way to defeat them is to make it clear at every opportunity that the people of Canada are in this war right to the finish. We can make good our claims to benefit from victory only if we fight resolutely and without stint until all the enemies of freedom are everywhere defeated.

This is a tremendous task, for the war for survival, the war for freedom, is also a great war of liberation of many peoples, whose homelands have been despoiled while they themselves have been cruelly oppressed. Whatever hope of a better, far-off day inspires them must touch us too. Something in our hearts, something in our souls, must tell us that this is the greatest cause on which Canada has ever embarked. In that spirit we must fight on and on until victory crowns our united efforts, and peace and freedom are assured for all mankind.

MEMO. FOR PRIME MINISTER:

This is the remaining part of the material which I drafted yesterday.

J.A.G.

Sep.20.

D 46692

D 46693

(2) [redacted]

The First Duty in the Winning of the War

It sounds easy enough to say that our first duty is the winning of the war. Yet I believe that ~~to~~ in no other duty, personal or corporate or national, can one enlist unanimity of view and the utmost effort of all.

The very course of this world-wide war will suggest why. For more than six months after Nazi forces invaded Poland and after Britain declared war against Germany, there was little actual fighting in the field. But when spring came it was but the work of a single night for Hitler's panzer divisions to spread through Denmark, pierce into Norway, and in short order thereafter to overrun the Netherlands and Belgium. The collapse of France brought the tide of Allied fortunes to its lowest ebb, and it was this moment which the jackal Mussolini chose for his shameless attack upon France. How far the tide has turned, to see this same Mussolini dismissed from his dictatorship, and, his vaunted colonial empire already obliterated, his homeland surrendering unconditionally to the forces of the United Nations.

But between June of 1940 and the summer of 1942 there were many other reverses in store. The battle for the western desert was begun, and it swung perilously close to the Nile and the Red Sea. In the spring of 1941 Hitler's armies reached

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out through the Balkans to engulf Yugoslavia and Greece. Together with other Nazi satellites in Eastern Europe, and excluding certain neutral powers, this meant that Hitler had achieved a virtual stronghold over the richest and most populous parts of Europe.

In June, 1941, Hitler launched his attack on the Soviet Union. Ever since, the Red Armies have been engaged on the longest fighting front in the world. By the end of the year, the Nazi forces had penetrated far into this great hinterland of rich farms and busy industries. But they were held, in the end, by the relentless and heroic ~~names~~ defence symbolized by the cities of Leningrad and Stalingrad, and they were hurled back, still short of the oil resources of the Caucasus which they coveted so greedily.

~~Five~~ Two years after the original onslaught, the Nazis were still in possession of much Soviet territory. But their attempted summer offensive on the central front lasted less than a fortnight before the Russian counter-offensive became one of the great offensive feats of the war. Ever since, the Germans have been pushed westward, so that countless villages which had been in Nazi hands for nearly two years have passed under Soviet control. The whole of the Donetz basin has been freed; Rostov, Taganrog, Kharkov, Kursk, Orel - all are again in Russian hands,

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and still the fighting continues, with the central Red Army spearhead deep into the Ukraine.

While Hitler was plunging into Russia, the Axis triumvirate of Germany, Italy and Japan was consolidated by the signature of an anti-comintern pact in Berlin on September 27, 1941. Just over two months afterwards, while conferences with Japanese representatives were actually proceeding in Washington, Japan launched the attack upon Pearl Harbour which brought the United States of America into the war. On January 1, 1942, the United Nations Declaration was signed at Washington. Thereafter the battle lines were sharply drawn and all the belligerents were stripped for action.

It was still a matter of months before the turning of the tide placed the global initiative for the first time in the hands of the United Nations. After Pearl Harbour, Japanese forces spread through the Western Pacific, through all of the Netherlands Indies, into the Indian Ocean, overland through Indo-China, Thailand and into Burma, and to the northern gateways to Australia. They dealt a sickening blow to Allied naval strength by sinking in a single day two of the strongest units of the British fleet. Later they reached out to the fringes of the western hemisphere in island outposts of the Aleutians (from which, however, they have now been driven out).

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It was in the Solomon Islands that United States land, sea and air forces in combination administered the first serious defeats to Japan. From the Solomons to New Guinea battle has since been joined from island to island. It has sometimes seemed a desperate struggle, but a combination of Australian, New Zealand and United States forces, fighting with great tenacity, saved the approaches to Australia and, with them, the vital Pacific sea route from America to India.

The largest Allied offensive was in Africa. In the western desert there had been many reverses of fortune before the great advance of the Eighth Army began at El Alamein on October 23. This was an advance which never stopped until it reached Tripoli, nearly 1200 miles to the west, and by that time Mussolini's African Empire was no more.

On November 7, Allied forces in great strength landed in North Africa, and carried the battles against the Axis eastward into Tunisia. The junction effected between the Eighth Army from the East, and the First Army from the west, with powerful support from United States and other Allied forces, finally drove the last remnants of the Axis forces out of Africa.

This task was completed early in May. It was then but a matter of weeks before the war of liberation entered a new phase. On July 10, British, United States and Canadian forces began landings in Sicily. A campaign of thirty-eight days, including some severe fighting, saw this strategic island pass

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completely under Allied control. This campaign was but a prelude to the invasion of the continent proper. When the Allied assault was launched against the mainland of Italy on September the 3rd, Canadian troops again shared in the operation.

The unconditional surrender of Italy was publicly announced five days later, when it became known that armistice terms had been signed between representatives of Marshal Badoglio for Italy and of General Eisenhower for the United Nations, also on September 3rd.

Throughout four years of war, the battle at sea and the battle in the air both have proceeded with varying fortunes but with constantly mounting successes for Allied ships, allied aircraft, and the men of many nations who sail the ships and pilot the planes. This battle is relentless and unceasing. The fact that it is so shows yet again why the first duty remains the winning of the war. The very intensity of fighting which lies ahead - not alone on land, but on every battlefront - must make us conscious that the war still has to be won.

Most important of all, if we are to retain and act upon the initiative on the fighting fronts so hardly won, we must fight as never before. If we are not to lose all we have gained in four years of fighting - gained sometimes at a desperate price - then we must fight for everything which we value most. If we are to win in the end, we must realize now

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that no effort can be too small to count on the side of victory.

Nearly a year ago, in launching the Third Victory Loan campaign, I called attention to that compelling and suggestive slogan: "Nothing matters now but victory". I believe that was abundantly true at that moment; I believe it is even more true now. We must speed that victory. We must work and fight for it with every resource we possess, with every skill we can command, and with an implacable purpose for victory strong in our minds and vibrant in our hearts.

The first duty of Canada and of all its people is the winning of the war.

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D 46699

"LIBERAL" WAR

Criticism: Canada is carrying on war effort as a Liberal war. Government had fallen into fallacy of thinking the Liberal party was Canada.

(Mr. Hanson at Charlottetown, October 11, 1940.)

Reply: Merely another way of advocating "national" government.

(See section on "National" Government.)

Only seventeen Members of House in Cabinet: all members cannot be in government but every Member of Parliament can contribute in Parliament to conduct of war through advice and constructive criticism.

Cabinet has responsibility for government--not monopoly of government.

(See extract from Prime Minister's broadcast of Feb. 23, 1940.)

D 46700

No partisanship or favouritism in administration of war effort.

(See section on Patronage.)

Many prominent Opposition Members in important administrative posts. (e.g. John Marsh ex-M.P. Hamilton West in Munitions and Supply and A.A. Heaps ex-M.P. Winnipeg North in the Department of Labour.)

D 46701

HON. R. B. HANSON at Charlottetown, Oct. 11/40

Montreal Gazette Oct. 12/40

CALLS IT "A LIBERAL WAR."

Mr. Hanson reiterated his charge that Canada was carrying on the war as a "Liberal war." The Dominion was the only country in the British Commonwealth "carrying on a war effort under party colors."

He had no objecton to being excluded from the Cabinet. "I don't want to go into Mr. King's Government," he said, "and I certainly never intend to go into his War Council, where I could give advice if I felt so disposed, but where I would be powerless to enforce any views I might have as to Canada's war effort."

He claimed Mr. King had "fallen into the fallacy of thinking the Liberal Party is Canada." When he talked about the unity of Canada, he meant the unity of the Liberal Party.

"This is a Liberal war," he asserted. "They are calling upon you and me, and our friends and nephews and brothers to give, to fight, and perhaps die, but they deny to approximately one-half the people of Canada the right to have anything to say about the direction of our war effort."

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Prime Minister's Broadcast

February 23rd, 1940.

Responsibility for Government One Thing— Monopoly of Government Another.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

D46703

CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 23rd February, 1940

D 46704

CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

The third of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa; 23rd February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set before you two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead, what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening, I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose, tonight, to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast, Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

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Leader of Opposition Holds Opposite Views.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, he expressed convictions no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

"National Conservative Leader, Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read, you will find in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

Merits of Union Government More Apparent Than Real.

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of a government where all party differences are submerged in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a strong appeal. Unfortunately, its attractiveness is more apparent than real.

D 46706

Most of us would like to see, at all times, a political condition where

"none was for a party;"
and "all were for the State."

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature, I am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis of human relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grieviously mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is, however, no reason why differences of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ, and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech and action.

The words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true.

The True Meaning of National Government

But let us stop a moment to see what the words "national government" really mean. We must be careful not to be carried away by catch-words and slogans. They are often dangerous and frequently deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing both the word "national" and the word "government".

A national government, in the correct sense of the term, is the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. Under the British system, it must be a representative and responsible government. It means a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It does not mean, as I said recently in the House of Commons, a government which is responsible to the official Opposition, or to any other minority group. It means a government which is responsible to the people. Representation of the people and responsibility to the people are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

Union Government—What it Means

The only government that can be called truly national is a government which reflects a practical unanimity of sentiment and belief held in common by a majority of the people's representatives. In Canada, such a government should also represent, in fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A truly national government cannot be founded upon an unnatural attempt to harmonize conflicting views and opinions. A combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups is not a national government. I might add that a political leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a government strong enough to be a unifying force in time of war.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is "union" government.

I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would, however, have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What, however, Dr. Manion is avowedly advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties, and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

Place of Political Parties in Government

There is, of course, nothing to prevent political parties maintaining their identity and still working together for a common object. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war and maintained by him throughout. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, Sir Wilfrid used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

Canada, like other democratic countries, has relied on government by political parties. It is a great mistake to speak of political parties as though they were a menace to the country. Parties are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. Through them, men and women who share similar views on great public questions are able to make those views prevail. Party government enables those who are willing to blend their views and opinions, so to combine forces as to advance policies founded on common

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views and principles. Political parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, class, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he ceases, for the time being, to give his support to a party to which he normally belongs, it may be, and usually is, because he is not satisfied with its present policy, or with its leader; or, because, he believes that in the existing situation he would advance the country's interest by placing his support elsewhere. If he chooses to to continue to support a party or a leader who no longer represents his views, that is his misfortune, if not his fault. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for him.

Mackenzie King Government a True National Government.

The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. Dr. Manion has told you that "every government starts to die soon after it is elected". That may have been his experience in office. I am happy to say it has not been mine. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

Union Government Leads to Dictatorship.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not

D 46710

necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction.

On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union Government a Pretext for Other Ends.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument since the outbreak of war for a "national" or union government originated in the desire to postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

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Leader of Opposition in a Quandry.

For your guidance, and for the guidance of the Leader of the Opposition, let me come now to one or two very practical matters, of which full account will have to be taken should the present government be defeated and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties thus far seem as a great secret as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out if he himself really knows, I am going to ask him a few questions on your behalf. Who are the men of brains, inside or outside his own party, who will be asked to join him? All, obviously, cannot be members of his own party, because it would not require a union government to enlist his own supporters.

He has asked you to defeat the present government. Such a defeat would be a condemnation of our conduct of the war, and an expression of lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion has said that his government will include men of both the old parties. Does he propose to include in his government members of a government whose administration has been condemned and who have lost the confidence of the people? Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways. It is, in any case, hard to believe that Dr. Manion can expect to attract to his government any of the men whom today he so violently and recklessly condemns.

Who are to Compose Union Government?

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "union" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has

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in mind. Has he any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him? What will be the extent of the following which they will be able to bring to the support of the new ministry? Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities, but also upon the strength and character of the following he is able to command. I should also like to ask him what kind of "union" government it would be if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. Dr. Manion's union government would probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth come if he is called? I doubt very much if the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation will be prepared to sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity. Would Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into such an unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him if it is? If elected, will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? Who knows what members the present groups will have in the next Parliament? We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. Sooner or later, one after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

Dr. Manion says he may take a woman into his Cabinet. If their support for union government is to be gained by this means, the women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this. From now on, they will be

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anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether he will make his choice from his own party, or from some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth appear in the list of his candidates on nomination day?

How Will Union Government Ministers Find Seats in Parliament?

There is another very practical consideration. It would be well for you, the electors, and for Dr. Manion himself not to lose sight of it. If the ministers of the new union government are not to be found amongst the candidates to be nominated on nomination day, or, what is much more important, elected on election day, where and how is he going to get them elected to Parliament?

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise to get his best brains into the House in a general election, and not to wait until the election is over to identify them and to discover constituencies willing to return them. His followers, who may be called upon to surrender their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Moreover, if the Cabinet is to be representative, ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country. Only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representations.

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not abandoned the hope of an alliance between the two old parties, which would leave what he calls "the extremists" to form the opposition. This was the only kind of union government which he could see on July 26th, 1939, and you remember how roundly he condemned it.

D 46714

No Possibility of a Conservative Government.

It is just possible Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination, thereby extinguishing opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another political somersault, for, as late as November 2nd, 1939, not four months ago, he used these words:

> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government.

Opposition an Essential Part of Parliamentary System.

Let it never be forgotten that the existence of an official Opposition gives our system of government two great advantages. Without an Opposition a much needed safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration would be lacking. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration.

If there is no effective Opposition, the people are left without a known alternative to the administration, once a government loses the confidence of parliament or the country. This is the second advantage of an opposition properly per-

D 46715

forming its constitutional duty. Those who desire to defeat a government should know who its successors will be and what their policies are. In the fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever an existing administration loses the confidence of the country, lies the secret of the peaceful political evolution of the British Commonwealth. It is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change.

That is one of the reasons why Parliament itself by statute has made the Leader of the Opposition a salaried officer. His position in Parliament, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty to contribute to the collective thinking and to the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "It is not always realized how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences, and even their discontents, that progress becomes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship under some other disguise.

Liberals Will Constitute Opposition if Present Government Not Returned.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been

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made to the country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people, or of Dr. Manion concerning our position; and no recriminations later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Responsibility for Government One Thing—Monopoly of Government Another.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

No Patronage in Canada's War Effort.

With respect to its war effort, the present government has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercised, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans.

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We have asked how they can serve Canada, now and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and promotions, you have been told by the highest military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of the fighting forces is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have selected the ablest men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives. Some by members of other parties and some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a union government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

Services of Non-partisan Character to be Utilized in Advisory Capacity.

With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the Ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services in one way or another might be made available to the State, and add strength to the administration of our policies. How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or with a member of the Cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities, is something that I would like to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles.

D46718

All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on. In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises.

Dr. Manion Begins at Wrong Time and Wrong End.

It must already be apparent to the Leader of the Opposition, but I should like to make it equally clear to you, that if Dr. Manion really hopes to form and lead a union government, he is beginning at the wrong time and at the wrong end. The time to form a union government is before, not after, a general election.

That, you will recall, was what was done in 1917. The union government of Sir Robert Borden was not formed after a general election. It was formed first. The elections followed immediately afterwards. Throughout the campaign, its leaders were known; its ministers were known; its policies were known. Its candidates in the constituencies were known. They were union government candidates, definitely pledged to support, not some government to be formed after the elections were over, but the union government headed by Sir Robert Borden. The government had not been formed to implement some policy vaguely described as the winning of the war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his opinions were every bit as anxious to win the war as Sir Robert and his followers. They differed on a specific policy. That policy was conscription. The union government was formed to obtain the support of the country for that policy.

D46719

Electors Being Led up a Blind Alley.

In the elections of 1917, the leaders of opposed parties who joined together to form the union government stood side by side on political platforms throughout the campaign. Their policy was openly supported and openly attacked. The electorate was not asked to engage in a game of blind man's buff, in which the parties constituting the union government, their leaders, their policies, and even their candidates, were all unknown. Believe it or not, that is exactly the situation as we have it today. You are actually being invited by Dr. Manion to go, from now on till March 26th, up a blind alley, which he says leads to national government, and on that day, in some booth at the end of the dark road, to mark and deposit your ballot for a government that is not yet in being, and may never come into existence.

An Unquestioned Mandate Essential to Canada's War Effort.

Regardless of all else, I am sure you will not wish, either on the days immediately following the election, or so long as the war continues, to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

I want to say to you, my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are such that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

D 46720

This war demands Canada's utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given an unquestioned mandate by the people. Can you name any political group or combination of men, other than the present government, which is likely to enjoy your confidence, or has the remotest chance of being representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which you, the electors must continue to ask yourselves between now and the 26th of March. If, in the interval, you have failed to take all these matters into account, it will be too late to retrace your steps once that day has passed.

New Dangers and Terrors Threaten World.

Ladies and gentlemen, since Canada answered the call of freedom, new dangers and terrors have come to threaten the allied powers and ourselves. Do not forget that Asia as well as Europe is aflame. Finland today fights gallantly against the aggression of brutal force. Who will say what nation is safe from attack as the fateful months roll on? It may even be that before the forces of evil are vanquished, the whole world will be engulfed in the angry seas of battle.

Let us not imagine that our land will inevitably escape the wrath that darkens land and sea, or that our shores will necessarily be spared as the conflict grows and spreads. He would be a foolish man who refused to face the possibilities and realities of a shattered world.

We face a future unknown and unpredictable. We cannot tell what calamities may strike us before the present year is ended, or what perils may be upon us in 1941 or 1942. Failure to view the situation as a whole, and to take account

D 46721

of all conceivable possibilities, might be fraught with the gravest dangers. There must be no surrender to the insistent clamour of those who refuse to look beyond the problems of the moment.

A Strong and Experienced Government— Canada's Greatest Need.

The great co-operative war effort which this government has planned is gaining every day in momentum. Our hope lies in the gathering of our strength to meet the gathering of the storm.

No one can doubt the courage, the will, the endurance of the people of Canada. But the possession of these qualities is not alone sufficient to ensure victory. They must be marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced.

Issued by the

National Liberal Federation

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D 46722

"LIBERAL" WAR

Criticism: Canada is carrying on war effort as a Liberal war. Government had fallen into fallacy of thinking the Liberal party was Canada.

(Mr. Hanson at Charlottetown, October 11, 1940.)

Reply: Merely another way of advocating "national" government.

(See section on "National" Government.)

Only seventeen Members of House in Cabinet: all members cannot be in government but every Member of Parliament can contribute in Parliament to conduct of war through advice and constructive criticism.

Cabinet has responsibility for government--not monopoly of government.

(See extract from Prime Minister's broadcast of Feb. 2[illegible], 1940.)

pp 15-17 text attached

D 46723

No partisanship or favouritism in administration of war effort.

(See section on Patronage.)

Many prominent ~~Conservatives~~ opposition members in important administrative posts. (e.g. John Marsh ex-M.P. Hamilton West in Munitions and Supply, and A.A. Heaps, ex-M.P. Winnipeg North in Dept. of Labour.)

B 46724

"..... Mr. Hanson reiterated his charge that Canada was carrying on the war as a 'Liberal war.' The Dominion was the only country in the British Commonwealth 'carrying on a war effort under party colors.' .....

He claimed that Mr. King had 'fallen into the fallacy of thinking the Liberal party is Canada.' When he talked about the unity of Canada, he meant the unity of the Liberal party.

'This is a Liberal war,' he asserted. 'They are calling upon you and me, and our friends and nephews and brothers, to give, to fight, and perhaps die, but they deny to approximately one-half the people of Canada the right to have anything to say about the direction of our war effort.' ...."

(Montreal Star, October 12, 1940)

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Sep 27/43

Subject

D 48725

DIFFICULT DAYS STILL TO COME MR. KING WARNS

National Liberal Federation Meets at Ottawa to Reorganize Party From Coast to Coast

Ottawa, Sept. 27—With a warning from Prime Minister Mackenzie King that war and its conduct must continue to be the main pre-occupation of Canadians, close to 400 members of the Advisory Council of the National Liberal Federation to-day settled down to a two-day meeting.

The meeting was opened by State Secretary McLarty as acting Federation president, who called on Mr. King, honorary president, for introductory remarks.

While the meeting was closed to the press a digest of proceedings was given to reporters later by Gray Turgeon, member of Parliament for Cariboo. He quoted Mr. King as saying that the war is far from won and that thousands of young Canadians will have to "suffer perhaps as soldiers have never had to suffer before."

The Prime Minister quoted Prime Minister Winston Churchill to the effect that difficult times are still ahead, said Mr. Turgeon.

On behalf of a committee appointed to organize the meeting Roy Graham, member of Parliament for Swift Current, submitted a report which was under consideration at the noon recess.

It recommended setting up the following committes, with suggested chairmen: Nominating Committee, D. A. McNiven; Federation Organization Committee, A. W. Roebuck; Resolutions Committee, Brooke Claxton Finance Committee J. A. Blanchette.

The meeting here is to elect a permanent Federation executive and reorganize the party from coast to coast.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen

Date Sep 27/43

Subject

D 46726

Worst War Days Are Ahead, Says Prime Minister.

The worst days of the war are still ahead—that was the stern warning Premier King gave the members of the National Liberal Federation, at a meeting in the Chateau Laurier this morning. There will be a two-day meeting during which Liberal policy, past and future, is to be thoroughly discussed. The total attendance was 395, including senators and members of parliament. Provincial premiers present included John Hart, British Columbia; W. J. Patterson, Saskatchewan; Adelard Godbout, Quebec; J. B. McNair, New Brunswick; A. S. MacMillan, Nova Scotia, and W. J. Jones of Prince Edward Island.

Hon. Norman McLarty, acting president of the federation, who was in the chair, asked Premier King to give a word of welcome to the members. In outlining the purposes and policies of the federation, he saw it as a policy-creating, policy-circulating body.

Then he uttered a grave warning; the war was very far from won, insisted the premier. He quoted Premier Churchill as saying the most cruel days are yet to come.

Canada's young men were suffering in this war as soldiers never suffered before, and there were still other fighting men who expected to go through the same agony. He asked all the federation to think what lay ahead for Canadian boys before deciding the war was won so soon.

Hopeful Note.

Hon. Norman McLarty, secretary of state, and acting head of the federation, sounded a hopeful note for the federation's future. It could also help make certain that true Liberal policies were maintained, and could act as a guide to the Liberal government.

Senator Norman Lambert, original secretary of the federation, a past president of it, and the man who nursed the organization through its earliest days, said this Canadian Federation was a prototype of the Liberal Federation of Great Britain. It was a medium of policy and doctrine, but not concerned with political organization.

Roy Graham, Liberal M.P. for Swift Current, moved that certain committees be set up. That motion was being debated at the luncheon adjournment. Tentative committee heads were suggested as follows: nominating committee, Donald McNiven, Regina; organization, Arthur Roebuck, Toronto Trinity; constitution, Burton Hill, Charlotte; resolutions, Brooke Claxton, Montreal St. Lawrence-St. George; finance, J. A. Blanchette, Compton.

This afternoon the meeting continued under the chairmanship of Senator Cairine Wilson, vice-president of the federation.

Tonight a dinner will be held at which Premier King will be the principal speaker.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46727

Name of Publication Le Droit

Date Sep 27/43

Subject

King annoncera-t-il la tenue d'élections générales sous peu?

Quelque trois cents délégués, des invités officiels, et des membres du conseil consultatif de la Fédération libérale nationale se sont mis à la besogne ce matin afin d'éire un exécutif permanent et réorganiser le parti de Vancouver à Halifax.

Le premier ministre a souhaité la bienvenue aux délégués et la première séance a commencé à 10 h. 30. Les nombreux enregistrements ont retardé l'ouverture de la conférence.

Tous les premiers ministres libéraux des provinces, sauf l'hon. Stuart Garson, du Manitoba, et l'hon. Adélard Godbout, de Québec, étaient présents. L'hon. Godbout doit arriver cet après-midi.

Le premier ministre John Hart, de la Colombie-Britannique et l'hon. T.-D. Pattulo, ancien premier ministre de la Colombie, furent des premiers à s'enregistrer.

Les premiers ministres de la Saskatchewan, du Nouveau-Brunswick, de la Nouvele-Ecosse et de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, se sont aussi enregistrés à bonne heure. L'hon. Harry Nixon, ancien premier ministre de l'Ontario, était aussi présent.

On a rapporté que R.-T. Graham député fédéral pour Swift Current, avocat de 56 ans et vétéran de la première Grande Guerre est un candidat probable pour la fonction de président et que Gray Turgeon, député fédéral de Cariboo, a une bonne chance de devenir vice-président.

Un député a dit aujourd'hui, comme il entrait dans la salle des réunions, que vendredi dernier il était certain qu'il n'y aurait pas d'élection cette année.

"Mais maintenant, je ne gagerais pas un sou contre une élection cette année" ajouta-t-il.

La plupart des collègues du cabinet de M. King ont assisté aux séances.

Le premier ministre Mackenzie King, qui vient de recevoir une expression "de confiance complète et sans borne" de ceux qui ont assisté au caucus, a souhaité aujourd'hui la bienvenue aux délégués.

Le seul événement public de la réunion sera le dîner ce soir, avec le premier ministre comme orateur principal. La presse et quelques invités y assisteront.

Le premier ministre, parlant aux journalistes. après l'ajournement définitif du caucus du parti samedi, a dit qu'il pourrait "peut-être dire quelque chose" à la fédération au sujet de la tenue d'une élection générale.

Le premier ministre a aussi dit aux journalistes que les délégués au caucus avaient parlé à coeur ouvert du mécontentement général à l'endroit du gouvernement libéral.

En plus de la résolution de confiance à l'endroit de M. King, on a adopté au caucus une résolution demandant au gouvernement et au public d'appuyer les membres des forces armées, actuellement sur tous les fronts du monde.

M. King a dit que le parti libéral n'avait pas voulu faire de campagne ou tenter de promouvoir les intérêts du parti, mais que les autres mouvements politique n'ont pas eu les mêmes scrupules.

Par conséquent, la remise sur pied de l'organisation de propagande du parti est nécessaire.

Les députés se sont plaints que la rigidité de la discipline du parti ne leur permettait pas de donner leur opinion sur les décisions prises. Les députés ont exprimé l'opinion que leur participation aux activités du parti n'était pas suffisante.

La majorité des libéraux qui ont assisté au caucus samedi assisteront aux séances de la Fédération qui ont lieu au Château Laurier.

Des comités ont été nommés cet après-midi et les délibérations de mardi seront sous la présidence de M. Gray Turgeon, député fédéral pour le comté de Cariboo et vice-président de la réunion.

Les élections des membres de l'exécutif auront lieu mardi. Une discussion générale aura lieu à 5 h. 30, mardi aprîs-midi.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir

Date Sep 27/43.

D 46728

Les perspectives libérales à Ottawa

Sans M. King, que pourraient faire les libéraux? Et avec lui, peuvent-ils gagner les élections à venir?

Il appartient maintenant aux libéraux de se mettre sérieusement au travail s'ils veulent reconquérir un peu de leur ancienne popularité. Tâche plus difficile que d'accentuer l'effort de guerre ou d'accorder un nouveau cadeau d'un milliard à la Grande-Bretagne. Sénateurs et députés libéraux ont tenu des séances à huis clos pour étudier les causes de leurs défaites récentes. Lorsque, vendredi dernier, le premier ministre, après la première séance du congrès, a déclaré que le caucus extraordinaire avait été convoqué afin de scruter les facteurs dominants de la situation, un journaliste lui a fait la réflexion suivante: "Etait-ce nécessaire de convoquer les sénateurs et les députés pour cela?" Les causes de l'impopularité du parti libéral sont si évidentes qu'il semblait en effet bien inutile de faire venir à Ottawa sénateurs et députés, en plus des principaux membres de la Fédération libérale nationale. Mais les libéraux d'aujourd'hui, comme les conservateurs de 1918, ont des yeux pour ne point voir et des oreilles pour ne point entendre.

* * *

Voici, en résumé, ce qui ressort des deux premières journées d'étude auxquelles n'ont participé que les membres du Sénat et de la Chambre des Communes qui se réclament du parti libéral. En tout premier lieu, le premier ministre reste en place. Des journaux ont fait grand état de la formule de politesse employée par M. Mackenzie King dans son discours de bienvenue aux congressistes. M. King aurait dit, comme cela lui est arrivé souvent dans le passé et comme tout chef de parti bien élevé doit le faire de temps à autre, qu'il s'en remettait entièrement au jugement des délégués de lui continuer la confiance qu'ils lui avaient manifestée jusque-là comme chef de parti. M. King n'assumait pas de grands risques en exprimant une complète soumission à l'opinion de la majorité de ses députés. Il a toujours tenu ses gens solidement en laisse. Le premier ministre est le maître incontesté de son parti, le dictateur. M. King restera chef du parti aussi longtemps qu'il le voudra. Il le sait. Ses députés le savent également. Par qui pourraient-ils le remplacer?

La question de la direction du parti étant réglée, pour la raison que personne ne l'a soulevée, on a disposé de la rumeur d'un appel au peuple dès les prochains mois. Le correspondant parlementaire du *Globe & Mail* a prétendu que le désir du premier ministre de siéger à la conférence de la paix écartait toute possibilité d'une élection générale en 1943. Le même journaliste ajoutait que M. Mackenzie King voulait célébrer l'an prochain le vingt-cinquième anniversaire de son élection comme chef du parti. Si tel est le cas, les vues du premier ministre cadrent avec celles du plus grand nombre de ses députés. Ils répudient toute idée d'un appel au peuple, pour le moment du moins, bien que les plus jeunes d'entre eux considèrent que l'avenir du parti est tellement compromis qu'il vaudrait aussi bien subir la défaite tout de suite. Les gens plus âgés ne sont pas aussi pessimistes. Ils espèrent réussir à renflouer le bateau échoué sur les bancs de sable de l'effort de guerre, oeuvre de MM. Ilsley, Ralston, Howe et Mitchell.

* * *

Pas d'élection à brève échéance, clament la plupart des libéraux, bien qu'ils s'en remettent à M. Mackenzie King de fixer l'heure où ils iront à la bataille. Avant de soutenir le choc des adversaires, ils demandent qu'on réorganise la Fédération libérale nationale, qu'on constitue un bureau de propagande et que le gouvernement présente à la population un programme élaboré de législation sociale d'après-guerre. Ils se proposent tout d'abord de mettre fin à la trêve de la lutte de partis. C'est une façon de dire. En fait, les libéraux n'ont jamais cessé de faire de la politique de parti. Le gouvernement a toujours eu le souci électoral. Il a pris soin de confier à de bons et fidèles libéraux la plupart des postes de commande. L'information de guerre a souvent été mise au service de la propagande libérale. Tout le monde est au courant de l'attitude des libéraux en ce qui regarde le *patronage*. M. Ilsley est peut-être la seule exception. Il a la mystique de la guerre. Mais M. Ilsley n'a jamais disposé d'un *patronage* considérable, dans le sens que l'on prête d'habitude au mot.

Bien que les libéraux aient toujours fait de la politique de parti, ils sont heureux d'avoir le prétexte public du congrès progressiste-conservateur et des fréquentes réunions de la *C. C. F.* pour se lancer à leur tour dans une campagne préélectorale soutenue et intense. Jeter le blâme sur les adversaires afin de se justifier de les imiter est un truc vieux comme le monde. Quoi qu'il en soit, les libéraux veulent se comporter comme les groupes oppositionnistes. Ils auront des organisateurs, des propagandistes, probablement des assemblées publiques. Ils se trouveront ainsi à assumer plus exclusivement encore qu'auparavant toutes les responsabilités de l'effort de guerre. En se comportant nettement et ouvertement comme un gouvernement de parti, le gouvernement King compromet davantage, à notre point de vue, l'avenir du parti. On parlera du gouvernement King comme du gouvernement Borden. Les gens finiront par oublier l'influence que les oppositionnistes ont pu exercer sur l'élaboration de la politique ministérielle, comme ils ne se rappelaient plus guère, avant septembre 1939, l'influence exercée par les libéraux dans le gouvernement d'union de sir Robert Borden.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46729

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

* * *

Les libéraux, qui sont en pleine panique, ne prennent pas le temps de réfléchir aux conséquences lointaines de leurs décisions. Ils aperçoivent seulement les avantages apparents d'une réorganisation intérieure et de l'élaboration d'un programme de législation sociale. La nécessité d'un programme social s'impose à eux comme la possession d'une chaloupe de sauvetage aux passagers d'un navire en détresse. Depuis quatre ans ils n'ont travaillé qu'à l'effort de guerre. Ils ont mené leur tâche rondement. Notre dette atteindra bientôt la somme de $12,000,000,000 et les effectifs de nos services armés augmentent sans cesse. Nos aviateurs combattent sur tous les fronts. Nos soldats se battent partout. Nos navires patrouillent les mers. Le contrôle de la vie économique vise de plus en plus à l'hermétisme. Le rationnement bat son plein. En bref, l'effort de guerre du gouvernement libéral, du parti libéral, est quelque chose qui laisse loin en arrière l'apport canadien à la victoire des armes alliées en 1918. M. King a fait plus et pire que sir Robert Borden, plus et pire que M. Arthur Meighen. C'est entendu. Nous en donnons tout le crédit aux libéraux.

* * *

Mais ils s'aperçoivent que cela n'est pas suffisant pour gagner une élection. Peuvent-ils, comme le corbeau, jurer qu'on ne les y prendra plus? Pas du tout. Leur tâche n'est pas finie. Ils doivent la poursuivre. Aussi se proposent-ils de faire autre chose, de détourner l'attention publique, de se comporter comme des hommes qui regrettent leurs péchés d'omission. Ils découvrent qu'il leur faut un programme social, puisque les autres partis préconisent des réformes. On verra dans peu de temps, que les allocations familiales dont les journaux ont parlé ces jours derniers ne constituent qu'une partie de leur programme nouveau. C'est la surenchère des promesses de sécurité sociale, comme, de 1921 à 1935, c'était la surenchère des engagements autonomistes. Tout le monde est en faveur des réformes sociales, des allocations familiales en particulier. On les accueillera favorablement, *à la condition qu'elles reposent sur des fondements solides.* Ce n'est pas parce qu'elles seront proposées ou mises en vigueur par les libéraux qu'on devra les refuser. Mais elles ne modifieront pas le jugemnet politique que la masse portera sur le régime libéral. Elles ne feront pas oublier la politique extérieure du parti, ni ses innombrables promesses violées. Voilà l'important pour l'avenir de la nation canadienne. Quand cette guerre sera terminée, il ne faudra pas que certaines choses se répètent.

Les électeurs ne croiront pas que le loup devient mouton parce que le loup est à s'affubler d'une peau de mouton.

27-IX-43

Léopold RICHER

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

D 46730

Date SEP 2 8 1943

Mr. King Trusts General Election May Be Unnecessary Until Canada's Sons and Daughters Welcomed Home, But He States Circumstances That Would Make Appeal to People Imperative. Given Enthusiastic Reception.

No election, if at all avoidable, before the war is won and Canada's fighting men come home!

This was the desire and hope expressed last night by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King when addressing the members and guests of the advisory council of the National Liberal Federation at a dinner tendered in his honor at the Chateau Laurier.

The Prime Minister conceded, however, that much depended on the course of the war and its duration.

Might Prove Inevitable.

Should the war continue on into 1945 it would be necessary, regardless of what might happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year, to give the people their opportunity to declare themselves at the polls.

Until the "terrible period" of fighting yet to come was passed no one could wish for a general election in Canada, said Mr. King. At the same time, a general election might prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe was over.

"I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-important as a general election at a time of war," said the Prime Minister. "All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back, to their own homeland, those of that great company of sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle in the different theaters of war.

"Whether a general election can be delayed until that time I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision," he added.

Would Be Necessary.

An election before the war's end would be necessary, Mr. King said, if:

1. The war is still raging in 1945 when the statutory life of the present Parliament ends;

2. Sufficient evidence arises to indicate that "any considerable proportion" of Canadian people are unwilling to continue to support the government's policies;

3. A group or combination of groups in Parliament moved to impede the work of Parliament or to "misrepresent and distort government policies" to make it next to impossible for the government to carry on;

4. There was dissension in the ranks of the government and its supporters "for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen," of which Mr. King said "personally I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring."

"Beyond Our Ken."

Mr. King said there might also be events or happenings "at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, which might make a general election advisable or necessary."

He quoted a reported statement by E. B. Jolliffe, Ontario C.C.F. leader, warning his followers that the federal government would seek an immediate election in the hope the people would not "change horses" in midstream.

Mr. King said of Mr. Jolliffe that "were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections rather than, as I am, of winnnig the war," he would find ample grounds for an immediate dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the people.

"I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of that appeal would be.

"At this, of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration that would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country."

He had taken the stand at adjournment of the House last July that the greatest ordeals of the war were ahead and that until these were over the needs of the fighting forces commanded the whole attention of the government and people of Canada.

Any question of a general election should be viewed in the light of that responsibility to the Canadians overseas, Mr. King said.

Piped in by Tom Reid.

Piped into the ball room by Tom Reid, Liberal member for New Westminster, B.C., the Prime Minister listened to leaders of the federation acclaim him for his "splendid wartime leadership." Hon. Norman McLarty, secretary of state and acting president of the federation, set the keynote to a series of addresses eulogizing the Liberal leader, when he declared that Mr. King's leadership stood out clear and distinct "like a bell on a wintry morning."

"There is no doubt so far as the Liberal party is concerned that their feelings and their voice are unanimous in support of the leader we have with us today," said Mr. McLarty.

The gathering heard Douglas Abbott, member for St. Antoine-Westmount propose the toast to the Armed Forces in which he said that those at home must make sure the world their fighting men came back to was a better and happier one.

Col. J. L. Ralston, minister of national defence, speaking for all three armed forces, replied to the toast, and asserted that no contribution or sacrifice those on the home front might make could match for a moment the sacrifices being made by "those who hazard life itself that others may live."

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Col. J. L. Ralston, minister of national defence, speaking for all three armed forces, replied to the toast, and asserted that no contribution or sacrifice those on the home front might make could match for a moment the sacrifices being made by "those who hazard life itself that others may live!"

REPEAT
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Col. H. S. Hamilton, president of the Ontario Liberal Association, and Madame H. E. Vautelet proposed the toast to the Prime Minister, the latter speaking for Quebec Liberals.

Prolonged Cheering.

When Mr. King rose to speak he was greeted with prolonged cheering.

He started in slowly, speaking for some minutes before he touched a manuscript that kept him on his feet for almost an hour and a half.

He covered considerable ground, although the subject of whether an election should be held soon or late took up most of his time.

To begin with he did not feel that there was any immediate need for an election. He was not one who held the view that the present administration had ceased to enjoy the confidence of the people. Were he to hold such a view he would regard it as his constitutional duty to ask for immediate dissolution of Parliament.

In succession he touched on many other political subjects.

In Happy Mood.

Mr. King spoke of the Liberal party in happy mood. Its past achievements, its present position in relation to pressing problems, the effectiveness of its wartime administration, and its immediate future—all were painted, if not in rosy colors, then at least in bright tints which gave an overall brilliance to the canvas. There were no subdued tones, no uncertain shadows. From the standpoint of the Liberal party, at least, it was a satisfying bit of work of a conservative and fetching nature.

As to those who claimed the Liberal party no longer enjoyed the confidence of the people Mr. King said that if he believed this were the case he would deem it his duty to call an election. But such an announcement, he argued, would bring not rejoicing, but rather consternation. For there existed no other party or combination of parties in which the people had any comparable degree of confidence.

Proud of War Effort.

Surely, he said, the people of Canada were proud of their war effort. It had been outdone by no other country. He believed that the people recognized and appreciated the leadership which the government had given in this effort. And it must likewise be realized that in its devotion to the war effort the government had neglected its own party organization.

As to the Ontario election and the four federal by-elections, Mr. King refused to see the election results as any sign of dissatisfaction with the federal government and its policies. The results in Ontario had been "the outcome of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years."

Mr. King did not mention Mitchell F. Hepburn, but it appeared as if he sought to fix upon him at least some of the responsibility for the loss of Ontario. Federal questions, he insisted, had not been issues in the provincial election.

Mr. King's explanation for the defeat suffered by Liberal candidates in the federal by-elections was a simple enough one. The Liberal party had dismantled its organization during the war, while other parties had built up their organizations. This was the Prime Minister's only explanation for the debacle.

The results in Prince Edward Island was evidence that the record of the federal government had not been an issue in the provinces. Otherwise why had the wind not blown in the same direction it had in Ontario.

Other Parties.

After giving a resume of what the Liberal party and its administration had done since the start of the war, Mr. King had something to say about the other parties in the House. He threw no bouquets and if, on occasion, he cast a solitary garland towards any of them they were of the thorny or nettled variety.

He declared that following the election of 1940 the Conservative party had instituted a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing the latter's forces, and he accused Mr. Bracken of "touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes" of his party, instead of assuming the post of leader of the opposition in the House. It could scarcely be said of Mr. Bracken, said the Prime Minister, that he "has made co-operation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective."

The C.C.F., which he argued had also chosen the opportunity provided by the war and its problems to build up their party organization, had been "boring into the labor organizations of the country" to further their own political ambitions and aims. They had sought to circulate the belief that the Liberal administration was hostile to labor and had not been content to wait till the war was over "to try to have organized labor become the wing of a political party."

As for the Bloc Populaire Canadien and "other minor parties," as he termed them, Mr. King had little to say. He did declare that the Bloc Populaire's leaders were "a small group of malcontents indifferent to the good name of Canada" and whose real design was "to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial difference and stirring up racial animosities."

He dismissed the Social Credit Party as one which was "shrinking fast." As for the latest Progressive Party—the Labor - Progressive Party—its influence, too, was fast diminishing.

"Terrible Warning."

The existence of these minor parties did constitute a definite threat to the effective working of parliamentary democracy, he warned. "Unhappy France," he said, should be a "terrible warning" against this trend in politics.

Pointing out that the claims of humanity are superior to those of industry, superior to those of capital or labor, Mr. King warned labor to keep its hands free from political entanglements and loyalties. He believed that labor represents in its aims and aspirations "the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity, against want and misery"; but any alliance made by labor with a political party, or labor itself acting as a political party must sooner or later prove disastrous alike to labor and the country.

Labor, he asserted, needed all the good-will, assistance and friendship it could win from men and women of all political parties and of those who know nothing of politics. It would have all these only as it maintained its freedom to give its support wherever it might feel that support would best serve the common good.

Similarly, political parties would only survive as they sought to

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serve the general, not the particular interests, and were broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, or all conditions and economic circumstance, said the Prime Minister.

"Intolerable Situation."

Mr. King said that to have opposition groups consistently playing politics while the administration devoted its efforts to winning the war is "an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue."

Mr. King reviewed the progress of political affairs in Canada since the war. He said that all opposing political parties were carrying on active organization and propaganda measures looking toward victory at the polls, while the Liberal party had been devoting its whole thoughts to winning the war.

There had been recent claims that the administration did not enjoy the confidence of the people, Mr. King said. If he felt that way, he added, it would be his duty to ask for immediate dissolution of Parliament.

But he did not shade the view; and if he chose to test it by calling an immediate general election, "there would be throughout Canada not rejoicing but consternation."

He challenged any responsible person to say Canada had not made a "magnificent war effort," and declared it would be "unthinkable that all this means nothing to the Canadian people."

The administration in 1940 had been given a mandate by the people to conduct the war for Canada; and it was unlikely to be said that because it had carried out this main task so well it had lost the confidence of the people.

"Do not believe that at a time of world crisis they (the people) would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country."

The results of the Ontario elections had reflected only the reaction of the electors of that province to the provincial administration involved. The same was true of the election in Prince Edward Island. Neither had anything to do with federal matters.

Federal By-elections.

The four federal by-elections last month, two in Quebec and one each in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, had been lost because while federal Liberal organization was nil and had been since the 1940 elections the opposing parties were well organized.

Mr. King said the Progressive Conservative party, and the Conservative party as it was previous to last December, had abandoned any pretence of forgetting politics during the war. He described that party's organization efforts.

The same was true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, he said. He commented on their recent affiliation with a labor union federation, warning the latter that in his long experience he had never seen any good for labor come from affiliation with one particular political party.

Calls Them "Malcontents."

Mr. King's bitterest words were for Le Bloc Populaire Canadien, formed in Quebec by a handful of his former House supporters, led by Maxime Raymond, elected in 1940 as Liberal member for Beauharnois-Laprairie.

This small group of "malcontents" sought to "set Quebec against the rest of Canada" for their own advantage, indifferent to the harm that might come to the people of that province if they succeeded in "setting the rest of Canada and the rest of North America against Quebec," said the Prime Minister.

The Social Credit (New Democracy) party was "shrinking rapidly," Mr. King said. He did not speak of that party nor of the newly-formed Labor - Progressive group, except to warn against a multiplicity of parties and to hold up "the fate of unhappy France" as "a terrible warning against this trend."

Mr. King recalled the dinner tendered him in Toronto Aug. 8, 1939, as the last occasion on which he had met with supporters and leaders of his party from all provinces in a social-political gathering.

That was the 20th anniversary of his selection as Liberal leader. Exacting tasks of war had prevented any similar gathering since, and it was surprising to find here a gathering "no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago."

Confidence Built Up.

"It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war....

"I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters.

"That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight."

Similar pride should be taken by all Liberals in the confidence the people of Canada had placed in the Liberal party, which had held office so much of the time in the past 20 years and enjoyed the greatest majorities ever elected to the House of Commons.

"Within the past few weeks there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country."

"I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament.

"I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada or combination of parties in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence.

"Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be throughout Canada, not rejoicing but consternation."

Recalls 1939 Situation.

Mr. King recalled the situation in 1939 when, soon after the outbreak of war, "we were told that our administration which had been in office since 1935 no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people."

An election was held in March, 1940, and the government ministers were every one elected, with a majority of supporters in the House greater than any party had ever received before.

"The answer was decisive. The great thrust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government."

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That mandate had never been lost sight of: it was to center first interest upon winning the war, to meet domestic problems, and to plan for the future.

"I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificent. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country. . . .

"It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the Canadian people. . . . Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have never lost sight of our supreme duty?

"Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well the one thing that is and will remain the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

"Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centered on winning the war. Their aims and ambitions lie in other directions. . . .

"They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won."

If the government had turned from this supreme task to political activities and "things which tend not to unite but to divide" it would be unworthy of the people's confidence.

"Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people of Canada do not know and understand all these things—do not comprehend where their own interests lie.

"Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country."

Cause of the "commotion," Mr. King said, was the recent Liberal defeat in Ontario and the defeat of government candidates in four federal by-elections. Opponents of the administration attempted to ascribe these defeats to dissatisfaction with the federal government.

On the other hand, in the Prince Edward Island elections the Liberal administration had been returned with a majority of two to one over Progressive Conservatives and the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation candidates all lost their deposits.

But the same critics did not ascribe that Liberal victory to confidence of the Island's electors in the federal administration.

The Gallup Poll.

Mr. King said he was not prepared to "substitute the responses to a Gallup Poll for my own judgment," but that institution "has its uses." He reminded his listeners that among the various reasons found by the Gallup Poll for the Ontario election results "not in a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration."

"Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the federal government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal government in office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen."

Of the federal by-elections, Mr. King said it was a fact that immediately after the March, 1940, Dominion elections all Liberal party organization in Canada was terminated and party publications suspended.

This was not true of opposition parties, said Mr. King. The Conservative (now Progressive Conservative) party began at once "to organize a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing its forces and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority."

The issue of conscription had been forced to the forefront in 1941 with the talk of a national government to enforce it, while Conservative party leaders travelled about organizing constituencies.

In November, 1941, the Conservatives met in Ottawa to choose a new leader (Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen) and "no longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the government in its war effort but, instead, out-and-out opposition to the administration on the floor of the House of Commons.

"That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February, 1942.

"A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to the other and vastly impaired Canada's war effort was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament.

"It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942 which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time if, as a means helping to win the war, that step should become necessary.

"Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere."

Mr. King said the Conservative party made a fresh start at reorganization at Port Hope, Ont., a year ago and at the Winnipeg convention last December "outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader and a new set of policies."

Since then there had been a constant program of Progressive Conservative reorganization throughout Canada. Mr. King said the party leader, John Bracken, should have been in the House of Commons as opposition leader during the last session.

"Instead of that he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the Progressive Conservative party and of himself as its leader.

"I am not saying that the Progressive Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs.

"Al that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite of that followed by the government and its supporters. The same is true of the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation party."

Mr. King reviewed the organization efforts of the C.C.F. who, he said, talked about a total war effort but whose "actions fail to measure up to their words."

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Price Control Policy.

He said they had never given real support to the price control policy in spite of the fact that this policy was most important in the welfare of the less privileged classes, and the C.C.F. had constantly sought "to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization."

"They talk as if the people at home were entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. - - -

"They have been making more difficult - - - the maintenance of friendly relations between government and labor, and cooperation between all classes.

"They have not been content to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labor become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end."

Labor Problems.

Mr. King told of his long experience with labor problems, over a period of more than 40 years, as first deputy labor minister in Canada and, later, as minister; and of his great interest in these problems.

"I have yet to see an alliance made by labor with any political party, or labor itself become a political party seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to labor and to the country."

The struggle against poverty and adversity was "the one fight that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellow men."

Mr. King said labor led that fight and it needed all the goodwill, friendship and assistance it could win from all political parties.

"It will have all these in ever-increasing measure as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. - - -

Claims of Humanity.

"The claims of humanity are superior to those of industry. They are superior to the special claims of either capital or labor. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today."

Mr. King turned to Le Bloc Populaire Canadien which he said was the most recent opposition group and "for the sake of Canadien unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived."

He said this party's "self appointed leaders" pretended Canada was in no danger from the war.

"They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war.

"The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word 'non.'

"Destructive Appeal."

"That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

"The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada.

"It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds in setting the rest of Canada, indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec.

"The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences and stirring up racial animosities.

"This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to the extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early."

Mr. King said he and his govenment had ceaselessly tried to keep the seriousness of the war situation before the people and to avoid unnecessary political controversy, while opposing parties had followed a different course.

The other parties had been organizing, distributing party propaganda "and exploiting the discontents which invariably arise from controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war."

"For the government of a country at war this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue," said Mr. King.

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"In Ontario they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration," Mr. King said in his prepared text, to which he added, "but that was not the fault of Harry Nixon." Mr. Nixon is attending the federation meetings.

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D 40736

King Against Election Till 1945 or War's End; Attacks Minor Parties

By KENNETH C. CRAGG

Ottawa, Sept. 27.—Prime Minister King tonight announced to party adherents and, indirectly to the Dominion, that he does not propose to call a general election until 1945.

His statement, the first full-dress declaration of policy that Mr. King has made on the election question, gave first consideration to the state of the war in determining an election date.

At the same time he warned his associates in the House of Commons and the Senate, and party delegates gathered under the banner of the advisory council of the National Liberal Federation, that a wartime general election will be inevitable if hostilities do not terminate before the life of the current Parliament expires in 1945.

The Prime Minister said he held strong views upon the duty of a Government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional rights to declare, within stated periods, who was to represent them.

"Should the war continue in Europe on into 1945," said Mr. King, "it will be necessary, regardless of what might happen meanwhile, for the Government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding Parliament."

His declaration contained the provisos—and he emphasized them—that circumstances might arise which would make it necessary to appeal to the people at any time.

One such circumstance would be "sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which in the opinion of the Government are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting as they continue to face the ordeal of battle."

Expect Obstruction.

A second would be "the kind and degree of obstruction with which the Government might come to be faced in Parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the Opposition."

A third, and Mr. King discounted the possibility of it occurring, would be that, "even within the Government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile."

"Personally," added Mr. King, "I have little fear of anything of that kind occurring."

Finally, the Prime Minister, in whom rests the sole prerogative in the Liberal set-up of calling an election, offered a blanket proviso: "Happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary a reconstruction of the Government or an immediate appeal to the people."

"I am," he said, "most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-important as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their homeland those of that great company of sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle.

"Whether a general election can be delayed until that time I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as at the moment I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision."

The Prime Minister rapped Ontario C.C.F. Leader E. B. Jolliffe for statements attributed to him forecasting a general election.

"I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that, were I like him, thinking in terms of winning elections rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present Administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor-General to grant an immediate dissolution of Parliament."

Mr. King rejected assertions that the administration no longer enjoyed the confidence of the country. "I am not," he said, "one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor-General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament."

"Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the Government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the Governments of every other Province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen."

He went further. With a resounding thump of the partisan drum, Mr. King said he did not believe there was any political party in Canada or any combination of political parties, in which, from the beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence.

"Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation."

The Prime Minister revealed that he did not altogether agree with many of his own party, who in interviews and in party gatherings, attributed Liberal defeats in the Ontario and four more recent by-elections, in some measure to dissatisfaction with policies of the Federal Administration. He pointed, as evidence, to the results of the Prince Edward Island election, where the Liberal Government was returned by a majority of two to one over the Progressive Conservatives and every C.C.F. candidate lost his deposit.

"All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that Province during the preceding six years," he said.

Mr. King's studied use of the word "conducted" was interpreted by many of his hearers as an oblique reference to the schism which existed between former Premier Hepburn and himself. "In each case (Ontario and Prince Edward Island) the electors expressed their opinion not on Federal issues, but on matters of Provincial concern," he insisted.

Quotes Gallup Poll.

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sponses to a Gallup Poll for his own judgment. But he asserted it was significant that in a poll, seeking information on the reasons for the Ontario election results, "in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the Federal Administration."

Defeat in the Federal by-elections was attributed by the Prime Minister to a lack of party organization and action. "So far as Federal affairs are concerned," he said, "there has been nothing in the way of party organization over the whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the Government's policies or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise."

The then Conservative Party, immediately after the 1940 election, began to organize a campaign against the Administration "with a view to dividing its forces, and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority."

Throughout 1941, declared Mr. King, the issue of conscription for overseas service was forced to the fore, and talk of a National Government to enforce conscription was revived. In November of that year, Conservatives met in Ottawa to choose a new leader for the Conservative Party.

Abandoned Co-operation

"No longer," he said, "was there to be even the pretense of co-operation with the Government in its war effort, but instead, an out-and-out opposition to the administration on the floor of the House of Commons. That attempt failed with the defeat of the new leader (Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen) in York South in February, 1942.

"A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to the other, and vastly impaired Canada's war effort, was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament. It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the Government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time, if as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary."

Recalls 1939 Dinner.

Mr. King recalled the dinner tendered him in Toronto Aug. 8, 1939, as the last occasion on which he had met with supporters and leaders of his party from all Provinces in a social-political gathering.

That was the 20th anniversary of his selection as Liberal Leader. Exacting tasks of war had prevented any similar gathering since, and it was surprising to find here a gathering "no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago."

"It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war. . . .

"I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters.

"That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight."

Similar pride should be taken by all Liberals in the confidence the people of Canada had placed in the Liberal Party, which had held office so much of the time in the past 20 years and enjoyed the greatest majorities ever elected to the House of Commons."

"I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificent. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country. . . .

If the Government had turned from this supreme task to political activities and "things which tend not to unite but to divide" it would be unworthy of the people's confidence, he declared.

"Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people of Canada do not know and understand all these things—do not comprehend where their own interests lie.

"Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country."

This was not true of Opposition parties, said Mr. King. The Conservative (now Progressive Conservative) Party began at once "to organize a campaign against the Administration with a view to dividing its forces and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority."

"Since 1940 to this hour there has not been a time when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere."

Critical of Mr. Bracken.

Mr. King said the Conservative Party made a fresh start at reorganization at Port Hope a year ago, and at the Winnipeg convention last December "outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader and a new set of policies."

Since then there had been a constant program of Progressive Conservative reorganization throughout Canada. Mr. King said the party leader, John Bracken, should have been in the House of Commons as Opposition Leader during the last session.

"Instead of that he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive Conservative Party and of himself as its leader. . . .

"I am not saying that the Progressive Conservative Party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs.

"All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite of that followed by the Government and its supporters. The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Party."

Mr. King reviewed the organization efforts of the C.C.F., who, he said, talked about a total war effort, but whose "actions fail to measure up to their words."

No Support for Price Control.

He said they had never given real support to the price control policy in spite of the fact that this policy was most important in the welfare of the less privileged classes, and the C.C.F. had constantly sought "to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization."

"They talk as if the people at home were entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. . . .

"They have not been content to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labor become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end."

Claims of Humanity First.

Reverting to the position of labor and industry as entities in the community, Mr. King said:

"The claims of humanity are superior to those of industry. They are superior to the special claims

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of either capital or labor. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today.

"This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to the extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of Government candidates It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early."

Mr. King said he and his Government had ceaselessly tried to keep the seriousness of the war situation before the people and to avoid unnecessary political controversy, while opposing parties had followed a different course.

The other parties had been organizing, distributing party propaganda "and exploiting the discontents which invariably arise from controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war."

"For the Government of a country at war this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue," said Mr. King.

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Date SEP 28 1943

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But Cites Possibilities Of Earlier Vote

Gives Five Reasons Which Would Force Him to Go To Voters Sooner

Hedging it with five qualifications, Prime Minister King last night gave the National Liberal Federation the promise that there would be no election until war's end.

"Whether a general election can be delayed until that time I cannot say", he declared, going on to cite these circumstances as the possibilities which might force him to appeal sooner to the country.

1. The war outlasting the statutory life of Parliament which expires in mid-1945;

2. "Sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies" which the Government considered "necessary to enable the war effort to be carried on . . ."

3. Any one of the Opposition groups, or a combination of them being able to "so impede the progress of business in Parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the Government policies as to make it next to impossible to carry on".

4. The rising "even within the Government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforseen, of differences of views on matters of policy . . ., which it might be found impossible to reconcile;

5. A situation in which "happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary, a reconstruction of the Government or an immediate appeal to the people".

Mr. King was "most anxious to take the country as completely" as he could into his confidence, on "so all-important a question as a general election in wartime".

But all he could say with honesty was that he "trusted it might not be necessary to hold an election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their homeland that great company of sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war".

He recalled the recent warning given C.C.F. supporters by their Ontario leader E. B. Jolliffe that in an election appeal now the country "will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream".

And if Mr. King were like Mr. Jolliffe, "thinking in terms of winning elections rather than of winning the war", there would be "ample grounds now" for an election.

There was "do doubt as to what the results of that appeal would be", because, "at this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration that would weaken or impair . . . the war effort".

Last night was the first time in four years that the Prime Minister had met the rank and file of the Liberal Federation, and its 400-odd members attending the dinner, M.P.'s, defeated candidates, provincial premiers and the key men of the party, gave him a rousing ovation.

The toast to Mr. King was proposed in French by Madame H. E. Vautelet and the response came from Colonel H. S. Hamilton, president of the Ontario Liberal Association.

Rounds of applause and cheers followed for four minutes. Mr. King was beaming, happy and relaxed.

Before reviewing Canadian political affairs since war's outbreak, Mr. King spoke of his gratitude for the trust the party had placed in him. His continued leadership over 20 years, covered a span, he said, unequalled "by any leader of a political party, living today, in any country".

Mr. King was "not one of those, who within the past few weeks have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country".

If he had felt that way about it, he declared, he would have seen it as "plain duty to ask for immediate dissolution of parliament", and throughout Canada there would have been "not rejoicing, but consternation".

The war effort had been "magnificent", and it would be "unthinkable that it meant nothing to the Canadian people".

Since the Liberal landslide of 1940, the Government never had lost sight of its supreme duty, the prosecution of the war, and had exerted an effort "unsurpassed by any other country".

It was unlikely, he suggested, that "we have lost the confidence of the country because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won".

People who believed otherwise did not have their minds "centred on winning the war" . . . and could not "realize how many millions of precious lives still will be sacrificed before the war is won".

Despite the Government's record of attending only to the business of war, "commotion" recently had arisen in "some political circles", and for this situation, Mr. King frankly blamed the Ontario general election, the four Dominion by-elections and the resulting post-mortems into the Liberal defeats.

Opposition parties had attributed the Liberal debacle in Ontario to "dissatisfaction with the policies" of the Dominion Government.

But Mr. King had not noticed them "telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal Government in Prince Edward Island was evidence of renewed endorsation of the policies" of the Ottawa administration.

In both Ontario and Prince Edward Island the results [illegible]

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But Mr. King had not noticed them "telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal Government in Prince Edward Island was evidence of renewed endorsation of the policies" of the Ottawa administration.

In both Ontario and Prince Edward Island, the results had

REPEAT
REPETITION

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been divorced entirely from any Dominion Government background.

For in Ontario, the electors "made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration; and in Prince Edward Island they made it equally apparent that they believed the administration deserved continuance of their confidence."

The Ontario defeat he blamed on former Premier Hepburn's lack of "co-operation".

The Liberals had lost the four Dominion byelections, because "since 1940, even the semblance of the federal party organization was discontinued".

While opposition parties worked hard, the Liberals had done nothing, and enlarging his point, Mr. King went to the attack, reserving his bitterest words for the Bloc Populaire.

That small group of "malcontents" sought to "set Quebec against the rest of Canada" for their own selfish advantage, regardless of the damage done if they should end up by "setting the rest of Canada and the rest of North America against Quebec".

Supporters of the Quebec isolationists, charged Mr. King, "talked as though Britain, and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy, and he was certain that the people of Quebec would not be misled.

Propaganda of the Bloc Populaire he termed as "poison".

He spoke only of the "rapidly shrinking" Social Credit party and the new Labor-Progressive group, except to warn against a multiplicity of parties, a situation which had led to "the fate of unhappy France".

Of the C.C.F. group, Mr. King said its leaders originally had embraced a "stay-at-home war effort", and now while talking of wanting to go "all out", actually was trying to give Canadians the idea that they were "entitled to a painless war effort".

Posing as the "sole champions of labor and of the poor and depressed", the C.C.F. "never had given real support to price control . . . although that policy was the "most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society".

Ever "seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization", the C.C.F. "steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation".

"Already boring into labor organizations", the C.C.F. was seen by Mr. King as perhaps making further political progress in that field, attempting to convince the working man of the Liberal Government's hostility.

Mr. King denied any such hostility, citing his long experience with labor problems over more than 40 years, first as Deputy Labor Minister, and later as Minister of Labor.

The workers were warned against being deluded by the C.C.F. which was citing "the very controls, which, in wartime, are necessary to protect labor, in common with the entire community", as evidence of the Government's hostility.

In comparison to his attack on the Bloc Populaire and the C.C.F., Mr. King's criticism of the Progressive Conservative party was mild.

He recited the record of its losses in recent years and of its changes in names and leaders, and then over the past year of its resurgence under the leadership of John Bracken.

But, he declared, "it can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken . . . has made co-operation with the Government in a united effort to win the war . . . his main objective".

During the past session of the House of Commons, Mr. Bracken should have been leading the Opposition in Parliament, believed Mr. King, and not "touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive Conservative party, and of himself as its leader".

Mr. King did not deny the Opposition party its right to organize and conduct its affairs as it pleased, but such a course had been "quite the opposite to that followed by the Government and its supporters".

It was one thing for Opposition groups to advocate their own principles and policies, even in wartime; but was another to conduct campaigns such as the C.C.F. propaganda of the rich profiteering, which were "serving to undermine the effort of the nation in war".

Before Mr. King's introduction by State Secretary McLarty, Defence Minister Ralston responded to a toast to the armed forces proposed by Douglas Abbott, member for Montreal St. Antoine-Westmount.

Complaints of shortages and restrictions had been heard, admitted Col. Ralston, warning that "no inconvenience, no hardship, no self-denial that Canadians on the home front could imagine, would compare to the sacrifice on the fighting fronts".

Briefly he reviewed the tremendous exploits of the men of the armed forces, and stressed that "every advance made means wounds and suffering for young Canadians and bereavement in Canadian homes".

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King Hopes to Avoid Election Until 1945

Premier Discusses Party Problems In Speech Before Federation

OTTAWA, Sept. 28—(C.P.)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night told a dinner gathering of close to 400 National Liberal Federation members that he hopes there will be no necessity of a general election in Canada until the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their homeland" those Canadians who survive the war overseas.

But "whether a general election can be delayed until that time I cannot say," he added.

Mr. King was speaking in reply to the toast to the guest at a dinner of the advisory council of the National Liberal Federation and Liberal workers from coast to coast, who yesterday morning started a two-day party reorganization meeting.

The last 10 pages of the Prime Minister's prepared text were devoted almost exclusively to the question of a general election and, while Mr. King indicated an apparent determination to avoid an appeal to the country until the war is over or the statutory life of Parliament is ended — mid-summer 1945—he mentioned a number of contingencies which might bring on an election at any time.

Warning Quoted

He quoted a reported statement by E. B. Jolliffe, Ontario C. C. F. leader, warning his followers that the Federal Government would seek an immediate election in hope the people would not "change horses" in midstream.

Mr. King said of Mr. Jolliffe that "were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections rather than, as I am, of winning the war," he would find ample grounds for an immediate dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the people.

"I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of that appeal would be.

"At this, of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration that would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country."

He had taken the stand at adjournment of the House last July that the greatest ordeals of the war were ahead and that until these were over the needs of the fighting forces commanded the whole attention of the Government and people of Canada.

Any question of a general election should be viewed in the light of that responsibility to the Canadians overseas, Mr. King said.

He quoted Prime Minister Churchill as saying that the bloodiest fighting is still to come.

"Until that terrible period is over," said Mr. King, "no one could wish for a general election in Canada if it is possible to avoid one.

"But a general election none the less may prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over."

An election before the war's end would be necessary, Mr. King said, if:

1. The war is still raging in 1945 when the statutory life of the present Parliament ends;

2. Sufficient evidence arises to indicate that "any considerable proportion" of Canadian people are unwilling to continue to support the Government's policies;

3. A group or combination of groups in Parliament moved to impede the work of Parliament or to "misrepresent and distort Government policies" to make it next to impossible for the Government to carry on;

4. There were dissension in the ranks of the Government and its supporters "for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen," of which Mr. King said, "personally I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring."

5—Undermining of the Administration's position "by unwarranted and unworthy party activity on the part of political opponents while the Administration itself was giving its undivided attention and devoting its whole energies to the prosecution of the war effort."

Possibility Acknowledged

Mr. King said there might also be events or happenings "at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, which might make a general election advisable or necessary.

"I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-important as a general election at this time of war," Mr. King said.

"All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a General Election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their homeland those of that great company of sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war."

The Prime Minister said that to have Opposition groups consistently playing politics while the Administration devoted its efforts to winning the war is "an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue."

He was delivering the main address at a dinner of some 400 men and women Federation members, here from all provinces to attend a reorganization meeting of the Federation's advisory council.

Press and public were admitted to this function, the only open meeting of the two-day session which will see the Liberal Party launched on a new organization program, with a permanent executive.

Mr. King reviewed the progress of political affairs in Canada since the war. He said that all opposing political parties were carrying on active organization and propaganda measures looking toward victory at the polls, while the Liberal Party had been devoting its whole thoughts to winning the war.

There had been recent claims that the administration did not enjoy the confidence of the people, Mr. King said. If he felt that way, he added, it would be his duty to ask for immediate dissolution of Parliament.

But he did not share the view; and if he chose to test it by calling an immediate General Election, "there would be throughout Canada not rejoicing but consternation."

He challenged any responsible person to say Canada had not made a "magnificent war effort," and declared it would be "unthinkable that all this means nothing to the Canadian people."

The Administration in 1940 had been given a mandate by the people to conduct the war for Canada; and it was unlikely to be said that because it had carried out this main task so well it had lost the confidence of the people.

"Do not believe that at a time of world crisis they (the people) would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country."

Result; Just Local

The results of the Ontario elections had reflected only the reaction of the electors of that province to the provincial administration involved. The same was true of the election in Prince Edward Island. Neither had anything to do with Federal matters.

The four Federal by-elections last month, two in Quebec and one each

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in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, had been lost because while Federal Liberal organization was nil and had been since the 1940 elections the opposing parties were well organized.

Mr. King said the Progressive Conservative Party, and the Conservative Party as it was previous to last December, had abandoned any pretence of forgetting politics during the war. He described that party's organization efforts.

The same was true of the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation, he said. He commented on their recent affiliation with a Labor Union Federation, warning the latter that in his long experience he had never seen any good for Labor come from affiliation with one particular political party.

Mr. King's bitterest words were for Le Bloc Populaire Canadien, formed in Quebec by a handful of his former House supporters, led by Maxime Raymond, elected in 1940 as Liberal member for Beauharnois-LaPrairie.

This small group of "malcontents" sought to "set Quebec against the rest of Canada" for their own advantage, indifferent to the harm that might come to the people of that province if they succeeded in "setting the rest of Canada and the rest of North America against Quebec," said the Prime Minister.

The Social Credit (New Democracy) Party was "shrinking rapidly," Mr. King said. He did not speak of that party nor of the newly-formed Labor-Progressive group, except to warn against a multiplicity of parties and to hold up "the fate of unhappy France" as "a terrible warning against this trend."

Mr. King recalled the dinner tendered him in Toronto Aug. 8, 1939, as the last occasion on which he had met with supporters and leaders of his party from all provinces in a social-political gathering.

That was the 20th anniversary of his selection as Liberal leader. Exacting tasks of war had prevented any similar gathering since, and it was surprising to find here a gathering "no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago."

"It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war . . .

"I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters.

"That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight."

Pride Justified

Similar pride should be taken by all Liberals in the confidence the people of Canada had placed in the Liberal party, which had held office so much of the time in the past 20 years and enjoyed the greatest majorities ever elected to the House of Commons.

"Within the past few weeks there are some who have begun to assert that the present Administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country.

"I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor-General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament.

"I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada or combination of parties in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence.

"Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the Administration, there would be throughout Canada, not rejoicing but consternation."

Mr. King recalled the situation in 1939 when, soon after the outbreak of war, "we were told that our Administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people."

An election was held in March, 1940, and the Government ministers were every one elected, with a majority of supporters in the House greater than any party had ever received before.

"The answer was decisive. The great trust of the Administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present Government."

That mandate had never been lost sight of; it was to centre first interest upon winning the war, to meet domestic problems, and to plan for the future.

"I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificent. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country . . .

"It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the Canadian people . . . Is it to be said that the present Administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have never lost sight of our supreme duty?

"Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well the one thing that is and will remain the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

"Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on winning the war. Their aims and ambitions lie in other directions. . . .

"They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won."

If the Government had turned from this supreme task to political activities and "things which tend not to unite but to divide" it would be unworthy of the people's confidence.

"Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people of Canada do not know and understand all these things — do not comprehend where their own interests lie.

"Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country."

Cause of the "commotion," Mr. King said, was the recent Liberal defeat in Ontario and the defeat of Government candidates in four Federal by-elections. Opponents of the administration attempted to ascribe these defeats to dissatisfaction with the Federal Government.

On the other hand, in the Prince Edward elections the Liberal Administration had been returned with a majority of two to one over Progressive Conservatives and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation candidates all lost their deposits.

But the same critics did not ascribe that Liberal victory to confidence of the Island's electors in the Federal Administration.

Mr. King said he was not prepared to "substitute the responses to a Gallup Poll for my own judgment" but that Insttiution "has its uses." He reminded his listeners that among the various reasons found by the Gallup Poll for the Ontario election results "not in a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the Federal Administration."

"Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the Government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen."

Of the Federal by-elections, Mr. King said it was a fact that im-

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mediately after the March, 1940, Dominion elections all Liberal Party organization in Canada was terminated and party publications suspended.

This was not true of Opposition parties, said Mr. King. The Conservative (now Progressive Conservative) Party began at once "to organize a campaign against the Administration with a view to dividing its forces and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority."

Conscription Issue

The issue of conscription had been forced to the forefront in 1941 with talk of a National Government to enforce it, while Conservative Party leaders travelled about organizing constitutencies.

In November, 1941, the Conservatives met in Ottawa to choose a new leader (Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen) and "no longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the Government in its war effort but, instead, out-and-out opposition to the Administration on the floor of the House of Commons.

"That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February, 1942.

"A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to the other and vastly impaired Canada's war effort was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament.

"It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942 which made clear that the Government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary.

"Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere."

Mr. King said the Conservative Party made a fresh start at reorganization at Port Hope, Ont., a year ago and at the Winnipeg convention last December "outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader and a new set of policies."

Since then there had been a constant program of Progressive Conservative reorganization throughout Canada. Mr. King said the party leader, John Bracken, should have been in the house of Commons as Opposition leader during the last session.

"Instead of that he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive-Conservative Party and of himself as its leader . . .

"I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative Party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs.

"All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite of that followed by the Government and its supporters. The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Party."

Mr. King reviewed the organization efforts of the C.C.F. who, he said, talked about a total war effort but whose "actions fail to measure up to their words."

He said they had never given real support to the price control policy in spite of the fact that this policy was most important in the welfare of the less privileged classes, and the C.C.F. had constantly sought "to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization."

"They talk as if the people at home were entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation...

"They have been making more difficult . . . the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and Labor, and co-operation between all classes.

"They have not been content to wait till the war is won to try to have organized Labor become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end."

Problems Recalled

Mr. King told of his long experience with Labor problems, over a period of more than 40 years, as first Deputy Labor Minister in Canada and, later, as Minister; and of his great interest in these problems.

"I have yet to see an alliance made by Labor with any political party, or Labor itself become a political party seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to Labor and to the country."

The struggle against poverty and adversity was "the one fight that makes life worth living for any man worse heart has not become hardened against his fellow-men."

Mr. King said Labor led that fight and it needed all the goodwill, friendship and assistance it could win from all political parties.

"It will have all these in ever-increasing measure as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good . . .

"The claims of humanity are superior to the special claims of either capital or Labor. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today."

Mr. King turned to Le Bloc Populaire Canadien which he said was the most recent Opposition group and "for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived."

He said this party's "self appointed leaders" pretended Canada was in no danger from the war.

"They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war.

"The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non."

"That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

"The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec gainst the rest of Canada.

"It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds in setting the rest of Canada, indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec.

"The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences and stirring up racial animosities.

Exploitation Scathed

"This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to the extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of Government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early.

Mr. King said he and his Government had ceaselessly tried to keep the seriousness of the war situation before the people and to avoid unnecessary political controversy, while opposing parties had followed a different course.

The other parties had been organizing, distributing party propaganda "and exploiting the discontents which invariably arise from controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war."

"For the government of a country at war this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue," said Mr. King.

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M. King espère ne pas tenir d'élections

Avant que la guerre soit finie

Le premier ministre admet toutefois que des raisons impérieuses peuvent nécessiter des élections avant cette échéance. — Attaques contre les nouveaux partis.

"Je tiens beaucoup à mettre la population le plus possible dans ma confidence dans une question aussi importante que celle d'élections générales en temps de guerre, déclara hier soir le premier ministre King au banquet de la Fédération libérale nationale.

Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que j'espère qu'il ne sera pas nécessaire de tenir des élections générales avant le jour où nous nous préparerons à souhaiter la bienvenue à nos fils et à nos filles qui reviendront en grand nombre dans leur patrie après avoir participé aux combats sur les divers théâtres de la guerre. Je ne saurais, cependant, dire s'il sera possible de retarder jusqu'à cette époque la tenue d'élections générales."

Au cours de son discours, le premier ministre s'en est pris particulièrement au Bloc populaire canadien. Il accusa ses chefs d'être "des mécontents que la bonne renommée et la sécurité du Canada laissent indifférents". Il accusa également ce nouveau mouvement de chercher "de propos délibéré à soulever le Québec contre le reste du Canada. Il prétendit que le Bloc populaire canadien voulait "s'assurer de l'influence en exploitant les divergences ethniques et en fomentant les querelles de race". Il a exprimé l'espoir que le Bloc populaire canadien vécut une vie éphémère.

Raisons possibles d'élections

M. King enuméra plusieurs circonstances qui pourraient le forcer à tenir des élections avant la fin de la guerre. Ce sont les suivantes.

"Tout d'abord, la constitution, a dit le premier ministre impose certaines restrictions quant à la durée d'une législature. J'ai des idées bien arrêtées sur le devoir qui incombe à un gouvernement de respecter le droit constitutionnel qu'a le peuple de désigner, à des périodes déterminées, les représentants qui doivent légiférer et administrer la chose publique. Si la guerre en Europe se prolongeait jusqu'en 1945, il faudrait de toute nécessité, sans tenir compte des événements qui pourraient se dérouler dans l'intervalle, que le gouvernement fournisse l'occasion au peuple, à un moment donné au cours de cette année-là, de choisir ceux à qui il voudrait confier l'administration des affaires du pays pendant la législature suivante."

"Abstraction faite des restrictions constitutionnelles, des circonstances, poursuivit M. King, pourraient surgir qui obligeraient le gouvernement à en appeler au peuple en tout temps. Il pourrait en être ainsi si on était bien convaincu qu'une partie considérable de la population ne voudrait plus appuyer le programme qui, de l'avis du gouvernement, serait nécessaire à la poursuite de l'effort de guerre du pays, d'une manière qui assurerait à nos forces combattantes tout l'appui possible pendant qu'elles continuent de faire face à cette épreuve terrible.

"Il est une chose qu'aucune administration ne peut tolérer, c'est de permettre que la confiance dont elle jouit dans le pays soit minée par des activités de partis indignes et injustifiées venant d'adversaires politiques, pendant que l'administration elle-même donne toute son attention et consacre toutes ses énergies à la poursuite de l'effort de guerre."

Le premier ministre indiqua enfin quelques difficultés qui peuvent surgir au parlement: importance de l'obstruction dont le gouvernement pourrait être l'objet au parlement de la part des membres des partis et des groupes qui composent l'opposition; divergences d'opinions, pour des causes tout à fait imprévues dans le moment, dans le gouvernement lui-même et parmi ses partisans, sur la politique à suivre, divergences d'opinions qui seraient irréconciliables; événements qui nous échappent actuellement, tout à fait imprévisibles tant à l'étranger qu'au pays, pouvant entraîner l'opportunité ou la nécessité d'une reconstruction du cabinet ou d'un appel immédiat au peuple.

Le peuple a confiance

Au début de son discours, le premier ministre s'est dit profondément ému de la confiance que le parti libéral avait placé en lui depuis plus de vingt ans.

"D'aucuns, continua-t-il, ont commencé à affirmer depuis quelques semaines que le gouvernement actuel ne jouit plus de la tage pas cette façon de voir. Si tel était mon avis, je considérerais que c'est mon devoir constitutionnel de prier Son Excellence le Gouverneur général de dissoudre le Parlement. Il n'y a pas, je crois, au Canada, aucun autre parti politique ni aucun autre groupement de partis politiques qui ait reçu du peuple canadien, depuis le début de la guerre, autant de marques de confiance. Si je devais annoncer ce soir que j'ai demandé une dissolution immédiate du Parlement afin de poser la question de confiance dans l'administration, une telle nouvelle serait accueillie non pas avec joie, mais avec consternation."

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M. King établit alors un parallèle entre la situation politique actuelle et celle de 1940. En 1939, la guerre venait à peine de commencer, les adversaires du gouvernement prétendaient que le premier ministre actuel n'était pas le chef de gouvernement qu'il fallait en temps de guerre. On soutenait que le présent régime n'avait plus la confiance du peuple. On alléguait que son effort de guerre n'était pas suffisant. Le peuple canadien répondit aux élections générales de 1940. Le gouvernement non seulement fut maintenu en fonction, mais tous les membres du cabinet furent réélus. Presque tous les candidats du gouvernement national furent défaits. Le premier ministre actuel, comme chef de parti, obtenait une majorité de députés sans précédent dans les annales de la Chambre des communes.

"Les résultats des élections générales de 1940 furent décisifs, affirma M. King. Il s'agissait pour le peuple canadien de décider à quel parti politique il désirait confier la direction de notre effort de guerre. La réponse fut catégorique. Depuis ce temps, le Gouvernement a toujours eu présent à l'esprit le mandat qu'il a reçu du peuple. Notre premier et plus important devoir était de porter toute notre attention à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre. C'est ce que nous avons fait tout en nous efforçant de faire face, de jour en jour, de mois en mois, aux problèmes d'ordre domestique auxquels la guerre devait inévitablement donner lieu. Nous n'avons pas négligé non plus d'envisager l'avenir et de nous préparer à faire face aux nombreux problèmes qui surgiront après la guerre."

Effort prodigieux

M. King dit un mot de notre effort de guerre, qu'il qualifie de prodigieux. Je défie qui que ce soit de démontrer, compte tenu des circonstances, que notre effort a été inférieur à celui d'un autre pays quel qu'il soit, déclara-t-il. Si un tel défi était relevé, j'invoquerais le témoignage, non pas d'hommes publics canadiens, mais celui des chefs de l'une ou de l'autre des Nations Unies.

"Il serait inconcevable, a dit M. King, que tout cela n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux du peuple canadien; que tout cela n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux des pères et des mères qui ont vu leurs fils et leurs filles quitter leur foyer pour aller servir aux quatre coins du globe; que cela enfin n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux des membres des forces armées. Dira-t-on que le Gouvernement actuel a perdu la confiance du peuple canadien à cause de sa constante fidélité au devoir suprême? Dira-t-on que le peuple n'a plus confiance en nous parce que nous avons si bien accompli la tâche qui importait le plus; parce que nous nous sommes si bien acquittés de la mission qui est, et demeurera, le devoir suprême de tout gouvernement jusqu'à la victoire? La victoire demeure le but suprême du Gouvernement."

Le premier ministre prétendit que ceux qui pensent ou disent qu'il n'en est pas ainsi, ne songeaient pas uniquement à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre. Ils avaient d'autres visées. Ils n'avaient pas encore saisi l'enjeu véritable de cette guerre qui posait, pour les nations, la question de vie ou de mort. Ils ne se faisaient certes aucune idée des millions de vies précieuses qu'il faudrait sacrifier avant que la guerre fut gagnée. Si le gouvernement avait failli à la tâche essentielle, il serait peut-être justifiable de se croire indigne de la mission qu'il a accepté. Heureusement, sous ce rapport, le gouvernement n'avait rien à se reprocher. Le peuple sait et comprend ces choses. Il voit où se trouve son propre intérêt. En un moment de crise mondiale il sait en quelles mains placer les intérêts et le sort du pays.

Les récentes élections

"Quelle est la cause, demanda M. King, de toute l'agitation suscitée dans certains milieux politiques? Elle n'est pas difficile à trouver. Le 4 août on a tenu des élections provinciales en Ontario et le gouvernement au pouvoir a été renversé. Au cours des élections fédérales partielles tenues le 9 août des candidats de l'opposition ont été élus. Les partis opposés au Gouvernement actuel ont cherché depuis à faire un rapprochement entre les élections provinciales d'Ontario et les quatre élections fédérales partielles, et à attribuer les résultats dans tous les cas au mécontentement occasionné par le programme de l'administration fédérale."

Au sujet des élections provinciales d'Ontario, le premier ministre a dit que les résultats sont l'expression de l'opinion des électeurs sur la manière dont les affaires publiques de cette province avaient été dirigées au cours des six années précédentes, tout comme dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, les résultats révèlent les sentiments des habitants de cette province relativement à la gestion des affaires publiques chez eux. Dans chaque cas, les électeurs ont exprimé leur opinion, non pas sur des problèmes fédéraux, mais sur des questions d'intérêt provincial. En Ontario, ils ont démontré que le gouvernement provincial avait perdu la confiance du public; dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, le scrutin a démontré de façon aussi manifeste que lepeup le avait encore confiance dans ses administrateurs.

Quant aux élections complémentaires fédérales, M. King voit la cause de la défaite des candidats du gouvernement dans l'abandon de l'organisation de parti après les élections générales de 1940, tandis que les autres partis n'ont cessé, depuis 1940, de faire de l'organisation. Le premier ministre passa en revue ce que les conservateurs progressistes et la C.C.F. avaient fait en ce sens.

"On peut difficilement dire que M. Bracken, prétendit M. King, a collaboré avec le gouvernement en vue de fournir un effort de guerre uni au point d'en faire son principal objectif. Compte tenu de sa position de chef du parti qui constitue l'opposition officielle au Parlement, M. Bracken aurait dû, durant toute la dernière session, diriger l'opposition officielle à la Chambre des communes. Au lieu de cela, il a parcouru le Canada en tous sens dans l'intérêt du parti conservateur progressiste et aussi dans son propre intérêt à titre de chef de ce parti."

La C.C.F.

M. King est d'avis que la propagande de la C.C.F. a été plus subtile. A l'heure actuelle, ce parti manifeste le désir de livrer une guerre totale. En 1939, la C.C.F. était alors en faveur d'un effort de guerre limité à la défense de notre seul pays. Mais quand les membres de ce parti parlent aujourd'hui, en termes vagues, d'un effort de guerre total, ils refusent de mettre leurs conseils en pratique et d'appuyer les mesures propres à assurer cet effort maximum. Les membres de la C.C.F. veulent faire croire à la population qu'ils sont les uniques champions des intérêts des ouvriers, des pauvres et des délaissés. Or, la C.C.F. n'a jamais appuyé sincèrement la politique ministérielle de la réglementation des prix, bien que cette mesure

soit la plus importante qu'on ait jamais adoptée au Canada pour assurer aux membres les moins fortunés de la société un niveau convenable de vie. Les membres de ce parti cherchent sans cesse à semer la discorde autour de la politique ministérielle de stabilisation des prix et des salaires.

"Les membres de la C.C.F., continua M. King, ont travaillé les syndicats ouvriers du pays afin de se servir de ces syndicats pour satisfaire leurs ambitions et leurs fins politiques. Ils s'appliquent de leur mieux à faire croire aux ouvriers que le présent gouvernement est hostile envers la classe ouvrière."

Le premier ministre défendit alors son attitude envers les ouvriers. "Jamais, à ma connaissance, continua-t-il, je n'ai vu des ouvriers s'allier à un parti politique quelconque ou des ouvriers former leur propre parti politique, poursuivant sa propre fin sans se soucier de celle de la société en général, sans qu'une telle alliance ne finit tôt ou tard par être désastreuse tant pour les ouvriers eux-mêmes que pour le pays. Les ouvriers ont besoin de toute la bonne volonté, de toute l'aide et de toute l'amitié qu'ils peuvent obtenir des hommes et des femmes de tous les partis politiques, comme de tous ceux qui ne possèdent aucune notion dans ce domaine. Les ouvriers obtiendront toutes ces choses et ce, dans une mesure de plus en plus grande, à la condition qu'ils restent libres de donner leur appui à tous les mouvements susceptibles de servir le bien commun.

Le Bloc populaire

M. King passa ensuite au Bloc populaire canadien. Voici ce qu'il a dit à ce sujet:

"L'opposition comprend un troisième groupe dont je dirai maintenant quelques mots. C'est le plus résent et, songeant à l'unité canadienne, j'espère qu'il sera le plus éphémère. Je veux parler du Bloc populaire canadien. Ceux qui s'en sont arrogés la direction constituent un petit groupe de mécontents que la bonne renommée et la sécurité du Canada laissent indifférents. Ils prétendent que le Canada ne court aucun danger dans la guerre actuelle. A les entendre, la Grande-Bretagne et non l'Allemagne nazie serait le véritable ennemi. Ils s'opposent à ce que notre pays participe davantage à la guerre. Le Bloc populaire est, que je sache, l'unique parti dont le programme et la politique soient formulés par le simple mot "non". Cette doctrine négative et destructive est de nature à compromettre très gravement l'effort de guerre du Canada ainsi que l'avenir du pays.

"Le Bloc populaire cherche, de propos délibéré, à soulever le Québec contre le reste du Canada. Peu lui importe, apparemment le tort qu'il causera à la population du Québec s'il réussit à ranger le reste du Canada, et à vrai dire le reste de l'Amérique du nord contre le Québec. Le but véritable de ses chefs est de capter des votes et de s'assurer de l'influence en exploitant les divergences ethniques fomentant les querelles de race. Ces appels aux préjugés de race, de religion et autres ont été poussés à l'extrême limite lors des élections complémentaires qui ont récemment eu lieu dans le Québec, et ils expliquent, en somme, la défaite des candidats du gouvernement.

"Peut-être aura-t-il été bon que la population du Québec ait ainsi été mise en garde dès le début. J'ai la certitude absolue qu'aucun groupe important de cette population ne se laissera tromper par ces faux prophètes. Ils ont déjà été dénoncés par une écrasante majorité des députés fédéraux de la province de Québec. Toutefois, qu'on ne s'y méprenne pas: le poison qu'ils répandent devra être neutralisé activement et vigoureusement par tous ceux qui ont à coeur l'unité du Canada et qui désirent le voir devenir une nation grande et libre."

Le Crédit social

Du Crédit social et du nouveau parti communiste canadien, M. King a dit seulement que "l'existence de ces partis d'importance secondaire révele un danger qui menace le fonctionnement efficace de notre démocratie parlementaire Il s'agit de la tendance des partis et des groupes à se multiplier." Depuis le commencement de la guerre, le premier ministre a dit que personne ne pouvait l'accuser d'avoir négligé de signaler au peuple canadien la terrible gravité de la situation mondiale et l'importance du conflit lui-même. Bien que le gouvernement ait consacré presque exclusivement son temps et son attention à diriger l'effort de guerre du Canada aussi efficace que possible, les partis politiques qui lui ont fait la lutte ont pris une attitude différente.

"Au lieu d'aider le gouvernement à faire comprendre au peuple l'extrême gravité du conflit mondial et la nature urgente des nécessités de la guerre, continua M. King, ils ont élaboré et perfectionné leur organisation politique, disséminant leur propagande de parti et exploitant le mécontentement que susciteront inévitablement les mesures de contrôle nécessaires en temps de guerre, ainsi que l'irritation que font naître toutes restrictions, de quelque nature qu'elles soient. Pour le gouvernement d'un pays en guerre, c'est là une situation intolérable qu'on ne saurait laisser se perpétuer."

Le premier ministre aborda la question des élections fédérales. Après avoir rappelé ce qu'il avait déclaré, en Chambre, le matin de l'ajournement, il continua: "Tout ce qui s'est produit dans les arènes politiques provinciale ou fédérale depuis que ces paroles ont été prononcées, ne motive aucun changement à la ligne de conduite que je traçais alors: "Nos soldats sont engagés dans une lutte terrible. Jusqu'à ce que nous ayons remporté la victoire, ils doivent engendrer dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits une ferme et unique résolution, celle de les appuyer par toutes les ressources dont dispose notre pays. Au moment de l'ajournement du Parlement, le 24 juillet, j'estimais qu'en déterminant la date d'une élection générale au Canada il fallait tenir compte de ce fait et de ce fait seulement. Je le crois encore aujourd'hui et plus fermement que jamais."

M. King, cependant, se hâta d'ajouter que cela ne signifiait pas qu'il n'y aurait pas lieu de tenir des élections générales avant la fin de la guerre ou plutôt avant la signature d'un armistice en Europe à la suite d'une capitulation sans condition de la part de l'Allemagne. Il se peut que la tenue d'élections générales soit inévitable avant la fin du conflit en Europe.

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Subject

King Speech Gives Premier Wide Latitude

Session May Provide Seeds for Election

A complete report of Mr. King's address to the Ottawa Liberal gathering will be found on page five.

OTTAWA, Sept. 28—(Star Special by Staff Correspondent)—Possibility of a Dominion general election next year can easily be read between the lines of the speech here last night by Premier King.

There will be no election this year. Of that there has never been either a plan or a prospect. The hope, as also expressed by Mr. King is that there will be none until 1945, when, it is expected, the war will be over and the men on service will be back. The election won't be later than 1945, in any event, because the term of Parliament, then expiring, will not be extended.

But without being particularly stressed the intimation is clear enough that dissolution may occur next year under certain conditions. If the war with Germany — not necessarily with Japan—should be over, or if any group in Parliament should "misrepresent and distort" Government policies, or if, for causes unforseen, there should be "dissension in the ranks of the Government or its supporters," then an appeal to the people could be made.

In aftermath discussion today it is felt that in all this Mr. King gives himself sufficient latitude. "Misrepresentation of Government policies" is a very common charge levelled by most Governments against its opponents. Of what such misrepresentation is comprised, the Prime Minister would be the judge.

Opposition View

Comment among such opposition groups here today is that if there should be any design to thwart outspoken opposition or criticism of any Government policies the possibility of an election ahead of time is unlikely to prevent it.

As to "dissension in the ranks of the Government or its supporters," the reference raises the question whether any policies, calculated to be of that effect, are planned. It will be recalled how, in degree, the Government was split when Mr. Cardin quit and how, in turn, the Parliamentary party was split when a large element of Quebec members voted against the amendment to the Mobilization Act. If anything akin to that is possible at the next session "for causes unforeseen," and of which little fear is professed, it could be a reason for an election in advance of 1945.

Whether, if any in the ranks are disposed to "kick up" this will be a deterrent is problematical. All the Parliamentary party at the banquet appeared to regard it with high approval.

Active Session

Mr. King's view, that an announcement of dissolution would cause " consternation," may not be shared by Mr. Bracken or Mr. Coldwell or the leaders of other groups, having regard to general elections which have occurred in other Dominions this year — in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand—without any particularly paralyzing consequence.

Political observers visioned today the possible remaking of the pattern of 1940 when, in plans which were being formulated by the Opposition groups, topped off by a resolution of the Ontario Legislature, Mr. King saw a challenge and proceeded to ask a dissolution of Parliament which was followed by an election. Under the circumstances the next session of Parliament will hold unusual political interest.

There can be no doubt that the different opposition groups are preparing to be exceptionally active next winter while any element of insurgency in the Liberal ranks is not subdued by political events of recent weeks. And so, though none may occur until near the end of the term in 1945, the possible makings of an election, next winter or spring, are very lightly obscured.

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Partial Text of Premier King's Speech

OTTAWA, Sept. 27 — (CP) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King tonight told National Liberation Federation members that to have Opposition groups consistently playing politics while the administration devoted its efforts to winning the war is "an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue."

He was delivering the main address at a dinner of some 400 men and women federation members, here from all provinces to attend a reorganization meeting of the federation's advisory council.

Mr. King reviewed the progress of political affairs in Canada since the war. He said that all opposing political parties were carrying on active organization and propaganda measures looking toward victory at the polls, while the Liberal party had been devoting its whole thoughts to winning the war.

There had been recent claims that the administration did not enjoy the confidence of the people, Mr. King said. If he felt that way, he added, it would be his duty to ask for immediate dissolution of Parliament.

Challenges Critics

But he did not share the view; and if he chose to test it by calling an immediate general election, "there would be throughout Canada not rejoicing but consternation."

He challenged any responsible person to say Canada had not made a "magnificent war effort," and declared it would be "unthinkable that all this means nothing to the Canadian people."

The administration in 1940 had been given a mandate by the people to conduct the war for Canada; and it was unlikely to be said that because it had carried out this main task so well it had lost the confidence of the people.

"Do not believe that at a time of world crisis they (the people) would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country."

Provincial Votes

The results of the Ontario elections had reflected only the reaction of the electors of that province to the provincial administration involved. The same was true of the election in Prince Edward Island. Neither had anything to do with Federal matters.

The four Federal by-elections last month, two in Quebec and one each in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, had been lost because while Federal Liberal organization was nil and had been since the 1940 elections the opposing parties were well-organized.

Mr. King said that the Progressive Conservative party, and the Conservative party as it was previous to last December, had abandoned any pretence of forgetting politics during the war. He described that party's organization efforts.

The same was true of the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation, he said. He commented on their recent affiliation with a labor union federation, warning the latter that in his long experience he had never seen any good for labor come from affiliation with one particular political party.

Flays Quebec Group

Mr. King's bitterest words were for Le Bloc Populaire Canadien, formed in Quebec by a handful of his former House supporters, led by Maxime Raymond, elected in 1940 as Liberal member for Beauharnois-Laprairie.

This small group of "malcontents" sought to "set Quebec against the rest of Canada" for their own advantage, indifferent to the harm that might come to the people of that province if they succeeded in "setting the rest of Canada and the rest of North America against Quebec," said the prime minister.

The Social Credit (New Democracy) party was "shrinking rapidly," Mr. King said. He did not speak of that party nor of the newly-formed Labor-Progressive group, except to warn against a multiplicity of parties and to hold up "the fate of unhappy France" as "a terrible warning against this trend."

Mr. King recalled the dinner tendered him in Toronto August 8, 1939, as the last occasion on which he had met with supporters and leaders of his party from all provinces in a social-political gathering.

That was the 20th anniversary of his selection as Liberal leader. Exacting tasks of war had prevented any similar gathering since, and it was surprising to find here a gathering "no less expressive of the confidence and goodwill of the party toward its leader than the gathering of four years ago."

Remained Faithful

"It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war. . . .

"I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters.

"That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight."

Similar pride should be taken by all Liberals in the confidence the people of Canada had placed in the Liberal party, which had held office so much of the time in the past 20 years and enjoyed the greatest majorities ever elected to the House of Commons.

"Within the past few weeks there are some who have begun to assert that the present Administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country."

Have People's Confidence

"I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or combination of parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence.

Mr. King recalled the situation in 1939 when, soon after the outbreak of war, "we were told that our Administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people."

An election was held in March, 1940, and the Government ministers were every one elected, with a majority of supporters in the House greater than any party had ever received before.

"The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present Government."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46749

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

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That mandate had never been lost sight of; it was to centre first interest upon winning the war, to meet domestic problems, and to plan for the future.

Stuck to War Task

"Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well the one thing that is and will remain the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

"Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on winning the war. Their aims and ambitions lie in other directions. . . .

"They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won."

If the Government had turned from this supreme task to political activities and "things which tend not to unite, but to divide," it would be unworthy of the people's confidence.

"Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine the people of Canada do not know and understand all these things—do not comprehend where their own interests lie.

"Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country."

Cause of the "commotion," Mr. King said, was the recent Liberal defeat in Ontario and the defeat of Government candidates in four federal by-elections. Opponents of the Administration attempted to ascribe these defeats to dissatisfaction with the Federal Government.

P. E. I. Vote

On the other hand, in the Prince Edward Island elections, the Liberal Administration had been returned with a majority of two to one over Progressive Conservatives, and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation candidates all lost their deposits.

But the same critics did not ascribe that Liberal victory to confidence of the island's electors in the Federal Administration.

Mr. King said he was not prepared to "substitute the responses to a Gallup Poll for my own judgment"; but that institution "has its uses." He reminded his listeners that among the various reasons found by the Gallop Poll for the Ontario election results, "not in a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the Federal Administration."

Of the federal by-elections, Mr. King said it was a fact that immediately after the March, 1940, Dominion elections, all Liberal Party organization in Canada was terminated and party publications suspended.

This was not true of opposition parties, said Mr. King. The Conservative (now Progressive Conservative) Party began at once "to organize a campaign against the Administration with a view to dividing its forces and substituting a different Administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority."

The issue of conscription had been forced to the forefront in 1941 with talk of a National Government to enforce it, while Conservative Party leaders traveled about organizing constituencies.

In November, 1941, the Conservatives met in Ottawa to choose a new leader (Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen), and "no longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the Government in its war effort, but, instead, out-and-out opposition to the Administration on the floor of the House of Commons.

"That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February, 1942.

"A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to the other and vastly impaired Canada's war effort was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament.

"It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the Government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary.

"Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere."

Tories Reorganize

Mr. King said the Conservative party made a fresh start at reorganization at Port Hope, Ont., a year ago, and at the Winnipeg convention, last December, "outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies."

Since then there had been a constant program of Progressive Conservative reorganization throughout Canada. Mr. King said the party leader, John Bracken, should have been in the House of Commons as Opposition leader during the last session.

"Instead of that, he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive-Conservative party and of himself as its leader. . . .

"I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs.

"All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite of that followed by the Government and its supporters. The same is true of the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation party."

C.C.F.'s Policy

Mr. King reviewed the organization efforts of the C.C.F., who, he said, talked about a total war effort, but whose "actions fail to measure up to their words."

He said they had never given real support to the price control policy, in spite of the fact that this policy was most important in the welfare of the less privileged classes, and the C.C.F. had constantly sought "to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization."

"They talk as if the people at home were entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. . . .

"They have been making more difficult . . . the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and labor, and co-operation between all classes.

"They have not been content to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labor become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end."

Labor Record

Mr. King told of his long experience with labor problems, over a period of more than 40 years, as first deputy labor minister in Canada and, later, as minister; and of his great interest in these problems.

"I have yet to see an alliance made by labor with any political party, or labor itself become a political party seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to labor and to the country."

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 46750 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

The struggle against poverty and adversity was "the one fight that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellow men."

Mr. King said labor led that fight and it needed all the goodwill, friendship and assistance it could win from all political parties.

"It will have all these in ever-increasing measure as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. . . .

Consider General Good

"The claims of humanity are superior to those of industry. They are superior to the special claims of either capital or labor. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today."

Mr. King turned to Le Bloc Populaire Canadien, which he said was the most recent Opposition group, and "for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived."

He said this party's "self appointed leaders" pretended Canada was in no danger from the war.

"The ytalk as though Britain, and not Nazi Germany, was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war.

"The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word 'non.'"

"That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

"The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada.

Indifferent to Harm Done

"It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds in setting the rest of Canada, indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec.

"The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences and stirring up racial animosities.

"This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to the extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of Government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early."

Mr. King said he and his Government had ceaselessly tried to keep the seriousness of the war situation before the people, and to avoid unnecessary political controversy, while opposing parties had followed a different course.

The other parties had been organizing, distributing party propaganda "and exploiting the discontents which invariably arise from controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war."

"For the Government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue," said Mr. King.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46751

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date SEP 2 8 1943

Subject

Might Be Ground For Criticism If Speech Broadcast

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46752

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

Date Sep 28/43

S *SUSPECT TRICK*

City Conservative, C.C.F. Members Score King Speech

Progressive Conservatives and C.C.F. in Vancouver are "taking with a grain of salt" Prime Minister King's expression of hope that there will not be a Canadian general election until after the war.

Howard Green, Progressive Conservative member for Vancouver South, says:

"Mr. King is the most cunning politician in Canada. We can rest assured he will call an election just when he thinks the Liberals will have the best chance to return to power."

C.C.F. PREPARES.

Harold Winch, C.C.F. leader in the British Columbia Legislature, declares:

"The C.C.F., remembering the tactics of the Prime Minister in calling the last general election, are going to be continuously prepared just in case Mr. King makes a similar political manoeuvre."

A Progressive Conservative member from Prince Albert, Sask.—John G. Diefenbaker, in Vancouver inspecting war industries—is easier on Mr. King than Mr. Green and Mr. Winch.

AGREES WTH KNG.

" agree with Mr. King," he says.

"With conditions as they are, feel that the people as a whole would be averse to holding a general election. The attitude of the Progressive Conservatives has been to avoid partisanship and co-operate in the winning of the war.

"I see no justification for an election at this time."

Here is Mr. Green's reaction:

"Mr. King's no-election statement is qualified by many 'ifs, ands and buts.'

"When war started in 1939, Mr. King forgot party for a little while. But in June, 1940, he became extremely party-minded and dissolved the House and called a general election.

"A few months later the Germans struck in the west of Europe, and the whole British world was in jeopardy.

REFUSED COALITION.

"Then the Conservatives urged Mr. King to form an all-party government. If he had accepted, the Conservatives, C.C.F. and Social Democrats all would have joined him. But he refused.

"In spite of his refusal, the Conservatives have time and again supported him in war measures he had introduced.

"Now, when he says he hopes there will be no election until after the war, he qualifies it with ifs and ands.

"Mr. King is the most cunning politician in Canada, and we can rest assured he will call an election just when he thinks the Liberals will have the best chance to return to power."

"BANKRUPT SPEECH."

Harold Winch finds fault with other aspects of Mr. King's speech as well as the "no election hope."

"It is certain that the people of Canada will find little comfort for the future in Mr .King's statements," says the C.C.F. leader.

"I consider it to be one of the most bankrupt speeches of any national political leader of recent years.

"The Prime Minister is obviously completely out of touch with the viewpoint of Canadian people when he says 'At this of all times, the people are not in any mood to countenance any change in administration.'

"His statement that provincial elections are not significant is pure wishful thinking, and it was a sign of great weakness to express the pious hope that no election will be needed until the war is ended.

"The people of Canada were entitled to a definite statement from the government leader, but all they received was "but whether a general election can be delayed until that time I can not say.'

"The C.C.F. are going to be continuously prepared for a political manoeuvre.

"OUT OF STEP."

"The speech of the Prime Minister definitely discloses that he is continuing his perennial role of everybody being out of step but Mr. King. He should recognize that he can not rebuild confidence in himself and his party by charging other political parties with playing politics.

"The C.C.F. carry on their political activity continuously for two reasons:

1. A firm conviction and honest opinion that a full Canadian total war effort and proper preparation to meet the post-war period can best be achieved through the policies and plans enunciated by the C.C.F.

2. The C.C.F. acceptance of a parliamentary responsibility which calls for day to day activity in handling the grivances and problems of the people. We were elected to represent the people, and intend to do it in and out of parliamentary sessions.

SCORES KING.

"It is idotic for the Prime Minister to accuse the C.C.F. of making more difficult the maintenance of friendly relations between government and labor.

"The government has only itself to blame because of its steadfast refusal to give labor its rightful place in government and industry by granting it full democratic representation on all policy-making and administrative boards.

"The C.C.F. knows that in Canada the democracy of 1939 is not good enough. While thousands of Canadians are fighting for freedom overseas, we are going to guard their freedom and ours at home.

"Our continuous watchword is going to be 'economic security, social justice and abundance for all.'"

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D46753

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sep 28/43

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LET MACKENZIE KING FINISH HIS JOB

"I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their own homeland those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle."

THIS statement, made by Premier Mackenzie King at a meeting of the National Liberal Federation in Ottawa last night, may be taken as a clear indication of the Prime Minister's policy in regard to a Federal election. It will, we believe, be received with satisfaction and approval by the great majority of the citizens of this Dominion. True, Mr. King made several reservations specifying certain circumstances under which an election might be held: one, of course, is if the war should continue past the legal life of the present Parliament; or if the Government should lose the support of any considerable portion of the public for its war policies; or if Opposition obstruction so impeded Parliamentary business as to make it next to impossible for the Government to carry on; and so on.

But these are conditions which would apply to any government in the circumstances. The point is that the Premier feels his Government should carry on for the balance of its legal term, which would mean that it would not be dissolved until May, 1945. There are many reasons that can be advanced in support of this stand. In the first place, the present Government was in office when the war began, and it had to tackle the task of turning this country from a peacetime to a wartime economy, to organize war industries, to establish the Army and Navy on a war footing, to plan and put into operation the great Commonwealth Air Training plan, and to organize and set in motion all the intricate machinery necessitated by inevitable war regimentations.

Mr. King's Cabinet had no previous experience in this sort of work. The Government have made mistakes. Mr. King would be the first to admit it. But so has every other government engaged in fighting the Axis Powers, and there is no reason for believing that if another government than Mr. Mackenzie King's had been in office in 1939 it would have done any better than his has done.

Canada's war effort has evoked the highest praise from the men best qualified to judge whether it is a worthy one or not—Premier Churchill and President Roosevelt. And it has also been the subject of enthusiastic encomiums from the Premiers and the press of all the other Dominions. No fair-minded Canadian citizen can look at the record of our achievements to date without feeling a certain amount of pride, even though they may feel that we can do still more, just as the people of other countries feel about their war effort.

Our war machinery is now functioning smoothly, on the whole. The various Ministers have mastered the routine of their wartime jobs, and are discharging their duties with a devotion and an ability that merit public thanks.

What valid reason can be advanced why an election should be held with the object of turning this Government out and putting in another government before either the war is over or this Government's term of office has legally expired? What would be the result? A vast amount of expense, temporary partial dislocation of our economic machinery, and—supposing that this Government were not returned to office—the placing in power, with the responsibility of carrying on the direction of the country's war effort, of men who would come to their respective jobs with absolutely no experience whatever of the work required of them.

Inevitably in such circumstances the war effort of this Dominion would be slowed up and deleteriously affected in other ways. It would not be humanly possible for a new government to take over such responsibilities and discharge them as they are now being discharged by men who have gained experience, have learned by a process of trial and error what to avoid, and have brought the Canadian war effort up to its present status which, as we have said, has evoked the highest praise from the two great leaders of the nations fighting for freedom.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D46754

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

It is for these reasons that we believe that a general election should be avoided at least until May, 1945. We also believe that the great majority of the Canadian electorate will agree with us that Canada should let Premier Mackenzie King and his associates finish their job. To make the dubious experiment of finding out what inexperienced men would do if they were suddenly pitched into the same job is far too dangerous a thing to do in wartime.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D46755

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 28 1943

Subject

King Shuns Criticism; Speech Not Broadcast

Ottawa, September 27—(CP)—Rules of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on political speeches between elections were recalled tonight at the Liberal Federation dinner here when Prime Minister Mackenzie King said he would have liked to have had his speech broadcast but felt there would be ground for criticism under CBC rules if that were done.

An issue over the CBC rules arose at the time of the national convention of the Conservative party at Winnipeg last December when the CBC refused to broadcast a speech by the retiring leader of that party, Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen.

Mr. Meighen made a sharp protest against the ruling when he addressed the convention and accused the King Government of interfering with the CBC.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46756

Name of Publication L'Action Catholique

Date Sep 28/43

Subject

Toutefois M. King n'entend pas prolonger son mandat

Ottawa, 26. — (Par Lorenzo Paré) — "J'espère qu'il ne sera pas nécessaire de tenir des élections générales avant le jour où nous nous préparerons à souhaiter la bienvenue à nos fils et à nos filles qui reviendront en grand nombre dans leur patrie après avoir participé aux combats sur les divers théâtres de la guerre".

C'est ce que le premier ministre King a déclaré, hier soir, dans le discours qu'il a prononcé devant la fédération nationale libérale réunie en conférence à Ottawa.

M. King a parlé pendant plus d'une heure, d'une voix ferme et qui prenait les intonations les plus énergiques dans les passages sur lesquels il insistait ou dans les dénonciations qu'il a eues à l'adresse des divers partis d'opposition.

On peut conclure de ce discours que le gouvernement est déterminé à ne pas tenir d'élections générales tant que l'Allemagne ne sera pas vaincue. Cependant, M. King a établi clairement qu'il n'entend pas prolonger son mandat qui expire en 1945 sans aller devant le peuple et il a prévu diverses circonstances qui peuvent rendre une élection nécessaire même avant cette date.

Le premier ministre a déclaré que le gouvernement possède l'entière confiance du peuple canadien et que les citoyens ne songent pas à confier à un autre parti la direction du Canada pour le reste de la guerre. "Si je devais annoncer ce soir, dit-il, que j'ai demandé une dissolution immédiate du Parlement afin de poser la question de confiance dans l'administration, une telle nouvelle serait accueillie non pas avec joie mais avec consternation."

M. King n'a pas ménagé les partis d'opposition, les accusant d'avoir profité des conditions imposées au gouvernement, qui doit diriger la guerre, pour organiser leur propagande politique.

Il a déclaré sans ambages que la tâche la plus importante du gouvernement était et demeure "la direction constante d'un effort de guerre suprême en vue de la victoire". Ceux qui affirment le contraire, ajouta le premier ministre au milieu d'un silence impressionnant "ne se font certes aucune idée des millions de vies précieuses qu'il faudra sacrifier avant que la guerre soit gagnée".

Après avoir condamné les méthodes des partis adversaires, du parti C.C.F. et du parti progressif-conservateur ainsi que des autres groupements comme le Bloc Populaire, M. King a laissé entendre que le parti libéral était forcé de se lancer lui-même dans une activité politique qu'il avait mise de côté depuis le début de laguerre.

Nous donnons ci-après de larges extraits de ce discours.

LES OFFICIELS

M. Norman McLarty présidait le banquet, auquel assistaient notamment tous les ministres fédéraux et presque tous les premiers ministres libéraux des provinces canadiennes, odnt M. Adélard Godbout, premier ministre de la province de Québec. M. D. C. Abott, secrétaire parlementaire du ministre des finances, et M. J.-L. Ralston, ministre de la Défense nationale ont proposé la santé du Roi, M. Abbott en quelques mots, M Ralston par un discours élaboré au cours duquel il a longuement fait l'éloge des soldats, des marins et des aviateurs, canadiens, affirmant que les soldats canadiens combattaient actuellement aux côtés de la 5ième armée américaine en Italie, que l'aviation canadienne avait réhaussé encore d'avantage dans le monde le prestige du pays, tandis que notre marine protégeait héroïquement les routes maritimes nécessaires aux alliées. Rien a-t-il dit notamment, ne peut se mesurer aux sacrifices consentis par nos forces armées. Il nous reste encore à gagner les plus dures batailles et pour atteindre à la victoire c'est essentiel que le front et l'arrière collabore étroitement. Le Canada a-t-il conclut ne faillira pas à la tâche d'aider de toutes ces forces ses soldats.

Mme H.-E. Vautelet et M. H.-S. Hamilton ont ensuite proposé la santé de l'hôte d'honneur, M. Mackenzie King.

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Subject

A Ottawa

Entre politiciens en décadence

Les "suiveux" réunis à Ottawa avec leurs chefs s'aperçoivent-ils que M. King est en décadence? — Les grondements du vieux lion n'effraient personne — M. King en a contre les autres partis, qui menacent de plus en plus le sien — L'effort de guerre du Canada est le plus grand — Le "Devoir" l'a toujours dit...

"Les libéraux n'ont de souci que pour la guerre", dit M. King — Le pays s'en aperçoit...

(par Léopold Richer)

Ottawa, 28-IX-43. — Le premier ministre du Canada, M. Mackenzie King, a repris officiellement et publiquement hier soir, au ralliement libéral qui clôturait le congrès de la Fédération libérale nationale, un rôle qui lui convient à merveille, auquel il s'est préparé de longue main, qu'il a tenu avec succès pendant de nombreuses années; celui de chef de parti, de politicien. Ce rôle, taillé à sa mesure, il l'avait abandonné depuis 1939, alors qu'il s'était drapé d'un manteau d'homme d'Etat britannique, oubliant qu'il était d'abord — et qu'il devait le demeurer — le chef du gouvernement canadien. Les humbles réalités de la politique canadienne, son programme passé, ses promesses répétées, tous les détails négligeables et méprisables — pour employer le vocabulaire des nains voués aux oeuvres de propagande — que sont les intérêts du Canada, ne l'intéressaient plus. Comme tout ce qui avait fait jusque-là l'objet de ses préoccupations les plus chères et de ses désirs les plus profonds lui paraissait petit et mesquin! Parlait-on à la Chambre des Communes d'autonomie, de drapeau distinctif, d'hymne national? M. Mackenzie King s'impatientait et blâmait ceux qui osaient soulever de si infimes questions.

Or, hier soir, au Château Laurier, devant ses fidèles *suiveux* qui paieront les frais de ses désertions et de ses excès à la Borden et à la Meighen, il est redevenu l'acteur de grand styple, idole des auditoires libéraux. Sa tâche était singulièrement difficile. Il lui fallait se montrer sous un double aspect, tenir à la fois le langage du héros de cape et d'épée, et celui du marchand de fausseté. Le politicien faisait violence à l'homme d'Etat. Le politicien était tout amertume à la pensée que l'homme d'Etat n'était pas compris de ses compatriotes. Il était tout rancoeur, parce que, pendant que l'homme d'Etat suivait le monde (mais d'abord l'Empire) et que sa pensée était remplie de projets aussi vastes que l'univers, des adversaires sans scrupules lui volaient son Canada, son cher Canada! Le politicien libéral croyait pouvoir encore épargner au pays les conséquences désastreuses de son imprévoyante politique. L'homme d'Etat chez lui n'a reconnu aucune de ses erreurs. Le politicien, par contre, n'a vu que de mauvais desseins chez ses adversaires.

Triste spectacle

Le spectacle était triste. Sa signification déprimante. Les libéraux, gens heureux, ne l'ont pas compris. Ils étaient allés au banquet avec l'idée fixe de s'y bien amuser, de voir le vieux lion montrer des crocs menaçants, battre des flancs, rugir comme au temps où le seul son de sa formidable voix mettait en fuite les tories pris de panique. Il a fait son possible. Un effort qui voulait être un remerciement à ceux qui lui avaient voté confiance pendant le congrès. Mais ses éclats n'ont pas ébranlé les murs de la salle de bal. Le vieux lion est devenu vieux. Hier soir, cela paraissait. Et c'était pénible. Vieux, parce que ses trucs sont connus et usés. Vieux, parce que sa royauté est contestée par des leaders plus jeunes, plus agressifs. La loyauté de M. King ne repose plus que sur des griefs, des griefs dont il est l'auteur et dont il ne veut pas assumer la responsabilité, des griefs qu'il habille de grands mots: vertu, devoir, tâche sublime, union nationale (sans allusion au mouvement duplessiste). La fête d'ailleurs manquait d'entrain. Les réjouissances étaient plus que retenues.

L'effort de guerre canadien

M. Mackenzie King a commencé par se vanter un peu et beaucoup. Il s'est félicité de sa longue carrière, de ses succès passés, de la confiance que venaient de lui manifester ses *suiveux*. "Depuis quelques semaines, il y en a qui prétendent que le gouvernement (libéral) ne jouit plus de la confiance du pays, a-t-il dit. Si j'étais de cet avis, je croirais de mon devoir de demander au gouverneur général de dissoudre immédiatement les Chambres". M. King attendra que son parti soit écrasé pour admettre que la population n'a plus confiance en lui. Pourquoi le parti libéral ne jouirait-il plus de la confiance populaire? a demandé M. King. *"Je défie qui que ce soit d'affirmer que l'effort de guerre du Canada n'a pas été magnifique*, a-t-il déclaré. *Je défie qui que ce soit de prouver, compte tenu de toutes les circonstances, que notre effort de guerre a été surpassé par un autre pays"*.

Oui, insurpassé

Pour une fois, nous sommes d'accord avec le premier ministre. En fait, il y a longtemps que le *Devoir* a donné justice au gouvernement libéral dirigé par M. Mackenzie King. Le *Devoir* a même été le seul journal à soutenir, avec chiffres et preuves à l'appui, compte tenu de toutes les circonstances, que l'effort de guerre du Canada n'est surpassé par celui d'aucune nation alliée. On ne prendra pas notre journal en flagrant délit d'injustice. Ce que le gouvernement libéral, dirigé par M. King, a accompli pour l'Angleterre et les Nations-Unies, le *Devoir* l'a mis en lumière. Des journaux libéraux, comme la *Free Press* de Winnipeg, organe libéral dont le directeur est le *very sound* Dafoe, disait le premier ministre un jour qu'il était particulièrement satisfait de la *Free Press*, ont reproché au *Devoir* de proclamer la thèse de M. King. Oui, mille fois oui, l'effort de guerre du gouvernement King est quelque chose d'insurpassable! Nous ne cesserons pas de le proclamer et de rendre ainsi à César ce qui appartient à César. L'oeuvre de

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guerre de sir Robert Borden et de M. Arthur Meighen, de 1914 à 1918, apparait dans toute son insignifiante mesquinerie quand on la compare à celle de M. Mackenzie King.

Rien que pour la guerre

Le gouvernement a donc accompli ce que le premier ministre a appelé hier soir son *devoir*. Aussi la cause des succès des partis oppositionnistes aux récentes élections ontariennes ne réside pas dans la façon dont le gouvernement a fait la guerre, mais uniquement dans la manière dont le gouvernement Hepburn avait administré les affaires de la province pendant les six années précédentes. En Ontario, comme dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, les élections n'ont eu qu'une signification provinciale. (Le *Canada* de Montréal voudra prendre bonne note de cette explication officielle du succès de M. Jones dans l'Ile du Prince Edouard). Pour ce qui regarde les élections fédérales partielles, le parti libéral les a perdues parce qu'il n'était pas organisé. Depuis le début de la guerre les libéraux n'ont de souci que pour la guerre (ce n'est pas le *Devoir* qui dit cela, mais M. Mackenzie King). Ils ne se sont pas préoccupés de politique de parti. (Ici on tousse un peu pour ne pas étouffer de rire).

M. Mackenzie King a ensuite parlé de la réorganisation des autres partis. Il a rappelé avec complaisance les déboires des tories, puis sa transformation en parti progressiste et le choix d'un nouveau chef. Les conservateurs ont eu des préoccupations d'ordre de politique de parti, alors que les libéraux, dont les vertus héroïques sont bien connues, ont tout sacrifié pour la guerre! Le même grief s'adresse à la C. C. F. De plus, la C. C. F. a des torts que les conservateurs n'ont pas. En 1939, les membres de la C. C. F. n'étaient-ils pas en faveur d'un effort de guerre limité à notre pays? (Et, pouvons-nous ajouter, les libéraux n'ont-ils pas fait campagne en 1940 en préconisant un effort de guerre volontaire, libre et modéré?) Les tories, sous ce rapport, sont plus sympathiques aux libéraux que la C. C. F.; cela se comprend. N'insistons pas. L'alliance de la classe ouvrière et de la C. C. F. a été condamnée par le premier ministre, ainsi que sa propagande en faveur des réformes sociales.

M. King en a contre le "Bloc"

Le chef du parti libéral s'est attaqué au *Bloc populaire canadien*. Cette fois M. Mackenzie King a employé des gros mots. Il s'est fâché et il a été injuste. "L'opposition comprend un troisième groupe dont je dirai maintenant quelques mots, a-t-il déclaré. C'est le plus récent et, songeant à l'unité canadienne, j'espère qu'il sera le plus éphémère. Je veux parler du *Bloc populaire canadien*. Ceux qui s'en sont arrogé la direction constituent un petit groupe de mécontents que la bonne renommée et la sécurité du Canada laissent indifférents. Ils prétendent que le Canada ne court aucun danger dans la guerre actuelle. A les entendre, la Grande-Bretagne et non l'Allemagne nazie serait le véritable ennemi. Ils s'opposent à ce que notre pays participe davantage à la guerre. Le *Bloc populaire* est, que je sache, l'unique parti dont le programme et la politique soient formulés par le simple mot: *Non*. Cette doctrine négative et destructive est de nature à compromettre très gravement l'effort de guerre du Canada ainsi que l'avenir du pays.

"Le *Bloc populaire* cherche, de propos délibéré, à soulever le Québec contre le reste du Canada. Peu lui importe, apparemment, le tort qu'il causera à la population du Québec s'il réussit à ranger le reste du Canada, et à vrai dire le reste de l'Amérique du Nord, contre le Québec. Le but véritable de ses chefs est de capter des votes et de s'assurer de l'influence en exploitant les divergences ethniques et en fomentant les querelles de race. Ces appels aux préjugés de race, de religion et autres ont été poussés à l'extrême limite lors des élections complémentaires qui ont récemment eu lieu dans le Québec, et ils expliquent en somme la défaite des candidats du gouvernement. Peut-être aurait-il été bon que la population du Québec eût ainsi été mise en garde dès le début. J'ai la certitude absolue qu'aucun groupe important de cette population ne se laissera tromper par ces faux prophètes. Ils ont déjà été dénoncés par une écrasante majorité des députés fédéraux de la province de Québec. Toutefois, qu'on ne s'y méprenne pas: le poison qu'ils répandent devra être neutralisé activement et vigoureusement par tous ceux qui ont à coeur l'unité du Canada et qui désirent le voir devenir une nation grande et libre".

Une série de faussetés

D'après M. King, les chefs du *Bloc* seraient des mécontents, indifférents à la bonne renommée et à la sécurité du Canada. Ils parleraient comme si l'Angleterre était l'ennemie réelle du Canada, et non pas l'Allemagne. Tout le programme du *Bloc* serait contenu dans la négation *Non*. Ils s'efforceraient d'isoler Québec. Ils seraient indifférents à ce que le Québec ait à faire face au reste du Canada, voire à toute l'Amérique du Nord. Le dessein réel des chefs du *Bloc* serait d'obtenir des votes et de l'influence en exploitant les querelles raciales. Le succès électoral du *Bloc*, dans le Québec, serait dû à l'exploitation des querelles raciales jusqu'à l'extrême limite. Les actes du *Bloc* ont été dénoncés par la majorité des députés du Québec. Il faut de toute nécessité combattre le poison répandu par le *Bloc populaire canadien*. Voilà la thèse du premier ministre. Thèse empruntée à la *Gazette* et à la *Free Press*. Thèse fausse, répétition des accusations malveillantes portées par les députés libéraux du Québec au caucus libéral de la semaine dernière.

La question de race, ce ne sont pas les gens du *Bloc* qui la posent, ce sont les Anglo-Canadiens. Pour combattre ce que M. King a appelé un poison, le gouvernement d'Ottawa possède des armes efficaces. Qu'il donne aux Canadiens français leur juste part de représentation dans le fonctionnarisme. Qu'il cesse de gruger l'autonomie provinciale. Qu'il respecte les droits du Québec, en ce qui regarde la représentation à la Chambre des Communes. Qu'il ne sacrifie pas le Québec aux autres provinces, notamment à l'Ontario et à la Saskatchewan. Par-dessus tout, qu'il respecte ses engagements passés et qu'il ait à coeur, d'abord et toujours, les intérêts du Canada. Si la politique libérale tend à détruire le Canada en le ruinant, celle du *Bloc* est destinée à construire un Canada uni et souverain. Apparemment M. Mackenzie King est si occupé à régler les problèmes internationaux et à sauver le monde qu'il n'a pas le temps d'étudier la politique de ceux qui s'opposent à la sienne. Il s'en remet, pour son information, aux commentaires des journaux qui s'acharnent à détruire toute influence canadienne-française.

Son discours d'hier a été faible et malhabile. Le vieux lion a beaucoup vieilli. Mais les *suiveux* qui étaient là pour applaudir ont applaudi et ils ont trouvé bien beaux ses faibles rugissements. Eux aussi, les *suiveux*, ils sont en décadence...

Léopold RICHER

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Subje

Le discours de M. King

Ce fut d'abord un plaidoyer que le premier ministre a prononcé devant la Fédération libérale nationale.

Après le résultat des récentes élections provinciales en Ontario et fédérales dans le reste du pays, M. King a senti la nécessité de remonter le courage de son parti. Il a exalté la confiance du parti dans son chef depuis un quart de siècle, celle des électeurs dans le parti pendant la même période. Il s'est employé à démontrer que le gouvernement jouissait de la confiance publique.

De la part de son parti, le premier ministre a sans doute été l'objet d'une grande confiance au cours du dernier quart de siècle. Mais on ne saurait nier que cette confiance a subi de rudes accrocs depuis la mort de l'honorable Ernest Lapointe. Nous n'en voulons pour preuve que l'attitude de plusieurs députés fédéraux qui sont sortis du parti libéral, parce que, depuis, ils ne s'entendaient plus avec lui sur la politique du gouvernement. MM. Maxime Raymond, député de Laprairie-Beauharnois, Edouard Lacroix, député de Beauce, et Pierre Gauthier, député de Portneuf, ont rejeté la direction de M. King, pour former le Bloc populaire canadien. M. Liguori Lacombe, député de Laval-Deux-Montagnes, s'est également retiré du parti libéral. L'honorable P.-J.-A. Cardin, ex-ministre des Travaux publics, a quitté le cabinet, à cause de certaines divergences d'opinions irréconciliables. Si la rumeur est fondée, — et tout indique qu'elle l'est, — un nouveau groupe politique, comprenant de six à dix députés libéraux, verra le jour d'ici quelques mois. Il est clair que la confiance, dont le premier ministre jouit dans son parti, pour être impartial, est moins grande qu'elle ne l'était avant la guerre.

A venir jusqu'en 1940, le peuple a manifesté sa confiance d'une manière remarquable au parti libéral. Mais, depuis les élections générales tenues cette année-là, il s'est produit du changement. Il est difficile d'en mesurer l'étendue. Mais il y a des faits survenus depuis 1940 que nous ne saurions nier. La réponse de la province de Québec, par exemple, au plébiscite de 1942 n'est pas une preuve de confiance, de même que le résultat dans l'élection complémentaire de Charlevoix-Saguenay, celle de Stanstead, celle de Montréal-Cartier, celle de Selkirk et celle de Humbolt, quelles que soient les explications fournies par M. King. Tout le mécontentement populaire que l'on entend n'est pas l'expression d'une âme satisfaite.

La confiance du peuple dans le parti qui gouverne en ce moment à Ottawa est assurément en baisse. Nombreux sont les députés libéraux qui le reconnaissent, même si M. King ne veut pas l'admettre en public. Ce qu'on peut affirmer, sans crainte d'erreur, c'est que le gouvernement fédéral ne jouit pas, du moins, de la même confiance publique qu'en mars 1940. L'horreur des élections générales que l'on constate chez la majorité de la députation fédérale en est une preuve indéniable. Le gouvernement a-t-il perdu la confiance publique? C'est une question à laquelle seules des élections générales peuvent donner une réponse. Chose certaine, s'il y avait demain des élections générales, personne ne s'attendrait que le parti libéral remporte autant de sièges qu'il en a maintenant à Ottawa. La situation du parti libéral, en dépit des efforts que M. King a faits pour laisser croire le contraire, est grave.

Afin de diminuer l'effet que le résultat des élections générales tenues en Ontario avait eu sur ses partisans, le premier ministre a fourni une explication qui ne correspond pas à la vérité. Pour lui, la population d'Ontario s'est uniquement prononcée sur des questions provinciales. Celles-ci ont eu sans doute leur influence. Dans quelle mesure exacte? Nous ne saurions le dire. Personne n'en est capable, pas même le premier ministre du Canada. Mais ce qui est certain, c'est que les questions fédérales ont également déterminé un bon nombre d'électeurs à se prononcer pour les libéraux, les conservateurs progressistes ou les candidats de la C.C.F. Les exemples ne manquent point pour le prouver. L'explication de M. King n'a certainement pas convaincu ceux qui ont entendu son discours. Ce sont des membres actifs de l'organisation du parti. Ceux qui venaient de l'Ontario connaissaient trop bien comment, dans leurs circonscriptions, la politique suivie par Ottawa à réagi sur les électeurs.

Ce plaidoyer n'a certainement pas

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inculqué aux libéraux l'idée que le premier ministre désirait, à savoir que tout va pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes au sein du parti. Aussi, pour gagner de nouveau la faveur populaire, le Conseil consultatif de la Fédération libérale nationale a-t-il cru bon d'adopter plus d'une demi-douzaine de résolutions à insérer dans le programme du parti.

Camille L'HEUREUX.

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ATTACKS BRACKEN

In one of his traditionally long-winded statements, Prime Minister King has announced at Ottawa that he does not intend to call a general election until 1945, but he submitted many provisos which will, in the event, give justification or excuse should an election be called before the expiring life of Parliament two years hence.

He chargerd the C.C.F. with playing the political game during war time and with much less justification he charged John Bracken, leader of the Progressive Conservtives with the same thing. He declared that Bracken should have been in Parliament and then proceeded:

"Instead of that he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive Conservative Party and of himself as its leader..."

The foregoing is not true. Everyone knows that with the exception of one speech at Massey Hall at Toronto, a speech of criticism of the manpower policy of the government and one long overdue from Bracken, the Progressive Conservative leader, in his tour of Canada was asking questions of the people and not answering them, not making declarations or promises here and there, as fitted the occasion. Mr. Bracken's tour was strictly non-partisan, as was his appearance under Chamber of Commerce auspices in St. Catharines. He has been searching and investigating Canada's needs, complaints and ills. It is the kind of campaigning which will secure a long term result for the good of the country, the kind of campaigning that Prime Minister King is not used to and does not like on the part of Mr. Bracken.

His reference to why Ontario voted a Liberal government out should cause the last laugh. It was because of Hepburn and his failure to co-operate with the Liberal administration over which Mr. King presides. It will be remembered how eight Federal Cabinet Ministers attended the convention which chose Nixon as leader, how Nixon flew the kite for the King government, how regular he had always declared himself to be with the Ottawa machine. That is what Ontario electors voted against, nothing else.

In attacking the C.C.F. the Prime Minister has undoubtedly given the leaders of that party more ammunition to fire. As the head of a partisan government, one which has monopolized every phase of the conduct of the war under Liberal auspices, it little becomes the Prime Minister to criticize the C.C.F. for partisanship motives. A national government would have obviated all the hurdles which face Liberalism today throughout the country. Rather than that, the government has remained dyed-in-the-wool and has refused to employ the genius, energy and brains which other than the Liberal party might well have provided. When it comes to raising money, however, and other magnificent efforts of the people, the government has not failed to appeal to all parties and classes. It is the sterling patriotism of the great majority of the Canadian people which has been the bulwark of national war effort and sacrifice; not the enthronement of the Liberal monopoly at Ottawa.

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Mr. King Looks At It

MR. King, addressing the members of the National Liberal Federation at Ottawa last night, had a difficult assignment. He had to profess objection to having a general election in the near future and at the same time put himself and his party in favorable position for an election.

After much verbal manoeuvre he found himself on the ground of hoping that an election would not be necessary but still conceding that it might be for various reasons which he enumerated.

The Prime Minister said, as he was bound to say and as no doubt he has firmly persuaded himself, that he and his government are not thinking of winning elections but only of winning the war. But the weakness of this position, and the speech betrayed it despite all its attempts otherwise, is that Mr. King would be in a better position for winning the war if he were in a better position for winning the election.

This was the inherent weakness of the speech, as it is the inherent weakness of Mr. King's leadership after four years of war. Who can doubt that, if Mr. King could have an election now and win it, it would immensely strengthen the authority of government in all the task remaining for the prosecution of the war and the establishment of the peace?

Despite all of Mr. King's protestations, the people of Canada, whatever their political persuasion, will find it hard to believe that Mr. King would not take his election now if he did not with an overwhelming justification fear the results of it.

It is true that Mr. King last night professed no fear of the result if the test should come to be made. Mr. King professes also to know that the people of Canada do not desire an election now. To bolster this profession of faith, he depreciates the recent electoral results in Ontario and the federal by-elections. But people outside Mr. King's own party will be apt to say that Mr. King is whistling to keep his courage up—and some of his own supporters may find it hard to stifle the suspicion.

In fact, Mr. King's speech was full of contradictions in his own terms. He repudiates any suggestion that he has lost the confidence of the country in the same breath in which he accuses the opposition parties of playing politics while he and his own party are keeping their minds single to the winning of the war. Yet the practical test of confidence is written in the verdict of the ballot boxes—and Canada knows what that verdict has been as far as it has gone.

So we are left by Mr. King's speech in a large uncertainty. He does not want an election and he will avoid it if he can. Some of his reasons for avoidance will hardly abide the scrutiny of candid men. And his whole speech could be interpreted by unprejudiced observers as careful manoeuvering in preparation for the election he says he does not want.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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Sub

SHUNS WAR POLLING

But Premier Says No Extension To Be Asked Beyond 1945

CRITICAL OF OPPONENTS

He Says Conscription Would Have Split Canada from Coast to Coast

(Gazette Staff Reporter)

Ottawa, September 27 — Prime Minister King does not want a general federal election until after the war, he told the National Liberal Federation tonight. He does not mean to hold an election until after the war unless:

1. War should continue into 1945, past the legal life of the present Parliament. "I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them." Come what may, Canada votes in 1945 at the latest.

2. Evidence arises that "any considerable proportion of the people are unwilling to continue to support policies which, in the opinion of the government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on." He already said he saw no such evidence at present, either in Ontario or in the four lost by-elections.

3. Obstruction of one or more opposition parties should "so impede the progress of business in Parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the government policies, as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on.

4. Schism within the ranks of government supporters "for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen" should expose "differences of view on matters of policy which it might be found impossible to reconcile." Mr. King had "little fear of anything of the kind occurring."

5. Undermining of the administration's position "by unwarranted and unworthy party activity on the part of political opponents while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention and devoting its whole energies to the prosecution of the war effort."

6. "Happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, (should) make advisable or necessary a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people."

POLLING OUT THIS YEAR

With that string of provisos and maybes, the Prime Minister reassured Liberals that they need fear no election this year. He concluded:

"I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their own homeland, those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time, I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision."

Mr. King's remarks about elections ended a slam-bang political speech to the Liberal Federation banquet in which he announced the refurbishing of Liberal party machinery, and delivered a scathing review of political activities by opposition parties during the war.

He denied that defeats in Ontario or in byelections should cause loss of confidence in his government — provincial elections judge provincial affairs, and federal byelections were lost for lack of Liberal organization, he said.

All opposition parties came in for a tongue-lashing, but the Prime Minister threw his sharpest shafts at the "false prophets" of the Bloc Populaire.

Prime Minister King expressed his gratitude for the "conpressed his gratitude for the "continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal party in my leadership." He said no living political leader had enjoyed so long and continuous an expression of confidence from his political supporters, and went on:

"Whatever the future may have in store for you and me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as leader of my party for, now almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life."

At the same time he noted with equal gratification that the people of Canada had maintained confidence in the Liberal Party itself. "With the exception of a little over five years in the past 22, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada." As for the present time, he had this to say:

"Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor-General for an immediate dissolution of parliament.

"I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation."

He sketched the political history of the war years, said the 1940 election gave the present government "decisive" mandate to wage the war, and that the resultant war effort had been "magnificent" — a boast he challenged "any responsible citizen" to deny.

"Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the county because we have never lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most?" he repudiated the suggestion with assurance.

LIBERAL LOSSES

What then had caused "all the commotion which has arisen in political circles"? Obviously, the Ontario election of August 1 and the four Federal byelections of August 9, all of which the liberals lost seats.

Mr. King had his own explanations for these events. In Ontario, he said, the people "made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration." The results "were the outcome of the views of the electors on the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years"—by Mr. King's arch-foe, Mitchell F. Hepburn, though the Prime Minister did not utter Mr. Hepburn's name. He noted that a Gallup poll probe of the reasons for Ontario's vote showed that "in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the Federal administration. In Ontario, Liberals had lost; in Prince Edward Island, Liberals had won, and C.C.F. candidates lost their deposits; in both provinces, provincial issues had been the determining factor, the Prime Minister intimated.

In a parenthetical aside directed against the anti-King Liberal administration of ex-Premier Mitchell Hepburn in Ontario, the Prime Minister remarked:

"Perhaps I might be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, on the part of the government of Ontario the same kind and measure of cooperation with the federal government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province, there would be a Liberal government in office in Ontario today and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen."

As for the federal byelections, he attributed defeats there to lack of political organization by the Liberal party.

"So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period (since 1940 election). Nor has there been so far as

the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the Government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise."

CONSCRIPTION ISSUE.

In November, 1941, the Conservatives met in Ottawa to choose a new leader (Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen) and "no longer was there to be even the pretence of cooperation with the government in its war effort but, instead, out-and-out opposition to the administration on the floor of the House of Commons.

"That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February, 1942.

"A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to the other and vastly impaired Canada's war effort was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament.

"It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942 which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary.

"Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere."

Then came the Port Hope conference of last year, followed by the Winnipeg convention at which "the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies." Ever since, said the Prime Minister, Progressive Conservatives had maintained a steady publicity campaign for their policies and their leader.

"It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive Conservative party, has made cooperation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective. Because of his position Mr. Bracken throughout the past session should have been the leader of the official opposition in the House of Commons. Instead, he has been touring Canada in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive Conservative party, and of himself as its leader."

As for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, it had been "indefatigable in the work of political propaganda." After sneering at the C.C.F. shift from "a stay-at-home war effort" in 1939 to "all-out war" today, Mr. King said:

"The C.C.F. would have the people believe they are the sole champions of the interests of labor, and of the poor and depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization.

"C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience, hardship. They talk as though the people at home were entitled to a painless war effort. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices the men at the front are called upon to endure?

MAKE TASK DIFFICULT.

"They are doing their utmost to make labor believe the present administration is hostile to labor. They have thus been making more difficult, one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—maintenance of friendly relations between government and labor, and confidence and cooperation among all classes."

Citing his own record as a sympathizer with labor's aspirations, Prime Minister King went on: :

"Let labor remember it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war." He concluded his references to the C.C.F. with a denunciation of "'political campaigns based on tactics which cannot but serve to undermine the effort of the nation in time of war."

Mr. King then turned to the Bloc Populaire, "most recent and I trust the most short-lived' of opposition groups.

"Its self-appointed leaders, a small group of malcontents, are indifferent to the good name and the security of Canada. They pretend Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany were the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war.

"The Bloc Populaire is the only party I ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word 'non'. That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and to the future of Canada.

"The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences and stirring up racial animosities. This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent byelections in Quebec and accounts in the main for the defeat of the Government candidates.

"It may prove all to the good, the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early. I am perfectly certain that no appreciable numbers of the population of that province will be misled by these false prophets. But let there be no mistake about it— the poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously by all who believe in the unity and destiny of Canada as a great and free nation."

After a passing reference to other minority parties, noting dangers in the tendency to multiply parties after the fashion of France, Mr. King summed up:

"While the government was giving its attention, all but exclusively to the promotion of Canada's war effort, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course. Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations disseminating their party propaganda, and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restrictions of any kind for the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D46765

Name of Publication Victoria Times

Date Sep 28/43

Subject

No General Election

MR. MACKENZIE KING SEES NO LEGITimate reason why he and his government should go to the people and ask for new instructions at this stage. The majority of Canadians will agree with the general arguments the Prime Minister advanced in an address to the National Liberal Federation in Ottawa last night. This is not to suggest that a federal contest now or in the immediate future would necessarily impede or seriously interfere with the Dominion's magnificent war effort. The governments of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand have recently submitted their records to the electorate; all three received emphatic endorsement. There is no reason whatever to suppose that Canadians are in any mood to change their wartime administration. Mr. King nevertheless was careful to explain that he would not hesitate to appeal for a new mandate in the event of certain contingencies. An election would be deemed necessary before the end of the war, for example, if:

1. The war is still raging in 1945 when the statutory life of the present Parliament ends.

2. Sufficient evidence arises to indicate that "any considerable proportion" of Canadian people are unwilling to continue to support the government's policies.

3. A group or combination of groups in Parliament moved to impede the work of Parliament or to "misrepresent and distort government policies" to make it next to impossible for the government to carry on.

4. There was dissension in the ranks of the government and its supporters "for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen," of which "personally I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring."

Quite properly the Prime Minister cautioned his audience that events or happenings "at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, might make a general election advisable or necessary." Nor will he be seriously criticized for pointing out to his audience that to have opposition groups consistently playing politics while the administration devoted its efforts to winning the war constituted "an intolerable situation" which could not be allowed to continue. He would presumably put an end to such a condition by asking the Canadian people to render their judgment. In this regard, incidentally, those newspaper critics which likewise agree that an early general election is neither desirable nor necessary will be assisting the national war effort by confining their criticisms to the practical realm. No government worth its salt should turn the deaf ear to useful suggestions; by the same token, however, its possession of facts which cannot be made public will force decisions from time to time that may not harmonize with apparently reasonable demands.

In any event, Mr. King has followed a policy with which there can be no quarrel; he has consulted his supporters in the House of Commons and Senate, together with representatives from all the provinces. While the proceedings were not made public, thus giving all the participants full rein to their points of view, we may be sure that the Prime Minister's uncanny and intimate knowledge of the Canadian scene stood him in good stead as he weighed the merits of the various reports to which he had listened —both in the meetings of the caucus and of the larger body of the National Liberal Federation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 46766

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun

Date Sep 28/43

Subject

King Is Canada's Most Cunning Politician'

Green, MacInnis Rap Premier's Charges

By JAMES DYER

Prime Minister King's criticism of opposition parties for "playing party politics" during the war today brought stinging counter criticism from Vancouver federal representatives of Progressive Conservative and CCF parties.

"Mr. King is by far the most cunning politician in Canada," tartly rejoined Howard C. Green, MP for Vancouver South, a rebuke that was echoed in somewhat different words by Angus MacInnis, CCF MP for Vancouver East.

"When the war first broke out in September, 1939, Mr. King really did forget party and give indication that he might be willing to run the war on a non-partisan basis," Mr. Green recalled.

REFUSED SUGESTIONS

"Then there was that famous one-day session of Parliament in January 1940, at which he again showed strong partisanship and dissolved the House, calling a general election in that spirit."

That, Mr. Green declared, was "before the blitz"—before Canadians had any idea what the war was to be like.

"Later, when the Huns turned west and the whole British world was in jeopardy, the Conservatives suggested a government of all parties, and had one been accepted by Mr. King, not only the Conservatives but the CCF and New Democracy would have taken part. All of the Canadian people would have been behind the government."

Mr. King, however, refused to accept the suggestion, Mr. Green said, and went on upon a one-party basis that has continued since.

"But despite this, the Conservatives have time and again backed up the government in its war effort."

'LATE IN DAY'

"As for the time of an election, there is no more cunning politician in Canada than Mr. King and it can be taken for granted he will call an election whenever he thinks his party has the best chance of winning. His statement is so full of 'ifs, ands and buts' that it leaves plenty of loopholes."

Mr. MacInnis, speaking for the CCF, declared his party likewise has given loyal support to the government in its war effort — except on two points of its policy.

"We will continue to disagree first of all in our opposition to conscription of human lives without conscription of wealth, and, secondly, in our opposition to putting the war effort under control of big business and ignoring labor and agriculture," Mr. MacInnis said.

The CCF MP said that it is "rather late in the day" for Mr. King to regret the opposition playing politics.

"He started the war by playing politics and the biggest effort of its kind was the snap election after the famous one-day sitting of Parliament," Mr. MacInnis said.

ONE LABOR REPRESENTATIVE

"So far as the CCF is concerned, no group has given better and more intelligent support of the government war policy. Far from making the government's relations with labor more difficult, had he accepted the CCF's advice, he would have had a better labor policy."

Mr. MacInnes recalled that in June, 1940, the government passed PC 2685, favoring collective bargaining. But no private employer was more determined in refusal to accept this principle than the government, which did not accept its own policy in its government-controlled war industries until December 1942, he charged.

Mr. MacInnis quoted the president of the Trades & Labor Congress of Canada to the effect that of 103 representatives on war boards, labor has only one.

"The CCF has not denied that Canada has made a very considerable war effort and I am convinced Mr. King is anxious for military victory," the CCF MP went on. "But meanwhile he is handing the country over to monopoly. We want to win a military victory and the peace—they are part of the same struggle."

Mr. MacInnis denied the CCF has undermined price controls but they had and do object to putting the price control board in the hands of big firms.

Mrs. F. M. B. Flett

Funeral services for Mrs. Frances Mary Blake Flett, 79, formerly of Vancouver, who died at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Walter Beatty Young, in Winnipeg, were conducted September 19 in St. Margaret's Anglican Church there.

Mrs. Flett was born in London, Ont., daughter of Rt. Rev. John McLean, first Anglican Bishop of Saskatchewan.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46767

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Journal

Date Sep 28/43

Subject

Prime Minister's Pronouncement

Though Mr. King last evening spoke of several contingencies that might bring about a general election before the end of the war, he left a quite definite impression that there would not be an appeal to the people while hostilities were still in progress and parliament's legal life, which runs until well into 1945, had not yet expired. At any rate, the address gave no support to the predictions so freely made of late that a contest would be held between now and the beginning of the new year.

The prime minister was not and could not be at all convincing when he proclaimed he did not share the view that his administration no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. The reverse it sustained at the federal by-elections last month, when the Liberals were defeated in the four constituencies after carrying them all in 1940, was so severe that it must have necessarily portended the loss by the government of its parliamentary majority in the event of an early general election, especially as it followed so closely upon the decisive overthrow of the Liberal regime in Ontario.

Mr. King said that, if he were of that opinion, he would feel it to be his duty to make a test of public sentiment by seeking an immediate dissolution and that, if he chose to do so, "there would be throughout Canada not rejoicing but consternation." Certainly only a few of our citizens would rejoice. Most of them feel that, when their whole future is still at stake on the battlefields of the world, it is no time for elections. Whatever they think of Mr. King's government, they do not wish to be called to pass judgment upon it at the polls until the war is over.

The prime minister complained bitterly of the way in which other parties than his own have continued their political activities. He made little or no distinction between the courses they have adopted and, as THE JOURNAL pointed out the other day, there have been sharp contrasts in these. But, in any case, it was quite unreasonable to expect party warfare to be wholly or even largely abandoned, when the government has continued to operate on a strictly party basis and has at no time shown the slightest inclination to seek the co-operation of other groups, as has been done in Britain, in carrying on the dominion's part of the war.

Much that Mr. King said must be challenged and the speech is bound to lead to an intensification of political controversy, even though it does not look at all like a prelude to a general election.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D46768

Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

5.90

Date SEP 28 1943

Su

King Says French Bloc Sees Britain as Enemy, CCF Undermines Labor

By KENNETH C. CRAGG

Ottawa, Sept. 27.—Partisan action, destructive of the Canadian war effort, was charged to the C.C.F. and the Bloc Populaire Canadien by Prime Minister King tonight when he spoke before Senate and House members and delegates to the advisory council meeting of the National Liberal Federation.

To all parties, Progressive Conservatives included, he attributed political action, and claimed for the Liberals a record devoted exclusively to the war effort. But Mr. King was most clear in his denunciation of Bloc Populaire leaders, a small group of malcontents and the party's "negative and destructive appeal."

For the sake of Canadian unity, Mr. King expressed hope that this latest of Opposition parties and one which presents a major threat to Liberal support from Quebec may be short-lived.

"Its self-appointed leaders, who are a small group of malcontents, are indifferent to the good name of Canada and to the security of Canada." "They pretend," said Mr. King, "that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain, and not Nazi Germany, was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war."

Deliberately, he charged Bloc Populaire seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. "It is," declared the Prime Minister, "apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and, indeed, the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences and stirring up racial animosities."

Explains By-election Results.

Mr. King claimed this exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, "and accounts, in the main, for the defeat of the Government candidates."

Of the C.C.F., the Prime Minister claimed they steadily "exploit every grievance and irritation. They are," he said, "continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization."

But in his review of the recent marriage of the party and the Canadian Congress of Labor—and of the whole field of C.C.F.-labor relations, he was most bitter in criticisms of the Coldwell-led party. The C.C.F., said Mr. King, have been "boring into the labor organizations that through the medium of organized labor the ymay further their policical ambitions and aims.

"They are doing their utmost," he maintained, "to make labor believe that the present Administration is hostile to labor. They have thus been making more difficult one of our most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—the maintenance of friendly relations between the Government and labor and confidence and co-operation between all classes."

Mr. King, not unexpectedly, recalled his years of public service as a Deputy Minister of Labor and later a Minister. He proclaimed his interest of labor and desire to see labor advance into a "fuller recognition of its rights and dignity."

He warned that in those years, from 19000 on, he had yet to see an alliance made by labor with any political party, or labor itself become a political party, "seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not proved disastrous alike to labor and to the country."

Labor Needs Good-will.

"Labor," asserted Mr. King, "needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever-increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good."

The C.C.F. appeal to Labor was coupled, he said, "with deceptive propaganda about the profiteering by wealthy interests." To that, Mr. King claimed that no wartime Government in any country has adopted a more complete program to prevent profiteering than the present Government. And no Government, he asserted, has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

"No one could object to a political party in opposition advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own program, even in wartime," he said. "That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46769

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune

Date Sep 28/43

Subject

Mr. King And Elections

THERE will be general satisfaction, we believe, over Mr. King's statement that he hopes there will be no necessity for a Dominion general election before the war is over in Europe.

A great many Canadians may be anxious to change horses but they would resent being invited to do so in the middle of the stream. The public dislike of holding elections in wartime, unless they are absolutely necessary, has been demonstrated recently in Ontario where every index of opinion showed that the election itself was unpopular.

Mr. King's statement to the Liberal Federation in Ottawa on Monday may fairly be taken at face value, though he does cite a number of conditions under which an election might be necessary before the war ends. Let us examine these in turn.

The first condition he mentions is that the war might still be raging in 1945 when the statutory life of parliament is up. That is obviously fair enough. Indeed, there is some prospect that the war in Europe might be over by then with the war in the Pacific continuing.

The next condition laid down by the Prime Minister is if "any considerable proportion" of the Canadian people give evidence of unwillingness to support the government's policies. That must depend upon the interpretation. Would Mr. King regard a flurry by *Bloc Populaire* adherents, for example, as sufficient evidence?

The third condition named is: If a group or combination of groups in parliament moved to impede the work of the House or to "misrepresent and distort government policies" so as to make it next to impossible for the government to carry on. There is exceedingly small likelihood of this. The vast Liberal majority remains. Hitherto it has functioned in steamroller fashion.

Mr. King sees very little likelihood of the fourth condition arising. That is, dissension in the ranks of the government and its supporters.

Mr. King's fifth stated condition is far more contentious because few critics of the government are likely to agree with the Prime Minister on its meaning. He says that an election might be made necessary "by unwarranted and unworthy party activity on the part of political opponents while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention and devoting its whole energies to the prosecution of the war effort."

The Liberal government itself chose to conduct its administration during the war on a party basis and decided against forming a government of national union upon the Churchill model after the fall of France. It therefore has full responsibility for failing to seek a political truce. In the Dominion field the Progressive Conservatives, who are not even fully organized yet, certainly cannot be charged with "unwarranted political activity." It is true that the C.C.F. has made considerable political hay. But it is also plain, since the Liberal meetings in Ottawa over the weekend, that the government's own party intends at least to mend its political fences.

Mr. King's final condition is that there might be events or happenings "at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada which might make a general election advisable or necessary." That is a pretty broad statement but it accords fully with the traditional right that every Prime Minister has to go to the country when he chooses. If he were to abuse it, and the country felt that he was pulling another "snap election," the electors would have the remedy in their own hands.

Thus, taking it all in all, we feel that Mr. King's statement should be welcomed, though it will inevitably be criticized in detail. For our part we prefer to believe that Mr. King means just what he says —namely, that he hopes there will be no necessity for an immediate election. We agree with him than an unnecessary election would be most undesirable.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Sep 28/43

Subject

MR. KING LEAVES LOOPHOLES FOR A GENERAL ELECTION.

Stripped of all the verbiage Prime Minister King's statement to the National Liberal Federation may be interpreted as meaning there will not be a federal general election until 1945 unless one or more of several conditions arise. Amongst these would be the refusal of public opinion to support the government's war policies; obstruction by the Opposition groups in the House of Commons; dissension amongst the Liberal members of Parliament on the administration's policies; or occurrences at home or abroad that are now beyond human ken.

The Prime Minister has left many loopholes to hold a general election at any time. He will be the final judge as to whether any of the circumstances he has enumerated warrant an appeal to the people. The 1940 precedent, when he dissolved Parliament in the Speech from the Throne, testifies to his willingness to announce a snap election when he believes the time is ripe, regardless of any undertaking he may previously have given. In his declared zeal for seeing that the people are secured in their constitutional rights to declare, within stated periods, who was to represent them, Mr. King appears as the gentlest pirate who ever scuttled ship.

Mr. King believes that his Government still enjoys the confidence of the country, and he cites the result in the Prince Edward provincial election where a Liberal administration was recently returned to office, though with a reduced majority. By the same method of deduction the results adverse to Liberalism in four federal by-elections and the Ontario provincial election would indicate that his party does not enjoy the confidence of the people, but, as ever, the Prime Minister explains these reverses away. He blames the defeat in Ontario on the bungling of the Hepburn administration, though it was not "Mitch" Hepburn, but his friend, Harry Nixon, who was defeated at the polls. He attributes the loss of the four federal Liberal seats as being due to "lack of party organization." These are Mr. King's views on recent elections. The public can draw its own conclusions.

At the moment there does not appear to be a likelihood of an appeal to the people immediately, but circumstances can change very quickly and when an election does come the current will be running strongly against the Mackenzie King administration.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D46771

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Regina Leader-Post

Date Sep 28/43

Subject

King Obeys Radio Rules

OTTAWA, Sept. 27.—Rules of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on political speeches between elections were recalled Monday night at the Liberal Federation dinner here when Prime Minister Mackenzie King said he would have like to have had his speech broadcast but felt there would be ground for criticism under CBC rules if that were done.

An issue over the CBC rules arose at the time of the national convention of the Conservative party at Winnipeg last December when the CBC refused to broadcast a speech by the retiring leader of that party, Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen.

Mr. Meighen made a sharp protest against the ruling when he addressed the convention and accused the King government of interfering with the CBC.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46772

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Charlottetown Guardian

Date Sep 29/43

Subject

Prime Minister King announces there is little prospect of a general election this Fall; let us hope he is not fooling us.

* * * *

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46773

Office of
The Prime Minister

OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Name of Publication .....

Date SEP 29 1943

Subject .....

Victory Comes First

Prime Minister Mackenzie King may be deceiving himself concerning the degree of public confidence he and his government enjoy, but it is probably true that most Canadians will share his view that a general election should, if avoidable, be put off until the war ends. This is especially so at the present stage of the world struggle, when the heaviest fighting has yet to be done.

An election this year would have a decidedly upsetting influence. On the industrial side, Canada is making a magnificent contribution. Production has been multiplied beyond anything ever before known. This represents a vast development, and the government, together with its departments, agencies and creations, are inextricably bound up with the work entailed. In the mobilization of manpower, tremendous obligations have been undertaken. An election would be distracting and its outcome might be worse.

It is fair to assume that most people who have pondered the subject are inclined to get on with the war and let politics wait. They are in a different mood from the one that disturbed them at the time of the plebiscite. Many have come to the belief that the passage of time has now made it dangerous to force issues which were raised a year and a half ago. Under the circumstances, they are content to keep in mind the fundamental questions raised but to deal with them when the victory has been gained.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46773

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46774

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 29 1943

Subj

REMEDY STILL IN PREMIER'S HANDS.

Prime Minister King's address to the National Liberal Federation on Monday night must be read together with the statement of the Minister of National Defence, Hon. J. L. Ralston, at the same gathering, who said: "Don't let anyone delude himself with thinking that the war is won. It has only just begun." Colonel Ralston's statement was supported on the same day in Washington by Robert P. Patterson, U.S. Undersecretary of War, who said that "We have a long way to go before this war is won."

Less than a fortnight ago Sir Bernard Montgomery, leader of the British 8th Army in North Africa and Italy, warned his own fighting men that even with Italy conquered "we will still be nowhere near Germany. We will still have a long way to go." The conditions upon which these utterances are based, certainly those which prompted the statement of Colonel Ralston, are within the knowledge of Prime Minister King.

Mr. King takes the position that a general election should not be called until after the war. He immediately qualifies that position by setting forth a series of speculative eventualities which would call for an appeal to the people, war or no war. He not only leaves one backdoor open, there are as many as six of them. Nevertheless, he does trust that an election will not be necessary prior to the homecoming of the men and women in the fighting services. To that extent he puts the war first, which is where it ought to be. He stipulates that there must be an end to "unwarranted and unworthy party activity on the part of political opponents while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention and devoting its whole energies to the prosecution of the war effort."

The Prime Minister put forward this condition at the conclusion of a meeting of the National Liberal Federation, preceded by a Liberal party caucus, and both held for the purpose of tuning up the Liberal party organization. These meetings were not held in order that the undivided attention and the whole energies of the government—the head and front of the Liberal party—should be devoted to the prosecution of the war effort. Nor is this the whole measure of the Prime Minister's inconsistency. He complains bitterly of the activities of other parties, activities for which there would have been no room had he not himself deliberately chosen and insisted that what ought to have been literally and actually a national war effort should be kept in the hand of a party administration and controlled through all its stages by that administration. If Mr. King finds himself opposed actively by non-Liberal political groups he is confronted with the condition of his own creation, one which he could have averted and, we think, should have averted, had he been willing to form a national war government or to permit its formation by others since the commencement of the war.

The remedy is still in the Prime Minister's hands. If he objects to the organization of hostile political party groups he should not be unmindful of the fact that his own course has left them very little choice, some of them at any rate. He has built and maintained a fence between them and the war effort. The logical thing for him to do, the true course indicated by his own speech of Monday night, is to strengthen his own position and that of the country as a whole by forming a thoroughly representative war government in which other parties, those that are at all war minded, may cooperate if they are willing to do so. The measure of their willingness will be the genuineness of their war spirit.

Mr. King's colleague, the Defence Minister, has shown beyond doubt that the time is ripe for the formation of such a government. This newspaper has always advocated a war administration on the broadest representative basis. We have had to get along under a party government up till now but we are warned now that the war "has only just begun." The greatest national effort is yet to be made. The united strength of all groups in Canada, including those organized as political parties, is needed if a maximum effort is to be exerted. The Prime Minister has stopped short of the natural answer to his own proposition. Let him now face it.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46775

Name of Publication London Free Press

Date Sep 29/43

Subject

The Question of an Election

RT. HON. MACKENZIE KING discussed before the National Liberal Federation at Ottawa the question of an election. Mr. King assured his supporters that he does not propose to call an election before 1945, but he laid down certain considerations which might lead him to appeal to the people.

* * *

Mr. King's chief complaint was that while the Government was engaged to the utmost in carrying on the war, his political opponents were busy organizing throughout the country and were criticizing the administration. In a democracy that is always true. It was true in Canada in the last war and is true today in the United States.

* * *

Mr. King has persistently refused to form a National Government. The war has been conducted under the aegis of the one party—the Liberals. Under the circumstances the Opposition parties can hardly be expected to close their offices and enthusiastically support the ministry no matter what policy it follows. They would not be performing their duty if they were not prepared with constructive criticism. One of the weaknesses at Ottawa has been the feebleness of the Opposition parties. The plain facts are that if Mr. King feels that the conduct of the war should be waged solely by the Liberal party then he must expect criticism. He cannot have his cake and eat it.

* * *

Generally speaking the Government has done a magnificent job. Canada has built up an air force which is outstanding; from practically nothing we have constructed a navy which is playing a large part in the war at sea; our soldiers are showing their mettle in Sicily and in Italy. The factories of Canada have great achievements to their credit. On the economic and financial sides Canada has in many ways led the way for the Allies.

* * *

Most of the troubles of the Government have arisen from its failure to face up to the manpower problem. From the first there was never any attempt to map out an overall plan. The three arms of the war services, industry and agriculture have all competed against one another for manpower. When national registration was taken, and again when a plebiscite on conscription was held the public believed that the Government was at last tackling the problem. Yet nothing happened. There has been a natural feeling that sacrifice has not been borne equally by the whole country and without equality of sacrifice in a time of national crisis there cannot be national unity.

* * *

Mr. King is right when he says that the mass of the people today do not want to see an election. It would only create turmoil and national disunity at a time when there should be one united front. With all the political confusion and the unrest of today—an unrest which comes with every war — it is hard to say what would happen in an election. We might be in a position with no party able to carry on—an unsatisfactory situation at any time and disastrous in war time. An election should only be a last resort.

* * *

History has proved that no Government can pass through a war and retain its popularity. Every Government in the democracies fell after the last war. The Conservatives in Canada were almost wiped out; the Democrats in the United States were overwhelmed and Lloyd George in England was swept from power. There is a natural reaction. The restrictions of war cause resentment. It will be strange if it does not happen in this country.

* * *

In the meantime, the King Government is in office with a large popular majority. There are no reasons why it should not carry on. It should be given every fair support in order to present a united front. The majority of the people of this country, outside of a few agitators who are stirring up unrest, are interested today in only one thing — the winning of the war. They are not interested in the fate of any political party or the future of any of the political leaders. If we lost the war all our parties and our whole system of government would go into the discard.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46776

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

Date Sep 29/43

Subject

Mr. King's Address

The address which Prime Minister King delivered to the delegates attending the meeting of the National Liberal Federation was a speech by the leader to the party. It is the first distinctive party address Mr. King has made for some time. For reasons which are generally well known but are not always remembered.

No man in all Canada has devoted himself more fully than Mr. King to the vital business of directing the nation's war effort. He has made a remarkable success of that. Every Canadian knows it, and the heads of the Allied countries have given their testimony in unmistakable terms.

Naturally, even necessarily, domestic questions have been neglected while the man chiefly responsible for the conduct of Canada's part in the war gave himself exclusively to that job. But while Mr. King has not been talking of these questions, others have. The Liberal party has been quiescent on the subject of "politics," but the other parties have not been.

The C.C.F. in particular has been working the circumstances for all they were worth. That party has been campaigning as though there was nothing Canadians needed to think about, and nothing their Government had to do, but study policies concerned with conditions and trends inside the Dominion. Taking full advantage of the pre-occupation of Mr. King with war business, the leader of that party and his lieutenants have been "making hay" while the making looked good. And with success, undoubtedly.

The address of the Prime Minister shows that he intends to pay more attention to "domestic politics" in future.

—V—

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46777

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph

Date Sep 29/43

Subj

MR. K NG IN NO HURRY FOR HIS HAT!

Times have changed! When it was to his advantage Mr. King saw nothing wrong in springing snap elections on the country in the early days of the war and turned a deaf ear to all suggestions that such a distraction of the national purpose from a united war effort was not in the best interests of Canada. Today, after four years of war, when his administration has lost a considerable measure of its electoral strength, Mr. King has gone off on the opposite tack: while intimatining with deep pathos that he may have to go to the country against his will if the Opposition parties make things too tough for him, he registers his conviction that there shou'd be no elections until the war is over, unless it is still in progress in 1945 when the life of the present Parliament comes to an end.

This attitude of the Prime Minister will not be surprising to informed opinion: to begin with, he is a confirmed opportunist and is always strongly in favor of the course of action that appears to him to be best for his party and himself at the moment, no matter how inconsistent it may be with some other course that he has previous y pursued. But above all, it is an open secret that Mr. King's consuming ambition is to sit at the peace table as the spokesman or Canada and that he is prepared to sacrifice almost everything else in the short period of activity which remains to him. in order to realize it. To put his fortune to the touch before the Peace Conference has been convened, therefore, would be a proceeding far too hazardous for his cautious temperament unless circumstances make it unavoidable. In fact, although Mr. King leaves us to infer that he will not exceed the constitutional limit of ive years, he is quite capable of extending the life of Parliament with the support o his docile majority if the war should hen be still unwon. His secret slogan is: "Peace Table or Bus —and no Fooling!"

* * *

The Prime Minister has persuaded himself no doubt, if not a good many of his followers, that dilatory tactics are in the best interests of the Liberal Party, having regard to existing circumstances. Nor will we say he is not right although it is quite in the cards that he may prove to have been disastrously wrong. Even when things have been at their darkest and defeat apparently certain, Mr. King's uncanny luck has never failed h'm thus far; some unexpected "break" completely transforming the situation in his favor. To bet he will not be holding the winning hand, then, when he finally goes to the country in his own chosen time will be to take quite a chance. On the other hand, the pitcher proverbially goes to the wel once too often and gets broken: so, too, Mr. King's luck may turn against him if it crowded one more time.

Many anx'ous Liberals argue that the Party has to take its bumps and that the sooner this painful business is got over with, the better it will be. If elections are held at an early date, they believe, before the C.C.F., the Progressive-Conservatives and the Bloc Populaire have developed their maximum strength, it should be possible to hold the Liberal organization together and re-build it for future victories at the polls; while a delay until 1945 or later may break the Party up beyond possibility of effective reorganization for years to come—the experience of the Conservatives serving as an awful warning in this connection.

* * *

Should the Prime Minister succeed in clinging to office so as to attend the Peace Conference, this would mean that the Peace, like the War, is made for Canada by him. And considering the manpower muddle, the class unrest and the ascendent rule of bureaucracy during the past four years, the prospect is hardly an encouraging one in the national interest. At least the people ought to be allowed to decide for themselves who is going to direct Canada's peace effort after the war. There is a distinct likelihood that the war will still be raging in 1945 but if Mr. King is to be "smoked" out even then, the Opposition parties will have to make life very unpleasant indeed for him meanwhile. He is in no hurry whatever for his hat!

PRESS CLIPPINGS D46778

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Calgary Herald

Date Sep 29/43

Subject

Mr. King Leaves Himself Plenty of Loopholes

Prime Minister King's after-dinner speech to the National Liberal Federation members in Ottawa on Monday evening can be read and re-read without even the most discerning gathering an approximate idea of what is in his mind concerning the date of the next federal election. Mr. King is a pastmaster in that kind of subterfuge.

He garlanded his desire to avoid an election until the war in Europe is over or until the statutory term of the present parliament expires with so many possible contingencies as to leave himself clear to call it any moment. He enumerated several circumstances which might impel an early election and all through his address there was perceptible anxiety as to the organization activities of rival political parties. He described it as unfair that while these parties can devote themselves wholeheartedly to preparation for the next federal election, his party is committed to devote its major attention to the conduct of the country's war effort.

The prime minister is not on reasonable ground when he condemns preparations by the Progressive Conservatives and the C.C.F. to meet the electorate. They are footloose by the verdict of the Canadian electorate in March, 1940, which entrusted the war effort to the Liberal party. If the Liberals were in oppostiion today they would be doing exactly what the Conservatives and C.C.F. are doing.

As a matter of fact, Mr. King and his party have enjoyed the fruits and responsibility of office for a long time in the past two decades, and they have no stranglehold on government. As a great parliamentarian, Mr. King no doubt realizes this. It is within recent memory that the electors kicked the Bennett administration out of office in 1935 just when it was preparing to introduce many radical economic reforms.

A federal election may not be held this year, but much depends on the developments when the House of Commons reconvenes. There may be many defections from the government ranks from Quebec and there will undoubtedly be vigorous assault from the opposition parties on the government's conduct of the war and so much rule by order-in-council. The prime minister indicated that if these were too pronounced, he might appeal to the people. Threats of this kind are a sign of weakness.

In his critical review of opposition groups and particularly the Bloc Populaire in Quebec, he did nothing to invite support of the government's war effort. In fact, he went far to arouse antagonism, which may have been intended. The prime minister is adroit in looking for a grievance which he can exploit on the hustings.

There is not likely to be an election this year but do not bet heavily against one early in the new year.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 46779

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir

Date Sep 30/43

A Ottawa

Les grands points des "confidences" de M. King

Il fera des élections si... — Il n'en fera peut-être pas si... — Il en fera si... — Il y en aura peut-être si...

Comment M. King sait être à la fois clair et pas clair

(par Léopold Richer)

Ottawa, 30-IX-43 — Le premier ministre a consacré une bonne partie de son discours de lundi soir à la question de la tenue d'une élection générale. Il a énuméré un certain nombre de raisons pour lesquelles il lui était impossible de dire si nous aurions un appel au peuple. M. Mackenzie King a déclaré en substance: "Nous n'aurons pas d'élections générales, à moins que..., à la condition que..., nonobstant le fait qu'il se peut que nous en ayons..." Il n'y a pas à dire, le premier ministre est homme de décision et de précision. Quand il parle, on sait tout de suite où il veut en venir. Il commence un discours en affirmant une chose; il le continue en la mettant en doute; il le termine en la niant avec la dernière énergie. *Ce mur est blanc*, affirme-t-il; *mais quand je dis qu'il est blanc cela ne signifie pas qu'il n'est pas noir; par conséquent il n'est pas blanc puisqu'il est noir.*

De cette partie de son discours dans laquelle il a parlé des élections, il faut bien relever trois points, sans insister davantage sur le procédé habituel du premier ministre d'embrouiller les questions les plus claires et les plus simples. Le premier point se rapporte au droit constitutionnel de la population de désigner ses représentants à la Chambre des communes. Le second, à l'affirmation audacieuse du premier ministre que son gouvernement jouit encore de la confiance populaire. Le troisième, au désir du chef du gouvernement de tenir la population au courant de ses projets électoraux. Ces trois points suffiront à montrer sous son vrai jour le politicien qu'est M. Mackenzie King, le politicien qui, selon la presse libérale et les propagandistes à la solde du parti, n'a jamais trompé la population.

Il se pourrait que...

Pour expliquer que, malgré son désir de ne pas tenir d'élections avant le retour de nos soldats au pays, il se pourrait que les circonstances le contraignissent à demander le renouvellement de son mandat, le premier ministre a déclaré: "La Constitution impose certaines restrictions quant à la durée d'une législature. *J'ai des idées bien arrêtées sur le devoir qui incombe à un gouvernement de respecter le droit constitutionnel qu'a le peuple de désigner, à des périodes déterminées, les représentants qui doivent légiférer et administrer la chose publique.* Si la guerre en Europe se prolongeait jusqu'en 1945, il faudrait, de toute nécessité, sans tenir compte des événements qui pourraient se dérouler dans l'intervalle, que le gouvernement fournît l'occasion au peuple, à un moment donné au cours de cette année-là, de choisir ceux à qui il voudrait confier l'administration des affaires du pays durant la législature suivante".

M. Mackenzie King pose au défenseur des droits constitutionnels de la population. Il entend, cette fois, respecter le droit constitutionnel qu'a le peuple de désigner ses représentants à la Chambre. Il écarte donc la possibilité de prolonger, par un amendement à la Constitution, la durée du présent Parlement. Il n'y a pas longtemps — l'événement s'est passé à la fin de la session de cette année — M. Mackenzie King faisait fi des droits constitutionnels d'une partie de la population. Il avait recours à un amendement constitutionnel pour empêcher la province de Québec, la population de la province de Québec d'avoir la représentation parlementaire à laquelle elle a droit, en vertu de la Loi de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, par suite du recensement de 1941. M. King n'a pas voulu procéder au remaniement de la carte électorale et donner suite aux stipulations de la Constitution, sous prétexte que cela nuirait à l'effort de guerre. Il est maintenant disposé à tenir une élection générale, qui nuirait certes à l'effort de guerre, parce qu'il prétend respecter les droits constitutionnels de la population. Les actes de M. King contredisent ses paroles. Il n'hésite pas à violer les droits constitutionnels de la population quand cela sert les intérêts du parti libéral. Les faits le démontrent.

Ça ne serait pas nécessaire

Le premier ministre allègue ensuite qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de tenir des élections, parce que le gouvernement jouit encore de la confiance populaire: "D'aucuns ont commencé à affirmer, depuis quelques semaines, que le gouvernement actuel ne jouit plus de la confiance des électeurs. Je ne partage pas cette façon de voir. *Si tel était mon avis, je considérerais de mon devoir constitutionnel de prier Son Excellence le gouverneur général de dissoudre immédiatement le Parlement.* Il n'y a, je crois, au Canada, aucun autre parti politique ni aucun groupement de partis politiques qui ait reçu du peuple canadien, depuis le début de la guerre, autant de marques de confiance. (...) *A l'heure présente, la population du Canada est moins disposée que jamais à se prêter à un changement d'administration* susceptible d'amoindrir ou de compromettre la portée et la puissance du magnifique effort de guerre du pays".

Marques de confiance? Heu! Heu!

M. Mackenzie King interprète comme une marque de confiance le fait que les libéraux ontariens ont été battus, écrasés, réduits à l'impuissance totale, malgré l'intervention active et personnelle de plusieurs ministres fédéraux et d'un grand nombre de députés libéraux d'Ottawa! Marque de confiance également, la défaite des candidats libéraux dans les quatre récentes élections partielles de Stanstead, Cartier, Selkirk et Humboldt. (Combien de ministres et de députés fédéraux sont allés dans Stanstead, combien d'organisateurs ont participé à la lutte, malgré la soit-disant absence d'organisation du parti?) Le parti libéral jouirait encore de la confiance populaire? Pourquoi alors sénateurs et députés libéraux se sont-ils réunis la semaine dernière à Ottawa? Pourquoi les deux jours du congrès ont-ils été exclusivement consacrés aux griefs de la population et des membres de la Chambre des communes? Pourquoi les députés libéraux

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46780

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

ne veulent-ils pas d'élection à brève échéance? Pourquoi ne peuvent-ils pas s'empêcher d'admettre qu'ils sont battus d'avance? Pourquoi le premier ministre lui-même a-t-il attaqué tous les partis oppositionnistes dans son discours? Si les partis d'opposition ne sont pas dangereux, pourquoi s'en occuper? La vérité, c'est que le parti libéral ne jouit plus de la confiance populaire. Personne ne le sait mieux que M. Mackenzie King lui-même.

La confidnece de M. King

En troisième lieu, le premier ministre déclare qu'il est désireux de tenir la population au courant de ses projets électoraux: *"Je tiens beaucoup à mettre la population dans ma confidence à propos d'une question aussi importante que celles d'élections générales en temps de guerre"*. C'est du nouveau. Quand le premier ministre a-t-il jamais exposé ses projets électoraux à la population? Certainement pas avant la guerre. Certainement pas en 1930, alors que M. Mackenzie King a annoncé la dissolution prochaine des Chambres à la grande surprise de ses députés et de plusieurs ministres. Certainement pas depuis la guerre non plus, bien que M. King affirme maintenant qu'une élection en temps de guerre est une affaire très importante. Qui ne se rappelle que le 25 janvier 1940 — le Canada était en guerre à ce moment là l'on a annoncé brusquement dans le discours du trône, la dissolution des Chambres et la tenue d'élections?

M. Mackenzie King avait-il auparavant confié ses projets électoraux à la population? Voyons ce que rapporte le *Hansard* du 25 janvier 1940, à la page 9. M. R.-J. Manion, alors chef de l'opposition, déclarait: 'Du point de vue politique, il (M. King) a fait, à mon sens, une manoeuvre peu scrupuleuse en décidant d'ordonner des élections immédiates *sans en avoir prévenu les électeurs*, afin d'étouffer toute discussion en cette enceinte et dans le pays — du moins toute discussion préparée — *et d'obtenir de la population canadienne une décision brusquée sur cette importante question*". M. Mackenzie King a répondu: "Il (M. R.-J. Manion), se rendra compte qu'*un tel document contenant une déclaration d'appel immédiat au peuple devait être tenu absolument secret. Autrement, mon honorable ami le sait bien, la nouvelle aurait couru les rues avant même qu'elle eût été annoncée au Parlement!*" Voilà de quelle façon M. Mackenzie King a confié ses projets électoraux en mars 1940 à la population. Il en sera de même la prochaine fois. En janvier 1940 les députés libéraux n'avaient pas été mis au courant de la décision du premier ministre. M. King est un grand démocrate . . .

Quand cela fera son affaire

Le premier ministre annoncera des élections quand cela fera son affaire. D'ici là il n'entend pas être embarrassé dans l'exercice du pouvoir par les groupes d'opposition. Il les a menacés, à moins qu'ils ne se tiennent tranquilles, d'une dissolution des Chambres: "Chacun des groupes oppositionnistes, pour ne pas parler d'une association de deux ou de plusieurs d'entre eux, pourrait, s'il le voulait, tellement entraver la marche des travaux parlementaires, ou dénaturer et fausser les programmes du gouvernement que ce dernier se trouverait dans l'impossibilité de continuer à administrer les affaires du pays. Une telle situation serait déja assez critique en temps ordinaire. Ce serait une situation impossible pour un gouvernement chargé de la conduite des affaires publiques en temps de guerre. Cela ne laisserait au gouvernement d'autre choix que la dissolution des Chambres". Ainsi, ou les groupes d'opposition acquiesceront aux projets ministériels, et alors le gouvernement leur imputera une forte partie de la responsabilité des mesures adoptées; ou les oppositionnistes feront une lutte sérieuse et soutenue aux mesures ministérielles, et dans ce cas le premier ministre dissoudra les Chambre.

Telle est la conclusion logique d'un discours où les fausses représentations abondent.

Léopold RICHER

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D46781

Name of Publication Edmonton Journal

Date Oct 1/43

Subject

Cannot Be Deterred by Threat

On Monday night the prime minister, in defining the contingencies in which a general election might be held before the end of the war did undoubtedly seek, as Mr. Bracken has stated, to provide himself with an excuse for calling it at any time and, to put himself in a position to blame others for the contest which he holds to be undesirable under present conditions.

Mr. King told the gathering of Liberals in Ottawa that he would be compelled to take this step if a group or combination of groups should impede its work or so "misrepresent and distort" the policies of the government as to make it next to impossible for him and his cabinet associates to carry on. It would also be necessary, if there were "unwarranted or unworthy party activity on the part of political opponents" or there were dissension in the ranks of the government and of its supporters "for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen." How easy it would be for him to argue that one or other of these situations had arisen, and that he was accordingly forced to ask for a dissolution, is obvious. In any case he cannot, by holding the threat of this over those who have fault to find with government policies, prevent them from registering their opinions.

* * *

The prime minister laid himself fully open to Mr. Bracken's charge that he has sought "to impose silence and inactivity on all who are not his political supporters and even on some who are." It is also true that, as the Progressive Conservative leader went on to say, Mr. King's castigation of all other parties for presuming to organize or criticize came with ill-grace from one who, as the head of a single party, had assumed full responsibility for the conduct of the war.

The government has continued to operate on a strictly party basis and has resisted all suggestions that it seek the co-operation of other groups in carrying out of its wartime tasks. For it to expect the opposition parties, under these circumstances, to abandon all their activities and withhold criticism of its course, when they believe this is warranted, is altogether unreasonable. They were bound to keep up their organizations, so long at least as the government remained a party one, and their representatives in parliament would have been failing in their duty if they had not protested against policies which they deemed unwise. At one stage Mr. King himself recognized that this last was so. Speaking in the house of commons in September, 1939, he told Dr. Manion:

> My honorable friend, as the leader of the opposition, holds a position involving a special duty imposed upon him by parliament. . . . It is his duty to watch over every act of the administration, to see that it is performed as it should be, especially at such a time as this.

Even in Britain, where a government in which the three principal parties are represented has been in office for nearly three and a half years, Mr. Churchill stated shortly after it had been formed:

> Criticism is of the greatest value to the life-thrust of the nation and of the greatest assistance to His Majesty's government. . . . It welcomes the stimulus that the house of commons and the press and the public of this island give us in driving forward our war effort and in trying to gain an earlier inch or a more fruitful hour wherever it may be possible.

In the light of this and of much else that the British prime minister has said, it is inconceivable that he would adopt an attitude at all similar to that taken by Mr. King on Monday.

* * *

In any case, the only effect of this part of Mr. King's address will be to make the opposition groups in the Canadian parliament more determined than ever to discharge what, as he fully appreciated four years ago, is clearly their duty. They will not be deterred in the slightest by his holding the threat of a general election over their heads, no matter whether they desire to have it called or not.

But there are good grounds for believing that the threat was directed more to those who were elected as his followers than to his out-and-out opponents. That at least is strongly suggested by his inclusion of dissension in their ranks as a possible reason for a dissolution. Already he has lost the support of a considerable section of Quebec Liberals and he is naturally anxious to do what he can to avoid the defection of other members on whose support he has been able to rely in the past. They are all, however, under an obligation to act in accordance with their convictions, just as are those in the ranks of the opposition parties.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir

Date Oct 1/43

Subject Mr King's Speech Sept 43 D 40782

Une fausseté de M. King

Sa réédition de la fable de l'agneau qui veut manger le loup

Lundi soir, s'adressant à ses fidèles *suiveux* qui attendaient de lui consolation, réconfort et encouragement, M. Mackenzie King n'a eu que des paroles d'amertume, d'injustice et de menace. Il a fait siennes les perfides accusations que la presse anticanadienne-française ne cesse de publier, avec une insistance calculée, contre le *Bloc populaire canadien*. Il a dit: *"Le but véritable des chefs du* Bloc populaire *est de capter des votes et de s'assurer de l'influence en exploitant les divergences ethniques et en fomentant les querelles de race. Ces appels aux préjugés de race, de religion et autres ont été poussés à l'extrême limite lors des élections complémentaires qui ont récemment eu lieu dans le Québec, et ils expliquent en somme la défaite des candidats du gouvernement"*. M. King a repris à son compte la légende que tend à répandre la presse anticanadienne-français eet antinationale, à savoir que le *Bloc populaire* est un mouvement politique qui vit de l'exploitation du sentiment raciste.

* * *

Légende pernicieuse, inventée au lendemain de la victoire de Stanstead et de la quasi-victoire de Cartier, par des gens pris de panique. Jour après jour, inlassablement, avec une intention mauvaise, la presse anticanadienne-française a publié les commentaires et les jugements les plus faux à propos du *Bloc*, de ses projets, de ses moyens, de son but ultime. Elle a mené une campagne méthodique, en vue de soulever le Canada anglais contre le Québec. Elle a cédé à la peur irréfléchie. Au temps où les vieux partis tenaient le Québec en sujétion, où notre population était divisée entre *rouges* et *bleus*, où les querelles de parti faisaient oublier aux nôtres leurs intérêts les plus sacrés, on n'avait guère à s'inquiéter de nous. Un nouveau mouvement est né d'un réveil national, d'un sursaut d'énergie, d'une ferme volonté de survivance. Ce mouvement n'est pas dirigé contre qui que ce soit. Il suffit qu'il soit destiné à servir honnêtement et sincèrement les intérêts du Québec et du Canada, pour qu'on se tourne contre lui et qu'on entretienne le dessein de lui nuire par la calomnie, au besoin de l'étouffer par la force.

On n'a pas attendu la fondation du *Bloc* pour attirer l'attention du Canada anglais sur le Québec, dans un effort pour devancer l'organisation d'un mouvement national et pour porter un tel coup au Québec qu'il ne pût jamais s'en relever. Sous le titre de *Racial Politics*, le *Citizen* d'Ottawa écrivait le 11 février 1942: *"Il existe dans le Québec des groupes qui chérissent le rêve de la prédominance d'une race. La poussée agressive qui se fait pour mettre le Québec à la direction du Canada est, dans l'ensemble, probablement vouée à nuire à la situation présente du Québet en tant que puissance politique"*. Le *Citizen* bâtissait sur ces prémisses une thèse conscriptionniste. Le 13 du même mois, il revenait à la charge. La *Free Press* de Winnipeg avait posé la question de race dès le 30 janvier précédent. Les Anglo-Canadiens appartiennent à une race habituée à dominer: aussi prêtent-ils aux autres leurs propres intentions.

* * *

M. Mackenzie King a porté cette injuste accusation contre le *Bloc populaire*. parce qu'il estimait que l'opinion publique, dans le Canada de langue anglaise, était prête à l'accueillir. La *Free Press*, le *Journal*, le *Citizen*, la *Gazette*, sans mentionner d'autres quotidiens d'expression tant anglaise que française — le *Soleil* y est allé de son couplet quelques jours après Stanstead — avaient publié la légende. Les députés libéraux de la province de Québec ont ajouté à la crédibilité de la calomnie en se plaignant, au cours du caucus de la semaine dernière, de ce qu'ils ont appelé les malhonnêtes tactiques électorales du *Bloc*. M. King a confirmé l'indiscrétion du *Citizen* d'Ottawa en affirmant lundi soir: "J'ai la certitude absolue qu'aucun groupe important de la population du Québec ne se laissera tromper par les faux prophètes [du *Bloc*]. *Ils ont déjà été dénoncés par une écrasante majorité des députés fédéraux de la province de Québec"*.

Chaque fois qu'il rapportait ce qui s'était dit au caucus libéral, la semaine dernière et cette semaine, le *Citizen* ne manquait pas de faire écho à l'élection de Stanstead, disant que les gens du *Bloc* s'étaient complus dans les *appels de race*. L'information du *Citizen* confirmait les renseignements que l'on obtenait d'autres sources. Les députés fédéraux du Québec, dont quelques-uns de langue française, n'ont pas hésité à prétendre que la campagne électorale avait été transformée en une lutte de race dans le comté de Stanstead. Excuse facile. Ces députés n'ont pas eu le courage d'admettre les véritables causes de la défaite du candidat libéral: l'impopularité personnelle du porte-étendard du parti, le désir légitime de la population de langue française d'avoir un député de langue française (le parti libéral eût fort bien pu présenter un candidat officiel conadien-français), la volonté des électeurs de répudier une politique exagérée et de punir un gouvernement qui les a trompés. Au caucus de la semaine dernière, les députés du Québec ont flatté le gouvernement et son chef et rejeté le blâme sur les prétendus racistes du *Bloc*. Pareil à-plat-ventrisme ne se rencontre que chez quelques-uns des nôtres.

* * *

Qui donc fit du racisme aux récentes élections complémentaires? Le *Bloc* ou ses adversaires? Dans Cartier, qui a lancé le cri de race? Le candidat libéral officiel. N'a-t-il pas dit et répété que le comté appartient aux Juifs? N'a-t-il

pas invité les siens à s'unir, afin d'écarter le danger que le comté ne passât à un non-Juif? N'a-t-il pas dit qu'il était prêt à démissionner, si cette démarche devait avoir pour résultat l'unanimité des Juifs? Les journaux ont rapporté les propos du candidat libéral officiel. On n'a qu'à les relire pour avoir la preuve qu'on ne s'est pas gêné pour faire du rascisme dans les milieux juifs du comté. Cartier a d'ailleurs élu un candidat juif: M. Rose, alias Rosenberg. Ce n'est pas un libéral. Mais c'est un Juif, un Juif en réalité communiste. Le parti libéral fédéral, qui a intelligemment (?) indiqué aux communistes le moyen de s'organiser sans être ennuyés par la justice, est payé de sa monnaie.

Dans Stanstead, la situation était différente. Pour une raison qu'il est seul à connaître, le parti libéral accepta que M. Davidson fût encore son candidat officiel. On sait que les Cantons de l'Est sont d'anciens fiefs de langue anglaise. Les vieux partis y ont tour à tour imposé des candidats anglo-canadiens, à temps et à contretemps, des candidats qui non seulement ne représentaient pas l'idéal de la majorité de la population de la région, mais appuyaient souvent une politique que les Canadiens français réprouvaient. Le fait que les Anglo-Canadiens des Cantons de l'Est persistent à réclamer des candidats de langue anglaise, bien que la majorité leur échappe presque partout, démontre leur instinct de domination, leurs sentiments racistes. Une telle attitude de leur part devait susciter tôt ou tard une réaction. Ils ont réussi à la provoquer. S'il n'y avait eu aucune trace de racisme chez eux, ils n'auraient pas insisté pour que le candidat libéral officiel fût de langue anglaise. Ils n'y avaient aucunement droit. Oubliant ces faits élémentaires ou les représentant sous un faux jour, les députés libéraux fédéraux, et le premier ministre lui-même, prétendent que M. Choquette est le raciste et non M. Davidson. C'est l'éternelle histoire du loup qui accuse l'agneau.

* * *

M. Mackenzie King, dans son discours de lundi soir, ne s'est pas contenté de porter de fausses accusations contre le *Bloc*. Il a menacé la province de Québec de représailles. Il a dit tout d'abord: *"Le* Bloc populaire *cherche, de propos délibéré, à soulever le Québec contre le reste du Canada"*. Fausseté. Il n'y a pas d'autre mot pour qualifier ce passage du discours du premier ministre. Le *Bloc* ne cherche pas à soulever le Québec contre le reste du Canada. Il se propose de travailler aux intérêts du Québec dans le domaine provincial et à ceux du Canada dans le domaine fédéral. Loin d'être négatif, son programme s'inspire du désir de faire du Canada un pays libre et prospère, stable et heureux, une province de Québec puissante et paisible, respectée des autres provinces et du gouvernement central, respectueuse des droits des autres provinces et du gouvernement fédéral. A sa manifeste fausseté, M. Mackenzie King ajouta cette menace: *"Peu lui importe apparemment*, a-t-il dit en parlant du *Bloc*, *le tort qu'il causera à la population du Québec s'il réussit à ranger le reste du Canada, et à vrai dire le reste de l'Amérique du Nord, contre le Québec"*.

Nous ignorions que M. Mackenzie King fût gagné à ce point à l'idée de la suprématie de la race anglo-saxonne dans le monde et tout particulièrement en Amérique du Nord. Posons nettement la question au premier ministre: *Qu'arriverait-il si notre province persistait dans son noble désir de faire reconnaître tous ses droits dans un pays devenu vraiment libre?* Subirait-elle le sort de l'Albanie et de la Bohême? Sort qui ne manquerait pas d'être enviable puisque le Canada fait la guerre pour leur rendre la liberté...

1-X-43 **Léopold RICHE**

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication The Family Herald

Date Oct 6/43

D46784

Subject

In his address to the Liberal Federation only a few days ago, the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, said something of which a great deal is going to be heard in days ahead: "The claims of humanity are superior to the special claims of either capital or labor. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today."

This latest study from the International Labor Office is a good illustration of Mr. King's point.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Lethbridge Herald

Date Oct 5/43

Subject

D-40785

The Government, Its Record And Demand for An Election

(An Editorial in The Macleod Gazette)

Premier W. L. Mackenzie King in one sentence says there will not be a wartime election, but with certain reservations which might mean anything. One thing is certain, that if the Liberal party figured it could win a wartime election, it would take advantage of the opportunity.

Nobody with any political sagacity could blame the party if it did call an early election. Political opponents are doing their best to capitalize on the Government's preoccupation in its attention to war policies, on its necessary wartime restrictions with their attendant unpopularity, and ranting at private enterprise and the "big shots".

Regardless of political considerations, we consider Canada has done a magnificent job in wartime industry, and a lion's share of the credit goes to those captains of industry who have converted their peacetime plants to wartime production. A nation of less than 12 millions has made a great contribution to the war, in planes, tanks motor equipment and other munitions. Thankful we should be that Canada has been able to do this uninterrupted by enemy blitzes.

Though the Liberal party has cast aspersions on its political opponents for campaigning for party purposes during the war it recognizes that it too, must see that its organization is kept up.

Election results in Australia and New Zealand bear out the belief that it is dangerous to change horses whilst crossing the stream, for both governments were returned with very little change. There is no immediate need for a wartime election in Canada, despite what the C.C.F. may claim.

* * *

That Premier King will have a worthy opponent in Progressive-Conservative Leader John Bracken, is indicated in his published statement on the premier's declaration following the meeting of the Liberal Association last week. He re-echoes the thoughts of many who read between the lines of the premier's statement, who see that the latter has left himself many loopholes to call an election if he sees it is to the advantage of the Liberal party whereby it may retain power. Premier King is in many respects evasive, as witness his manpower policy, his attitude on conscription and other war measures.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Sep 28/43

5190

D 46786

HOPES TO DEFER VOTING UNTIL HITLER DEFEATED PREMIER KING STATES

Canada's Premier Declares That Other Parties Are Organizing Politically to Catch Votes While Liberals Are Confining Efforts to War and Victory

CITES WHAT HAPPENED TO FRANCE AS WHAT CAN HAPPEN ANYWHERE

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Ottawa, Sept. 28—Premier King does not intend to call a federal election until the war in Europe is won, he said here last night, at a dinner of the advisory council of the National Liberal Federation.

But if Allied arms do not achieve victory in Europe by expiration of the term of the present parliament in 1945, the prime minister stated he would not extend the life of parliament, but would make his second wartime appeal to the electorate.

Mr. King made it plain that there is no likelihood of a general Dominion vote in the near future. In so doing he silenced widespread speculation that he might call a sudden election as soon as possible after the Liberal meetings here which close today.

But he warned that if undue obstruction to government war policies develops in parliament, he will not hesitate to go to the country. He also declared he felt free to dissolve parliament and bring on an election if any large section of the Canadian people appear to oppose major war measures of his government.

It was Premier King's first straight political speech since the 1940 elections and he was in great form. He appeared to enjoy stepping out of the role of Canada's wartime prime minister for a night to speak with the greater freedom of a Liberal party leader.

The text of Mr. King's address:

On August 8, 1939, members of the Liberal party from all parts of Canada met in Toronto. The memories of that vast gathering are much in my thoughts tonight. It was the last occasion on which I had the privilege of meeting with other leaders and supporters of the party, at a social political gathering—a gathering which permitted of a review of the party's record in the past, of its present fortunes, and of its aims and cherished ambitions for the future.

I had just completed 20 years of leadership of the party, and the occasion was in part to commemorate that event. More than four years—the average life of a parliament—is a long time to be allowed to lapse between any kind of meeting between the leader of a political party, and those to whose confidence he is primarily indebted for the position of trust he enjoys. The intervening years have been years of war. They have permitted of only occasional contacts, and the briefest of contacts, with members of the party, other than immediate colleagues in the cabinet. These circumstances considered, it is indeed surprising to find, in the numbers here assembled, a gathering no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago. It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war.

This continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal party of Canada in my leadership of the party is something for which I am indeed profoundly grateful. I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters. That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight.

Whatever the future may have in store for you and for me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as the leader of my party for now, almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life.

This loyalty and co-operation between the party and its leader has made possible yet another expression of confidence which I may be pardoned perhaps if I regard as even greater still. I so view it because it is not limited in any personal way, but is something which belongs to the Liberal party, to the principles which it has advocated, and to the policies to which it has sought to give effect. It is the confidence which, over the past quarter of a century, the people of our country have expressed in the Liberal party, in the capacity of the party to sense the needs of the nation, and in the ability of Liberal administrations to govern in accordance with the will and wishes of the majority.

In Power 17 Years

When, on Aug. 7, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave the country the opportunity to say to which party it wished to entrust the administration of the nation's affairs. From that time to the present, with the exception of a little over five years out of the last 22, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada. In the last two parliaments, the present administration has commanded a larger majority than that enjoyed by any government since Confederation. This is an expression of confidence which, also, I am anxious to acknowledge tonight. It is a debt which, on behalf of the Liberal party of Canada, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude to the people of Canada. It is a record of

which all present, and members of the party everywhere, may indeed be proud.

Say People Behind Party

Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask his excellency the governor-general for an immediate dissolution of Parliament.

I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation.

In 1939, the war had scarcely begun before we were told that our administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. We were told that a so-called national government, not a party government, was what the country required at a time of war. We were told that our war effort was not adequate. Of myself, it was said that, while I might be all right as a leader of the government, in times of peace, I was not the one to lead a government at a time of war. That was what our political opponents said. What did the Canadian people say? What was the national verdict when the appeal was made to the electorate in March of 1940. Not only was the government returned to office, but every member of the administration was re-elected. Nearly all of those who ran as National Government candidates were defeated. As leader of the party, I was given a following never before equalled in the Canadian House of Commons.

Issue "Unmistakable"

In the general elections of 1940 the issue was unmistakable. The people were asked to which of the political parties in Canada they wished to entrust the carrying out of Canada's war effort. The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government. From that day to this, the government has never lost sight of the mandate it was given by the people. As was our duty, we have centred our attention, first and foremost, on the winning of the war. In doing so we have sought as well as to meet, from day to day, and from month to month, those domestic problems to which the war has inevitably given rise. We have also endeavored to look beyond into the future and to prepare to meet the many problems which will present themselves in the post-war period.

I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificent. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country.

Should this assertion be disputed, I would ask, not that the word of any public man in Canada be accepted, but that we seek the verdict of any of the allied nations. In particular, I would ask, what is the view held by the chiefs of staff of Great Britain and the United States who, but yesterday, were assembled in conference at Quebec? And, what is the opinion of those great men, the prime minister of Great Britain and the president of the United States, who today share in the supreme direction of the war?

"Our Supreme Duty"

It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the people of Canada; that it means nothing to the fathers and mothers who have seen their sons and daughters leave their homes in Canada to serve in all quarters of the globe; that it means nothing to the fighting forces themselves. Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have never lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on the winning of the war. Their aims and their ambitions lie in other directions. They cannot, even yet, have grasped the significance of this war—that, among nations, it is a war of survival; that the free nations of the world are still opposed by the most powerful forces that have ever menaced the freedom of the human race; that it is a war that threatens all that is best in a civilization it has taken centuries to create.

War Before All Else

Those who say or believe that there is today any duty of government superior to the continued direction of the country's utmost effort in the winning of the war can have no appreciation of the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won.

If, as a government or as a party, we had failed in our supreme duty, we might today have reason to feel we were no longer worthy of the trust we had accepted. If instead of devoting our time and thought and energies to the winning of the war, we had turned the minds of the people away from the concerted effort that is needed to win the war; if we had concerned ourselves with party politics, with those things which tend, not to unite, but to divide, and had sought to undermine the efforts of others, we might indeed have cause to feel not only that we no longer merited the confidence of the people of Canada, but that we had forfeited all right to that confidence at any time in the future. Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people do not know and understand all these things; that they do not comprehend where their own interests lie. Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country.

Cites Ontario Election

What then, may I ask, has occasioned all the commotion which has arisen in some political circles? The cause is not far to seek. On August the 4th, there was a provincial election in Ontario, and on August the 9th there were four federal by-elections. In the Ontario provincial contest, the government in office was defeated; in the federal by-elections, opposition candidates were returned.

By the parties opposed to the present government, an effort has since been made to link together the Ontario provincial elections and the four federal by-elections, and to attribute the results in all cases to dissatisfaction with policies of the federal administration.

On September 15, following the provincial elections in Ontario, and the federal by-elections, there was another provincial election, this time in Prince Edward Island. What was the result? The Liberal government of that province was returned to power by a majority of two to one over members of the Progressive-Conservative party. The C.C.F. party had entered candidates in the campaign. Not one of them was elected. Every one lost his deposit.

No Answer From Critics

During the elections it was repeatedly stated that Premier Jones of Prince Edward Island has been

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conferring with the administration at Ottawa. I have not noticed that members of the Progressive-Conservative party or of the C.C.F. have been telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal administration in Prince Edward Island is evidence of renewed endorsation, by the electors of Prince Edward Island of the policies of the Ottawa administration.

It is not my intention, at this time, to hold an inquest into the causes of the defeat of the provincial government in Ontario, or of the defeat of government supporters in the recent federal by-elections. I do not mean, however, to allow either to pass unnoticed. All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years, just as, in Prince Edward Island, the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of that province of the manner in which their affairs had been administered.

Not Federal Issues

In each case, the electors expressed their opinion, not on federal issues, but on matters of provincial concern. In Ontario, they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration; in Prince Edward Island, they made it equally apparent that they believed the provincial administration was deserving of a continuance of their confidence.

Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the federal government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal government in office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

In forming their estimate of circumstances which account for political results, there are many persons who attach considerable importance to the findings of the Gallup poll. I, personally, am not as yet prepared to substitute the responses to a Gallup poll for my own judgment. Nor would those who conduct the Gallup poll expect this of anyone. We must not ask more of the Gallup poll than it professes to provide. There are, however, many things on which it may help to throw considerable light. While not infallible, the Gallup poll has its uses. An estimate of factors which account for the outcome of the recent elections in Ontario is, I believe, a case in point.

In a poll which was confined to the province of Ontario, one reason after another was given for the defeat of the Ontario administration, and for the votes received by the Progressive Conservatives and the C.C.F., respectively. The most significant of all the findings was that in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration.

Voters Brought Out

As to the size of the vote actually polled in the provincial election by each of the three parties, that, I believe, is to be accounted for, in the main, by the effectiveness of their respective organizations.

Let me speak of the federal by-elections. Here one has not to go far afield to find the explanation of why government candidates were not returned.

When the elections of 1940 were over, even the semblance of a federal Liberal party organization was discontinued. The party's offices were closed. No party literature was published or distributed. In constituencies in which there were by-elections, no attention was paid to local organization until within a few weeks of polling.

Since the war began, as I have already reminded you tonight, no nation-wide meetings or conventions of the party have been held. So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise.

"Stating the Facts"

I am not saying at the moment whether, from the point of view of national interest, or of party interests, this course of action, or rather, I should say, lack of action, has been the wise or right one. I am merely stating the facts so far as party organization and the dissemination of information on the party's policies are concerned.

Had the other political parties followed the same course, I should, at the moment, have nothing further to say on this point. But what, in fact, has been the course pursued by the other parties?

Let me speak first of the Conservative party—now called the Progressive-Conservative party. I must be pardoned if I occasionally fail to use its latest name. During the years I have been in parliament, that party has had a long succession of names and leaders. The elections of 1940 were scarcely over before the storm signals of party controversy began to make their appearance on the benches of the official opposition in parliament and throughout the country. In their secret conclaves, the Conservative party—it was not Progressive-Conservative then—began to organize a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing its forces, and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such a overwhelming majority.

Conscription Issue

Throughout 1941, the issue of conscription for overseas service was forced to the fore, and talk of a national government to endorse conscription was revived. In July and August of that year, the then leader of the Conservative opposition, with members of his party, made a tour of western Canada for the purpose, amongst other things, of seeing that constituencies were properly organized. In November of 1941, a meeting of Conservatives in Ottawa chose a new leader for the Conservative party.

No longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the government in its war effort, but instead out-and-out opposition to the administration on the floor of the House of Commons. That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February, 1942. A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to the other, and vastly impaired Canada's war effort, was thereby, for the time being, avoided in parliament. It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time, if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary.

No Ships Available

Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time, when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas, the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere. The same has been true with respect to the transportation of available supplies of munitions.

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start at political organization. That meeting was followed by a National convention at Winnipeg in December, at which time the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies. From that day to this, the Progressive-Conservative party has been most active in publicising its new leader, in building up its organization at headquarters in Ottawa, and throughout Canada in the different constituencies.

It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken the new leader of the Progressive-Conservative party has made co-operation with the government in a united effort to win the war his main objective. Because of his position as leader of the party which constitutes the official opposition in parliament Mr. Bracken throughout the past session should have been the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Commons. Instead he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive-Conservative party and of himself as its leader. The party at the same time has retained the services of organizers whose whole time is being given to the work of party organization and publicity.

Follow Opposite Course

I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs. All that I wish to make clear is that as regards political organization and political propaganda in these years of war its course has been quite the opposite to that followed by the government and its supporters.

The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. Members of that party, during all the years of war, have steadily built up their party organization. They have, throughout, maintained offices for the publication and dissemination of party literature. They have had annual or semi-annual meetings of their National Council. In the summer of last year they held a largely attended national convention. They have been indefatigable in the work of political propaganda.

The propaganda of the C.C.F. has been very subtle. Today that party professes its desire for an all-out war effort. I do not need to remind you of their attitude in 1939. In those days the C.C.F. stood for a stay-at-home war effort. But while, in very general terms, they talk today about a total effort, when it comes to supporting the measures needed to achieve an utmost effort, their actions fail to measure up to their words.

Price Control Policy

The C.C.F. would have the people believe that they are the sole champions of the interests of labor and of the poor and the depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living, of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization. They tell the people that the C.C.F. policy is based on the policy of the New Zealand government and they speak of the lot of labor in Australia. But they don't say that New Zealand has adopted the same system of price and wage control as Canada, and that Australia has also done the same.

C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience and hardship. They talk as though the people at home are entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices which the men at the front are being called upon to endure? How many times have you heard them say that all must be prepared to bear increasing burdens, if this war is to be brought to an end before the destruction of the youth of Canada has reached devastating proportions!

Difficult Task

The C.C.F. have been boring into the labor organizations of the country, that through the medium of organized labor they may further their political ambitions and aims. They are doing their utmost to make labor believe that the present administration is hostile to labor. They have thus been making more difficult—one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—the maintenance of friendly relations between government and labor, and confidence and co-operation between all classes.

They have not been content to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labor become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim, and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end. The leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labor have already announced their acceptance of this alliance. To strengthen this very questionable alliance while the war is on, the C.C.F. have been taking advantage of every irritation and grievance it is possible for them to exploit. The very controls which, in war-time, are necessary to protect labor, in common with the entire community, are cited as evidence of the government's hostility.

Forecasts "Disaster"

Let me say to labor that, for some years before 1900, when I entered the public service to assist in the organization of a federal department of labor, and became deputy minister and, later, in 1909, the minister of that department, and in all the years that have since intervened, I have watched, with an interest, second to none in my life, the steady advance of labor into a fuller recognition of its rights and dignity. I have been interested in its struggle for economic freedom because I believe labor represents, in its aims and aspirations, the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity, against want and misery—the one fight, surely, that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellowmen. But I have yet to see an alliance made by labor with any political party, or labor itself become a political party, seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to labor and to the country.

Labor needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. The claims of humanity are superior to those of industry; they are superior to the special claims of either capital or labor. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today. That is as true of political parties as of the parties to industry. Political parties will only survive as they seek to serve the general, not the particular interest, and are broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all conditions of economic circumstance, and of all walks of life.

"Everything to Win"

Let labor remember that it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war. Its own struggle is reflected on a world scale in this titanic conflict between the forces of tyranny and

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those of freedom. The battle which is being fought out with such appalling suffering and terrible destruction of human life in every quarter of the globe today is nothing so limited as a struggle between individual nations, or between peoples of different origins or race or color. It is a struggle to decide whether the general interest of mankind is to be superior to all special interests, be the special interest the military might of Germany or Japan; or the special interest of Nazi, Fascist, or some other form of single political control.

This C.C.F. appeal to labor is coupled with deceptive propaganda about profiteering by wealthy interests. No wartime govenment in any country, in this, or in any other war, has adopted a more complete program to prevent profiteering than has the present government. And no government has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

No one could object to a political party in opposition advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own program, even in wartime. That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war.

Bloc Populaire

There is a third opposition group of which I should now like to speak. It is the most recent and, for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived. I refer to the so-called Bloc Populaire Canadien. Its self-appointed leaders, who are a small group of malcontents, are indifferent to the good name of Canada and to the security of Canada. They pretend that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war. The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non." That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influences by exploiting racial differences and stirring up racial animosities.

This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carrid to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec and accounts, in the main, for the defeat of the government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early.

False Prophets

I am perfectly certain that any appreciable numbers of the population of that province will not allow themselves to be misled by these false prophets. They have already been denounced by the overwhelming majority of the members of parliament from Quebec. But let there be no mistake about it, the poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously, by all who believe in the unity and the destiny of Canada as a great and free nation.

I shall not take time to refer to other parties, such as the Social Credit party, which is shrinking rapidly, and the most recent of all, the latest Progressive party—the Labor-Progressive party. The existence of these minor parties does, however, point to a danger which threatens the effective working of our parliamentary democracy. It is the tendency to multiply parties and groups. The fate of unhappy France should be a terrible warning against this trend. It constitutes a national peril.

I have said enough to let you see how I account for the defeat of government candidates in the recent by-elections.

I do not think anyone can say that, from the beginning of the war, I have failed to keep before the people of Canada the appalling seriousness of the world situation and the magnitude of the conflict itself. I can truthfully say that I have done all that lies within my power to avoid and to discourage unnecessary political controversy at this time of war, and to keep Canada united.

No one can accuse the government of not having concentrated its energies upon the winning of the war, and upon making Canada's war effort just as effective as it could be made. But while the government has been giving its time and attention, all but exclusively, to the promotion of Canada's war effort, and to the solution of the problems which arise from day to day out of the war, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course.

"Must Not Continue"

Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war, they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations, disseminating their party propaganda and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restriction of any kind. For the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue.

At Toronto, on Saturday the 18th instant, at a dinner which opened the four-day conference of the Ontario council of the C.C.F., Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a sign-post of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes—that may be any time now—Ontario will decide the issue."

Quotes Jolliffe

Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before." So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

For Canada's armed forces abroad, it must be evident that the present year and whatever period may follow, represents, if not the middle of the stream of war, certainly its most turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different from the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that, to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration.

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Not Likely to Change

Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, in the elections they held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising his excellency the governor-general to grant an immediate dissolution of parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be. Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have.

At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Before the adjournment of parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the west. On the east, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces of freedom had the initiative.

Gave "Clear" Statement

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approaching Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved.

Accordingly I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:

"While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

"Strongest Reasons"

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

"Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of parliament's adjournment on July 24, that I felt any question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

"May Be Inevitable"

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as Mr. Churchill told the British House of Commons the other day, the bloodiest fighting is still to come. Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one. But a general election may, none the less, prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over.

First of all there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, it will be necessary regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

Apart from the constitutional limitation circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarranted and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention, and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country.

"Obstructions" in House

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties—the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been

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Not Likely to Change

Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, in the elections they held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising his excellency the governor-general to grant an immediate dissolution of parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be. Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have.

At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Before the adjournment of parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the west. On the east, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces of freedom had the initiative.

Gave "Clear" Statement

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approaching Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved.

Accordingly I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:

"While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

"Strongest Reasons"

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

"Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of parliament's adjournment on July 24, that I felt any question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

"May Be Inevitable"

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as Mr. Churchill told the British House of Commons the other day, the bloodiest fighting is still to come. Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one. But a general election may, none the less, prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over.

First of all there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, it will be necessary regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

Apart from the constitutional limitation circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarranted and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention, and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country.

"Obstructions" in House

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties—the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been

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added a miscellaneous group composed of members of the Bloc Populaire, so-called Independents, and Labor Progressives — all of which have ambitions of their own. At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors or in criticizing the administration.

Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more could, if it desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the government policies as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on. Such a situation would be bad enough at any time. It would be an impossible situation for an administration charged with the responsibility of governing at a time of war. An experience of the kind would leave the government no alternative but a dissolution.

There is another possibility which might arise. It is that even within the government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile. In such a situation the only solution would be the verdict of the people themselves. Personally, I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring. But it is a possibility which, with the problems of government what they have become after four years of war, and in an atmosphere of strain and tension such as war engenders, no leader of a government can afford to overlook.

To all this must be added, in considering the date of a possible election, happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Fighting Men First

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-important as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their own homeland those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time I cannot say. I have indicated to you as far, as at that moment I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision.

We owe it to our fighting men to ensure, by our united support, the success of their arms. We owe this no less to the memory of those men who at sea,on land and in the air already have given their lives, and to those also who have given their strength or their liberty that we may continue to enjoy the freedom we have, and to provide for others a larger freedom than most men have yet enjoyed. This can, I believe, be realized, if until victory is achieved, our fighting men command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support.

Fellow-members of the Liberal party of Canada:

In my opening remarks this evening I referred to that memorable gathering of our party which was held in Toronto on Aug. 8, 1939. In my address on that occasion I concluded with the following words:

"Liberalism began with a struggle to extend and to defend freedom. Its work through the years has been to continue the effort to extend and to defend freedom. In the past in Canada that effort has been primarily in relation to freedom within our own country. So far as the future is concerned, we, as Liberals, if we be true to our cause, will seek to extend and defend freedom, not only for ourselves in our own land, but will be prepared to do so as circumstances may determine, in the interests of mankind."

Saw War's Shadow

In those words I was telling the people of Canada, no less than the members of our own party, that I believed the country was already under the shadow of war and that when war came it would menace the freedom of all men.

Looking back tonight over four years of war, we may all feel the deepest satisfaction that Liberalism in Canada has been true to its fundamental principle—the defence of freedom. The task of Liberalism will not be finished when the war is won. That great moment will but mark a place of new beginning. The future of the Liberal party will not be found in defending the privileges of the few, or in arousing the prejudices of the many. It will be found in serving the whole community, and in promoting the security and freedom of all the people. In meeting the problems of the post-war period, the task of Liberalism will remain the preservation and the extension of freedom.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Journal

Date Sep 27/43

D 46793

Subject

Open Galleries For King Speech

5 O'Clock Edition Service.

Although dinner tickets are at a premium for the Liberal Federation dinner tonight, space will be provided on the ballroom floor and the galleries will be thrown open to permit an additional 200 persons to hear Prime Minister King's address. Mr. King is expected to begin speaking about 8.30 o'clock.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen

Date Sep 27/43

Subject

Worst War Days Are Ahead, Says Prime Minister

The worst days of the war are still ahead—that was the stern warning Premier King gave the members of the National Liberal Federation, at a meeting in the Chateau Laurier this morning. There will be a two-day meeting during which Liberal policy, past and future, is to be thoroughly discussed. The total attendance was 395, including senators and members of parliament. Provincial premiers present included John Hart, British Columbia; W. J. Patterson, Saskatchewan; Adelard Godbout, Quebec; J. B. McNair, New Brunswick; A. S. MacMillan, Nova Scotia, and W. J. Jones of Prince Edward Island.

Hon. Norman McLarty, acting president of the federation, who was in the chair, asked Premier King to give a word of welcome to the members. In outlining the purposes and policies of the federation, he saw it as a policy-creating, policy-circulating body.

Then he uttered a grave warning; the war was very far from won, insisted the premier. He quoted Premier Churchill as saying the most cruel days are yet to come.

Canada's young men were suffering in this war as soldiers never suffered before, and there were still other fighting men who expected to go through the same agony. He asked all the federation to think what lay ahead for Canadian boys before deciding the war was won so soon.

Hopeful Note.

Hon. Norman McLarty, secretary of state, and acting head of the federation, sounded a hopeful note for the federation's future. It could also help make certain that true Liberal policies were maintained, and could act as a guide to the Liberal government.

Senator Norman Lambert, original secretary of the federation, a past president of it, and the man who nursed the organization through its earliest days, said this Canadian Federation was a prototype of the Liberal Federation of Great Britain. It was a medium of policy and doctrine, but not concerned with political organization.

Roy Graham, Liberal M.P. for Swift Current, moved that certain committees be set up. That motion was being debated at the luncheon adjournment. Tentative committee heads were suggested as follows: nominating committee, Donald McNiven, Regina; organization, Arthur Roebuck, Toronto Trinity; constitution, Burton Hill, Charlotte; resolutions, Brooke Claxton, Montreal St. Lawrence-St. George; finance, J. A. Blanchette, Compton.

This afternoon the meeting continued under the chairmanship of Senator Cairine Wilson, vice-president of the federation.

Tonight a dinner will be held at which Premier King will be the principal speaker.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication L'Action Catholique

Date Sep 28/43

Su

D 48795

Ce qui se passe à Ottawa

(Par Lorenzo PARE)

Le discours de M. King

OTTAWA, 28. — (DNC). — Le premier ministre King a parlé pendant plus d'une heure, hier soir, et son discours portait sur une infinité de problèmes politiques.

Voici quelques citations qui portent sur les sujets les plus importants traités par M. King.

* * *

"Quel que soit le sort que l'avenir nous réserve à vous et à moi, la pensée de la confiance ininterrompue dont j'ai joui comme chef du parti durant presqu'un quart de siècle sera le trésor le plus précieux de ma vie publique."

* * *

"Sauf une période d'un peu plus de cinq ans, un gouvernement libéral a été au pouvoir au pays depuis les vingt-deux dernières années."

* * *

"Si je croyais que le gouvernement ne jouit plus de la confiance des électeurs, je considérerais que c'est mon devoir constitutionnel de dissoudre immédiatement le Parlement."

* * *

"L'annonce de la dissolution serait accueillie non pas avec joie, mais avec consternation."

* * *

"Ceux qui affirment qu'il est aujourd'hui une tâche quelconque qui soit plus importante pour le gouvernement que la direction constante d'un effort de guerre suprême en vue de la victoire ne se rendent aucun compte de l'ampleur de la tâche qui nous attend."

* * *

"Ils ne se font certes aucune idée des millions de vies précieuses qu'il faudra sacrifier avant que la guerre soit gagnée."

* * *

"Ne vous imaginez pas que le peuple ne sait pas et ne comprend pas toutes ces choses, qu'il ne voit pas où se trouve son propre intérêt. Ne croyez pas qu'à un moment de crise mondiale il ne sait pas en quelles mains placer les intérêts et le sort de son pays."

* * *

Le parti conservateur, "pendant toute l'année 1941, a mis de l'avant la question du service obligatoire outre-mer et a ressuscité celle d'un gouvernement national pour en faire l'application.'"

* * *

"Cette question n'a pas été soulevée dans le pays, grâce au plébiscite de 1942 qui a clairement démontré que le gouvernement était parfaitement libre d'adopter une mesure de service obligatoire outre-mer quand il le voudrait si, pour assurer la victoire finale, une telle mesure devait s'imposer."

* * *

"Depuis 1940 jusqu'à nos jours, à aucun moment le nombre des navires disponibles n'a été assez considérable pour nous permettre de transporter outre-mer les recrues qui se sont de plein gré enrôlées au Canada pour faire du service n'importe où".

* * *

"Les propagandistes de la C.C.F. prennent bien garde de dire à la population qu'effort de guerre total signifie pour tous et chacun fardeaux, rareté de produits, inconvénients et privations. Selon eux, la population a droit à un effort de guerre qui n'existe d'elle aucun sacrifice."

* * *

"Ces gens exploitent tous les griefs et tous les mécontentements"

* * *

"Les membres de la C.C.F. ont travaillé les syndicats ouvriers du pays afin de se servir de ces syndicats pour satisfaire leurs ambitions et leurs fins politiques."

* * *

"Jamais je n'ai vu les ouvriers s'allier à un parti politique quelconque ou former leur propre parti politique, poursuivant sa propre fin sans se soucier de celle de la société en général, sans qu'une telle alliance ne finit tôt ou tard par être désastreuse tant pour les ouvriers eux-mêmes que pour le pays."

* * *

"Le Bloc Populaire, est, que je sache, l'unique parti dont le programme et la politique soient formulés par le simple mot "non".

* * *

"Cette doctrine négative et destructive est de nature à compromettre très gravement l'effort de guerre du Canada ainsi que l'avenir du pays."

* * *

"Ceux qui s'en sont arrogé la direction constituent un petit groupe de mécontents."

* * *

"J'ai la certitude absolue qu'aucun groupe important de la population ne se laissera tromper par ces faux prophètes."

* * *

"Le gouvernement a consacré son temps et son attention à diriger l'effort de guerre du Canada et à résoudre les problèmes que la guerre fait surgir. Les partis politiques qui lui font la lutte ont pris une attitude différente."

* * *

"Pour le gouvernement d'un pays en guerre, c'est là une situation intolérable, qu'on ne saurait laisser se perpétuer."

* * *

"Nous n'avons pas négligé d'envisager l'avenir et de nous préparer à faire face aux nombreux problèmes d'après-guerre."

"La tâche future du parti libéral ne consistera pas à défendre les privilèges d'une minorité ou à soulever les préjugés des masses."

* * *

"Elle consistera à servir toute la collectivité et à assurer la sécurité et la liberté de tous les citoyens."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 68706

Name of Publication Le Soleil
Sep 28/43

Date

Subject

M. King ne veut pas de la conscription

En lisant le discours que le premier ministre a prononcé hier devant les membres de l'organisation libérale, c'est avec satisfaction que le public lira ce qu'il dit au sujet de la conscription. On peut en conclure que tant que M. Mackenzie King sera premier ministre, il refusera d'user du pouvoir discrétionnaire que le Parlement lui a donné de recourir à cette mesure extrême, pour l'excellente raison qu'elle ferait plus de mal que de bien à la cause des Alliés. Aujourd'hui que s'éloigne le risque d'une double invasion du Canada par ses ennemis, il n'y a pas d'inconvénient à parler franc et net de ce sujet. Des quatre pays britanniques d'outre-mer, il n'y en a qu'un, la Nouvelle-Zélande, qui ait eu recours à la conscription dès le début de la guerre, avec entente que son armée pourrait être appelée à servir en dehors du pays. Le gouvernement de l'union sud-africaine a limité le champ de ses activités militaires au continent noir. L'Australie et le Canada n'ont jamais envoyé que des volontaires au secours des troupes anglaises, bien que leurs forces territoriales soient empolyées à défendre les terres adjacentes à leurs territoires respectifs. La sagesse de ces restrictions a été démontrée par les événements. L'Australie a été obligée de rappeler presque tous ses volontaires à sa rescousse, lorsque le Japon a tenté d'envahir le continent insulaire. En Canada, le volontariat a donné des résultats tels que plusieurs industries manquent aujourd'hui d'une main-d'oeuvre apte à la production du charbon, du bois à papier et du bois de chauffage, et de certaines denrées alimentaires. Connaissant les dispositions de ses administrés, M. King avait prévu ces effets de l'enrôlement dans la force expéditionnaire, dans l'aviation, et dans la marine du Canada. Pendant que certains ministres faisaient du zèle pour activer encore l'enrôlement et pour que leur politique passât avant toute autre préoccupation, d'autres réclamaient des bras pour l'agriculture, pour la fabrication des armes et munitions, pour les industries jugées essentielles à la vie économique du pays. C'est à ces derniers que M. King a donné raison, et il a prudemment agi. Etant donné que tout indique que la victoire des Alliés est assurée, il ne saurait être question de compromettre l'avenir de la nation pour satisfaire les partisans de la conscription pour le service outre-mer. S'il y avait encore des ministres ou des députés qui fussent d'avis contraire, ils n'ont qu'à sortir du cabinet ou des rangs du parti libéral.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun

Date Sep 28/43

D46797

Subject

NO ELECTION NOW

Mr. King has contrived, and he did it without overstraining public credulity, to demonstrate that while he is devoting himself to the great task of winning the war, his principal political opponents are exclusively engaged in trying to win the next election. In these circumstances it is natural that he may not provide a polling date too soon.

Speaking at Ottawa last night, the Prime Minister pictured Mr. Bracken campaigning through the country while still not a member of Parliament; and the CCF capitalizing on every slightest discontent amongst the people. Neither, inferred Mr. King, is taking the war seriously enough.

In an over-all view, our opinion is that, supposing an election were held tomorrow, there is no indication that a better leadership of this country in the war could be achieved. It would be a disturbing element without commensurate results, so far as getting on with the war is concerned--and that is the only thing that immediately counts.

Just the same you will note that Mr. King left himself many loopholes to call an election any time, sooner or later, as conditions may warrant. He gave no blanket guarantees.

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sep 28/43

5190

D 46798

LET MACKENZIE KING FINISH HIS JOB

"I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their own homeland those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle."

THIS statement, made by Premier Mackenzie King at a meeting of the National Liberal Federation in Ottawa last night, may be taken as a clear indication of the Prime Minister's policy in regard to a Federal election. It will, we believe, be received with satisfaction and approval by the great majority of the citizens of this Dominion. True, Mr. King made several reservations specifying certain circumstances under which an election might be held: one, of course, is if the war should continue past the legal life of the present Parliament; or if the Government should lose the support of any considerable portion of the public for its war policies; or if Opposition obstruction so impeded Parliamentary business as to make it next to impossible for the Government to carry on; and so on.

But these are conditions which would apply to any government in the circumstances. The point is that the Premier feels his Government should carry on for the balance of its legal term, which would mean that it would not be dissolved until May, 1945. There are many reasons that can be advanced in support of this stand. In the first place, the present Government was in office when the war began, and it had to tackle the task of turning this country from a peacetime to a wartime economy, to organize war industries, to establish the Army and Navy on a war footing, to plan and put into operation the great Commonwealth Air Training plan, and to organize and set in motion all the intricate machinery necessitated by inevitable war regimentations.

Mr. King's Cabinet had no previous experience in this sort of work. The Government have made mistakes. Mr. King would be the first to admit it. But so has every other government engaged in fighting the Axis Powers, and there is no reason for believing that if another government than Mr. Mackenzie King's had been in office in 1939 it would have done any better than his has done.

Canada's war effort has evoked the highest praise from the men best qualified to judge whether it is a worthy one or not—Premier Churchill and President Roosevelt. And it has also been the subject of enthusiastic encomiums from the Premiers and the press of all the other Dominions. No fair-minded Canadian citizen can look at the record of our achievements to date without feeling a certain amount of pride, even though they may feel that we can do still more, just as the people of other countries feel about their war effort.

Our war machinery is now functioning smoothly, on the whole. The various Ministers have mastered the routine of their wartime jobs, and are discharging their duties with a devotion and an ability that merit public thanks.

What valid reason can be advanced why an election should be held with the object of turning this Government out and putting in another government before either the war is over or this Government's term of office has legally expired? What would be the result? A vast amount of expense, temporary partial dislocation of our economic machinery, and—supposing that this Government were not returned to office—the placing in power, with the responsibility of carrying on the direction of the country's war effort, of men who would come to their respective jobs with absolutely no experience whatever of the work required of them.

Inevitably in such circumstances the war effort of this Dominion would be slowed up and deleteriously affected in other ways. It would not be humanly possible for a new government to take over such responsibilities and discharge them as they are now being discharged by men who have gained experience, have learned by a process of trial and error

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what to avoid, and have brought the Canadian war effort up to its present status which, as we have said, has evoked the highest praise from the two great leaders of the nations fighting for freedom.

It is for these reasons that we believe that a general election should be avoided at least until May, 1945. We also believe that the great majority of the Canadian electorate will agree with us that Canada should let Premier Mackenzie King and his associates finish their job. To make the dubious experiment of finding out what inexperienced men would do if they were suddenly pitched into the same job is far too dangerous a thing to do in wartime.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date SEP 29 1943

D 46800

Sub

Mr. King and Politics.

The Prime Minister should not be taken too seriously when he tells us, as he did in effect in his speech of Monday evening to the National Liberal Federation, that the Liberal party in the past four years has been concerned with nothing but the winning of the war, while the main objective of other parties has been the winning of elections.

Mr. KING is the head of a straight party government, and all members of his cabinet are Liberals. In those four past years the main business of the Government has been war; and in the conduct of the war this Liberal Government has had a degree of co-operation from opposition groups, particularly the Conservative party, which Mr. KING fails to acknowledge. Most of his trouble, as is well known, has come from those who were once his followers—what Mr. KING called "that small group of malcontents" in Quebec—including a former member of his cabinet.

Now, if the war is managed efficiently, and brings us to the happy conclusion we expect, is any Canadian so naive as to believe Mr. KING and his colleagues will not endeavor to take credit for its management? Indeed to make sure that the people are under no misconceptions the Government has employed ample press agents who tell us in much detail what is being done to win the war by the departments concerned with it. This is a service of information and education, it is true, but the effect of it all is, naturally, and inevitably, to attach to the Liberal Government of Mr. KING whatever credit attaches to a creditable performance.

And obviously the opposition groups, if they neglect organization while a party administration runs the war, might find themselves presently in a hopeless position. The Government has the advantage in being able to choose the time for an election, and the issue. Its resources clearly are greater in every way than those of any opposition group. Because it is the dominant party in Parliament it is more likely to be ready to fight at the drop of a hat than any of its opponents.

But we are running the war under the party system, and there cannot be the least proper objection on the part of anyone to the Liberals mending their fences and improving their organization. In the United Kingdom, with a national government representing all the major parties, suspension of politics for the duration was a natural process. Here we have done things differently, and we are coming to a logical development of our adherence to party even in war.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date SEP 29 1943

D 46300

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Moncton Transcript 5190

Date Sep 29/43 D 46801

Subject

WAR THE FIRST CONSIDERATION

It is in keeping with his attitude, consistently maintained since the beginning of the war, that Prime Minister Mackenzie King should express the hope that there will be no necessity for a general election in Canada while the war is in progress.

When he first called upon Canada to rally to the support of Great Britain in the conflict to check German aggression, Mr. King put party politics in the background. An election was necessary in 1940; it was due and there could be little hope of postponing it until the end of what promised to be a long war; so it was held during the lull in the war which continued through that spring. The election was not fought by Mr. King on party issues. He asked the country for a mandate to confirm the steps he had taken and to endorse his leadership. He received it, in a most emphatic manner.

Since then, the government has devoted itself to the prosecution of the war with singleness of mind and purpose. The results speak for themselves, but they have also the enthusiastic approval of visitors and observers from all the others of the United Nations. If Mr. King had been guided by political considerations instead of the desire to put the entire strength of the Dominion into the war effort, he would have refrained from introducing much of the legislation that has increased the effectiveness of the Dominion's aid but which has caused annoyance and aroused resentment among those who fail to realize the need for extreme measures to meet an extreme situation.

The decision concerning the date of the next general election is not entirely in Mr. King's hands, as he points out in his statement on the subject. There are conditions which might make one necessary: if the war is raging in 1945 when by statute an election is required; evidence that the people had withdrawn their support in the meantime; Opposition obstruction, distortion and misrepresentation in Parliament that would make it impossible for the government to carry on; unanticipated dissension in the ranks of the government, or "unwarranted and unworthy party activity on the part of political opponents while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention and devoting its whole energies to the prosecution of the war effort" to a degree that threatened to undermine the government.

There is no desire among the majority of the electors for an election which can be avoided. In postponing it as long as possible, Mr. King undoubtedly is meeting the wishes of those who, like him, place the war first.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Herald

Date Sep 29/43

Subject

D 46802

The Prime Minister's Fighting Speech

NOT Liberals alone, but we believe also the public at large, is experiencing today a sense of relief at the fact that Prime Minister Mackenzie King has come out with a fighting speech addressed to the home front.

Some will say such a speech was long overdue. We do not agree. We think that with the native sagacity which none will deny the Prime Minister possesses he has chosen the correct psychological moment to lash back at the critics of his administration.

He has chosen the time when, through provincial elections and through federal by-elections, his political opponents have so committed themselves as to make clear to all the country the course they are pursuing and have pursued throughout these critical years in respect to the one great task before this country, which is pursue the war to victory.

They have made it clear, beyond denial, that instead of being constructively helpful in regard to that immense responsibility, they have been obstructively employed in creating factional strife over domestic issues, in setting class against class and race against race.

If anyone would challenge this assertion, let him deny the truth, if he honestly can, of Mr. King's challenge, as expressed in these words:

> "Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation."

* * * * *

THE only rejoicing there would be over such a development would be in the camp of the enemy, which would see in such a development evidences of cracking morale in Canada, evidence that the Prime Minister of this country had lost confidence in his own capacity, and in the ability of his confreres in the Cabinet, to continue the war effort which to date has been so magnificently effective.

And can anyone deny that there would be consternation in Canada if, as a result of an election now, the C.C.F. party were put into power to impose a revolution in the economic and social life of Canada in the midst of war — the C.C.F. party whose leader in the House has repeatedly made a condition of acquiescence in war measures the adoption holus bolus of the C.C.F. program?

Can anyone deny, either, that there would be consternation in Canada if, as a result of such an election the Progressive Conservative party were put into power — the Progressive Conservative party which is in the throes of a fundamental reorganization, whose leader has never appeared in the House of Commons, and whose personnel and basic policies are still in process of formulation?

Can anyone deny that there would be consternation if the Mackenzie King Government were returned to power with a substantially reduced majority?

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 46803

THE present Prime Minister was elected for one purpose — to win the war as far as Canada could contribute to that end. With his back to the wall, he fought the greatest fight of his career to win that mandate, and, showing a leadership and direction such as few public men have ever shown in Canadian political life, his stand was overwhelmingly endorsed.

He has done a good job. He has hewed to the line, let the chips fall where they may. He has devoted himself, not to domestic politics but to prosecution of the war, calling to his aid for many key positions men of other political faiths. intent only of getting men qualified by integrity and capacity.

* * * * *

REGARDLESS of what critics may say, the machinery of the government has been a war machine and not a political machine.

Undoubtedly mistakes have been made by the government —that is only human — but taking the broad view, it can be said — and every Canadian can say it proudly — that Canada's war effort has been the most impressive and spectacular accomplishment of any nation of eleven millions of people that history can record.

As for the critics who now damn the administration for its very concentration on the war, for the most part they were those who in the early days of the war were demanding above everything else that the government give an all-out effort.

An all-out effort has been given within the sphere of practical reality and that all-out effort now reaches the point where a "Speed the Victory" effort must be made.

* * * * *

ONCE again the Prime Minister has his back to the wall, and once again, it would appear, he will rise to the occasion and in the midst of the domestic excursions and alarms fostered by political cliques and parties will give the vibrant leadership which the occasion demands.

In this critical stage of our national history it is to be hoped that there will be a better appreciation of the task in which the Prime Minister is engaged, and less of the political sniping from without and within against the integrity and capacity of the man on whom such a heavy burden rests as the direction of our war administration.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Sep 29/43

D 46804

Subject

Mr. King's Reference to an Election

A constantly nagging newspaper critic of the King administration which leaves the impression upon its readers that the government is a failure and the war effort mismanaged complains that the Prime Minister's speech on Monday was an ultimatum—an ultimatum to the effect that there must be an end of criticism or he will call an election. What Mr. King did say was this:

"One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarranted and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country. Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the opposition. . . . At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors or in criticizing the administration. Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more, could, if it desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the government policies, as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on."

This clearly does not mean "no criticism." It is directed at the sort of unwarranted misrepresentation of government actions and motives which would put the government in the position of having to get a vote of continued confidence from the people. It is directed against such obstruction in parliament as would impede the business of parliament. Mr. King says that clearly. But the curious thing is that the busy belittlers who keep saying that almost everything the government does is wrong—these same people and newspapers who claim that affairs at Ottawa are in a mess and a muddle—appear to think it would be a reprehensible action on Mr. King's part if, even in the face of such obstructive tactics, he gave them and the country the chance to replace his government by one which could remedy the situation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

Date Sep 29/43

D 46805

Subject

Mr. King's Address

The address which Prime Minister King delivered to the delegates attending the meeting of the National Liberal Federation was a speech by the leader to the party. It is the first distinctive party address Mr. King has made for some time. For reasons which are generally well known but are not always remembered.

No man in all Canada has devoted himself more fully than Mr. King to the vital business of directing the nation's war effort. He has made a remarkable success of that. Every Canadian knows it, and the heads of the Allied countries have given their testimony in unmistakable terms.

Naturally, even necessarily, domestic questions have been neglected while the man chiefly responsible for the conduct of Canada's part in the war gave himself exclusively to that job. But while Mr. King has not been talking of these questions, others have. The Liberal party has been quiescent on the subject of "politics," but the other parties have not been.

The C.C.F. in particular has been working the circumstances for all they were worth. That party has been campaigning as though there was nothing Canadians needed to think about, and nothing their Government had to do, but study policies concerned with conditions and trends inside the Dominion. Taking full advantage of the pre-occupation of Mr. King with war business, the leader of that party and his lieutenants have been "making hay" while the making looked good. And with success, undoubtedly.

The address of the Prime Minister shows that he intends to pay more attention to "domestic politics" in future.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date SEP 29 1943

D 46806

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An Ultimatum, Not a Promise

Prime Minister King talked election with his adherents Monday night. He contemplated the "bloodiest fighting still to come," and counselled them: "Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one." This, we think, fairly summarizes the feeling of the nation. But Mr. King did not make his appraisal the basis of a pledge to obey the public will. For him it served rather as the preface to a political ultimatum.

Silence! An end of criticism. That is the price. The Opposition parties have been warned to gag themselves, stifle their criticism of the Government's policies lest Mr. King find in it the opportunity to thrust the blame for an unwanted and unnecessary election on them.

Strange terms for a democracy. Insulting terms from a man professing strong views on the constitutional rights of the people to declare their Parliamentary preferences. Search the records of Canada's statesmen, and we believe that nowhere, at any time, on any occasion has a Prime Minister so callously attempted to impose his will on the people's chosen representatives.

Examine his belligerent and dictatorial diatribe. Was it the wishes of the people or the results of his political kite flying which prompted it? The Prime Minister was not very convincing in his analysis of the Provincial elections. Prince Edward Island was scored as a gain, when the only seats gained went to the Progressive Conservatives, and the Liberal Government's popular majority was cut to 3,400 votes.

Defeat in Ontario was blamed on the Provincial leaders, and their conduct of affairs. But what was the issue between the Liberal leaders, if not allegiance to the Federal power? In whose interest was it that Mr. Nixon went to the polls, if not Mr. King's? And in fighting the election he threw himself bodily into his Federal leader's arms, there to stay, "come what may." Mr. King may misread the vote in Ontario, but who else? Ontario refused to accept blind adherence to his policies, and the extent of its protest was registered in the gains of the Progressive Conservative and C.C.F. Parties.

Mr. King has flown his kites and found the winds unfavorable. He knows he cannot carry the country today, so he would disarm the public, silence the Opposition and mend his fences. So there will be no election until 1945, if one can be avoided. But he left plenty of exits in the declaration, and he sure find plenty of reasons to use them [illegible] opportunity arises and conditions seem favorable. On the experience of his 1940 dash to the polls the public can appreciate just how slim an excuse it will take. It should be able to appreciate also the threat that is hanging over the Parliamentary Opposition.

This newspaper is among those who do not feel that an election can be justified at this time. The Government got a mandate from the people three years ago. It chose to exercise it alone, as a partisan entity. The responsibility is on the Liberal Party to see it through. But the day when a Government can use an emergency to shelter its actions, or inaction, from public discussion and criticism has not yet dawned. This is what Mr. King ought to be given firmly to understand.

All he has to fear in the way of "obstructionism," so long as his well-regimented majority in Parliament remains, is the criticism of the Opposition and the press. The charges of political activities for which he berated the other groups surely come badly from him. Who has flooded the radio month in and month out with self-glorifying propaganda, if not the Government? Who has spread its own praises more heavily across the nation, at public expense, than the party in power?

Has any group stooped lower at playing politics than did the Prime Minister when he dragged the leaders of Britain and the United States into his advertising campaign? Tributes which they, in common courtesy, paid the people of Canada have been hymned up and down the country as testimonials to the Government and its magnificent leadership. Mr. King could not resist repeating the degrading performance before his own followers Monday night.

What else can two leaders, placed as Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are placed, do but applaud and praise us? There is much of Canada's war effort in which we can take pride. This newspaper has not had to be reminded of it by outsiders to recognize it. But the pride which Canadians are entitled to wear is the pride that comes of knowing, through self-evaluation, that they have done a good job. The yardstick to that is not what others may say about us, but what we know from measuring achievements against our capabilities.

This is the yardstick by which the Government's efforts have been and must continue to be measured. There are men in that Government who have done outstanding jobs, only to have their work overshadowed, even jeopardized, by the restrictions which politics has placed on them. Subtract from all the criticism the wails of the few narrow isolationists who come from the Liberal benches, and when has the Government been accused of doing too much in the prosecution of a total war?

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date SEP 29 1943

D 46806

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

D 46807

Prime Minister King and his Administration today are "obstructed" by only one thing, the politics of his manpower policy. There is not a department, not a plan, not a part of the war effort which is not frustrated by the Government's failure to adopt a complete national selective service policy. There is no other way by which this nation could achieve the full contribution of which it is capable. That failure has been the basis of the sharpest criticism the Government has had to face, criticism which has known no party lines.

If the Prime Minister can now find the courage to admit the mistake, if he is sincere in putting an end to political obstructionism, and even at this late hour attempt to achieve total service, he need have little fear of criticism. Certainly he will not find in any there may be cause for an unwanted election on the ground that "any considerable proportion of the people" failed to support him.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Regina Leader-Post

Date Sep 29/43

D 46808

Mr. King Talks Turkey

Within certain limitations, "taking it on the chin" is an admirable quality. It requires stamina, courage and forebearance. But in itself, it will not win battles. Sooner or later there comes a time for hitting back, for carrying the fight direct to the enemy. Britain took plenty of punishment in 1940. We didn't start winning the war until the British themselves attacked.

Since receiving a decisive mandate in 1940 to conduct all-out war, the Liberal administration of Prime Minister Mackenzie King quite properly and to its everlasting credit, has thrown political discretion to the winds and has concentrated wholeheartedly and absolutely on that one supreme task. The policy was deliberately decided upon, openly espoused and in the face of extreme and even painful provocation, has been meticulously carried out. Politically speaking, for three years now, the Liberal party has been taking it on the chin.

The time for striking back has now come. Prime Minister King made that abundantly clear in his fighting speech to members of the National Liberal Federation at Ottawa on Monday.

The other parties, he said, had been organizing, distributing party propaganda "and exploiting the discontents which invariably arise from controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war."

Bluntly added the prime minister:

"For the government of a country at war this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue."

As long as the present government is in power, the conduct of the war will remain its primary concern. All other considerations will be secondary. But the Liberals as a party, nevertheless, are going on the warpath. No longer will they simply turn the other cheek. From now on the gloves are off and it will be blow for blow in as merry a political melee as Canada has seen for many a moon.

And no one will deny that the other parties have it coming to them. When the Liberals stepped out of the political arena and went to war, the other parties could have done likewise. That would have been the sporting as well as the patriotic thing to do. But did they? Not a bit of it. Never for a moment since the 1940 election have they let up in their feverish campaign to advance their own political ends.

* * *

The second of five circumstances mentioned by Mr. King in his speech as justifying the calling of a general election is that "if any considerable proportion" of Canadian people were unwilling to continue to support the government's policies. This of course would mean that the government no longer enjoyed the confidence of the public. There are some who hail recent provincial and by-election results as an indication that this situation already prevails. Mr. King does not himself believe such evidence as at all conclusive. To use his own words:

"I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada or combination of parties in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence."

There are not many who will disagree with that statement nor with the prime minister's further observation that were he to announce an immediate election, "there would be throughout Canada, not rejoicing but consternation."

While it seems clear from Mr. King's speech that there will be no immediate election as some have forecast, certainly not this year, at the same time he does not deny that under certain conditions the government would not hesitate to go to the people before termination of its normal term of office in 1945. This would be done unhesiatingly, he warned, if opposition groups attempted to impede the work of parliament through misrepresentation and distortion or if the administration's position was undermined by "unwar-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 46809

ranted and unworthy party activity on the part of political opponents while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention and devoting its whole energies to the prosecution of the war effort."

That is pretty plain speaking. That very decidedly is throwing down the gauntlet. If the other parties want an early election they can have it by persisting in the tactics they have been using. Otherwise there will be none unless the government feels it has lost the confidence of the electorate. And Mr. King definitely and rightly stated that he does not believe the outcome of recent elections constitutes an overall lack of confidence or is an accurate indication that the people really wish to entrust the fate of the nation to other hands in this time of world crisis.

In his forthright report to the Liberal federation, the prime minister unburdened himself of a lot of things which needed saying. It was a speech which should have a very favorable effect not only on his own party supporters but on the Canadian people as a whole.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Victoria Times

Date Sep 30/43

D 46810

Subject

Decision Generally Approved

ALTHOUGH THE PRIME MINISTER has made it abundantly clear that the Canadian people should not expect a federal general election in the early future, the electorate should not forget that he listed four conditions on the emergence of any of which he might feel obliged to ask for a dissolution of the present Parliament. It was natural and prudent that Mr. King so protected himself—regardless of the fact that the constitutional term of his government has still a year and a half of its five-year term to run. His main proviso was that if "a group or combination of groups in Parliament moved to impede the work of Parliament or to 'misrepresent and distort government policies' to make it next to impossible for the government to carry on," he would then deem it necessary and desirable to ask the people for new instructions. In other words, if either opposition party, or both, felt inclined to force the issue, the Prime Minister drew a pattern of the conduct that could be employed to alter the policy concurred in by the rank and file of the Liberal Party at their meetings in Ottawa early this week.

There is little likelihood, however, of a general election occurring as a result of obstruction for obstruction's sake. Several reasons exist for this assumption. The official opposition is not deluding itself by the change of Progressive Conservative fortunes in the recent general election in Ontario. The issues of that contest were purely provincial in character. And not the most optimistic member of the official opposition in the House of Commons would feel like wagering a very large sum on a federal Conservative victory at the polls, either now, a few months hence, or in a year and a half's time. True, the party selected a new leader last December to guide it out of the wilderness; but he is still without a seat in Parliament and with no immediately-visible prospect of a sitting member accommodating him. Just how long Mr. Bracken proposes to discharge his duties by remote control, from the political sidelines, as it were, is a matter for conjecture. It is something with which the Prime Minister does not require to concern himself. In the realm of speculation, too, is the manner in which the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation views the prospect of office in the early or distant future.

What none of the political wiseacres seem able to make up their minds about is the personality in Canadian public or private life they would like to substitute for the present Prime Minister. Newspaper supporters of the Progressive Conservative Party have had much to say about Mr. King, much criticism to level at his conduct of the nation's wartime affairs, many complaints to make about the restrictions essential to the nation's efficient contribution to the cause of the United Nations; but no convincing argument so far has been adduced to suggest they think Mr. Bracken, for example, could do better than or as good as the present Prime Minister and his government. Perhaps that is as good a reason as any why the early reaction from many quarters to Mr. King's decision to postpone an appeal to the people seems heartily in accord with the official resolve. The Progressive Conservative opposition, at any rate, must remain at a serious disadvantage so long as its leader contents himself with making speeches outside the parliamentary forum.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL 5190

Date SEP 30 1943 D 46811

Subject

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Quite obviously the CBC could not broadcast Mr. King's speech to the National Liberal Federation on Monday evening, having refused a few months ago to put on the air a speech by Mr. Meighen, then the Conservative leader. Mr. King was speaking as party leader rather than as prime minister.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saskatoon Star-Poenix

Date Sep 30/43

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Election Prospects

It must be very clear to most observers that Prime Minister Mackenzie King is not planning an election for this autumn. His speech to the National Liberal Federation was emphatic in stating that an election would be postponed as long as possible.

The Prime Minister did not and could not give a binding pledge that no election would be held before the present Parliament's term of office expires. He could not give such a guarantee because it is impossible to see the future completely and events may take place in the next 18 months which may make an election absolutely necessary. Barring such unforeseen and unforeseeable events, Mr. King will not force a general election except under circumstances over which the other political parties have considerable control.

That is to say, Mr. King maintains the Government's freedom of action on the election issue. However, if groups or parties in Parliament engage in vigorous political action which might seriously undermine confidence in the existing Government, then Mr. King feels that an election must be held. He also feels that an election would be necessary at any time when "any considerable proportion" of the Canadian people gave evidence that they were unwilling to support the Government.

All this means that so long as the Government feels that it has the backing of the Canadian people it will continue in office. Conversely when the Government feels that it has lost the confidence of the Canadian people then it is ready to give up office and face the electors for a decision at the polls. This attitude is in the best tradition of democracy and it is difficult to see how anyone can find fault with it.

There have been numerous campaigns in the last two years to undermine the people's confidence in their Government. Groups and parties have assailed the record of the present administration in very bitter terms. There have been, too, many claims by opponents of the present Government that this Government no longer enjoys the confidence of the Canadian people. However, as Mr. King remarked in his address, the suggestion that there should be an election this fall caused grave consternation to large sections of the pubiic. It is obvious that the Canadian people are not yet prepared to change this administration for another. Therefore Mr. King does well to continue in office with the present administration.

Since the 1940 election the Liberal party has been quite inactive in a political way. It allowed its party organization to deteriorate and no very special effort was made to advance its position with the electorate. This attitude was taken because of the war and because the Liberal party felt that wartime was not an appropriate time for partisan activity. Canada's other two major parties, the Progressive Conservatives and the C.C.F., have not taken this view. Throughout the whole course of the war the C.C.F. has been most active in its political campaigning. It has seized upon the war and the burdens which war places upon citizens as a heavensent opportunity to make political capital for itself, and viewing recent election results it has been most successful. It cannot complain if the Liberal party too, sets out to strengthen its party organization for the election which must be held some time within the next two years.

Last year the Conservatives undertook to reorganize themselves as a political party under the new leadership of Mr. John Bracken and under the new name of Progressive Conservatives. Mr. Bracken has spent almost a year visiting various parts of Canada making himself familiar with the problems of the country and generally laying the foundations for a revival of Conservative power. This party has not been tested in recent Federal by-elections so there is very little to indicate how well it is doing but it is making every effort to prepare for the next electoral test.

In Canada democracy is worked through party organizations. It is therefore quite necessary that all parties should give some attention to the basis upon which they rest. That seems to be what the Liberal party is now about to do. There is, however, a very wide gulf between legitimate party activity in wartime and party activity which interferes with the national will or ability to prosecute the war. Should either of the parties now in opposition undertake campaigns which would interfere with the war effort then the Government must be free to ask the electors to decide which group they want to direct the war. That was the position taken by the Prime Minister in his address Tuesday night. No doubt this position reflects the opinion of the majority of Canadians.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Halifax Chronicle

Date Sep 30/43

Subject

Laying the Election Bogey

In his speech to the National Liberal Federation this week Mr. Mackenzie King spoke in measured tones that should find an echo in the hearts even of those who have lately been in the habit of calumniating him. He exhibited a certain optimism and a stern sense of responsibility to the whole of the people of the Dominion, including the men and women overseas.

Mr. King dispelled the idea that there might at this time be any effort to use a snap election in order to snatch an extension of power for the Liberals before the other parties are fully organised, or to take advantage of the present succession of victories overseas. His belief is, he declared: "that at this, of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration that would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country," and he went on to say that: "He had taken the stand at adjournment of the House last July that the greatest ordeals of the war were ahead and that until these were over the needs of the fighting forces commanded the whole attention of the Government and people of Canada."

Mr. King outlined the circumstances which might, nevertheless, make a general election necessary. Such would be the case if the war went on longer than the statutory life of parliament, or if sufficient evidence made it clear that the people of Canada generally were unwilling to support the policies of the government. Dissent among the ranks of the Government itself—an unlikely thing—or undue political opposition from other parties might bring about the undesirable event, and the Prime Minister severely deprecated certain aspects of political activity on the part of other groups in the House, especially the C. C. F. and the *Bloc Populaire*.

When Mr. King declared that the Liberal Party received a mandate in 1940, and that it had done its best to carry out that mandate at the cost of utterly neglecting party organisation he was saying little that anyone could safely deny. His statement has clarified the situation and might be said to have given some ground for a cessation of the intense political party organisational and preparatory activities which have marked minority groups so definitely during the past few months.

Canadians may indeed be political animals, for the most part, and like it. But Mr. King is perfectly right in reminding us that we have a tremendous job still on our hands, and one that we can permit nothing at all to hinder or impair. It is time we bent our every energy to that job, leaving our political fights until we can devote all our time to them.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Lethbridge Herald

Date Sep 30/43

D 46814

Subject

No Election

There will be general public approval of Prime Minister King's decision, after consultation with his Liberal supporters in Parliament, that no election should be held in the immediate future. Despite all the criticism and all the gibes directed against Mr. King and his Government, the fact remains that the Government is doing a good job of conducting the war, and we doubt very much if the general public wants a change at the present time.

No Government can expect to escape criticism of its actions in wartime. No Government ever faced a more difficult task than the King Government has done since Hitler loosed his hordes on Poland in 1939. Canada, like all the rest of the United Nations unprepared for the onslaught, was forced to take desperate measures to meet the situation; great sacrifices were required and demanded of the people and, on the whole, they have been well met. To have retreated now in the face of criticism, much of it engendered for political purposes, would not have been in keeping with the war machine which the King Government has built from the ground up.

As Prime Minister King said in his address on Monday night, the Government discarded its political machinery in 1939 when Canada went to war. There has been none of the political favoritism in the conduct of this war that created so much unrest during the Great War. There has been no political favoritism in the granting of commissions. There has been no breath of scandal in the awarding of the war contracts covering billions of dollars. It is true there has been criticism of manpower administration, and there has been criticism of the bold measures for keeping prices and wages within bounds to prevent inflation. Some have said Canada has not done enough in the war; others that we have undertaken too much for a nation of 12,000,000 people. Some say we should finance the war by turning the printing presses; others that Canada should, in the midst of war, go socialistic or communistic and upset the whole economic fabric of the country.

But the answer to these criticisms is that Canada today has three-quarters of a million men and women in the armed services; that we have a navy of some 500 ships; that we have saved the day in the North Atlantic; that we have provided the machinery for the greatest air training undertaking in the world's history; that we have been an arsenal of democracy at a time when Britain desperately needed war materiel. The fact is that Canada's war contribution has been so big that not one Canadian in a hundred can grasp it, realize it and appreciate it.

It is time that the Liberals of Canada began to fight back at their traducers. If there is to be no political truce on the part of other parties, the Liberals have only one course open, and that is to defend themselves, publicly at all times and places. The record of the King Government in this war is one to be proud of. It is one easy to defend, and we take it that, as a result of events of the past week in Ottawa, it will be defended on every occasion which presents itself in the future.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Oct 1/43

D 46815

Subject

They Know the Record's Good

Prime Minister King's presentation of his views on the holding of a wartime election has brought from Progressive Conservative sources renewed expressions of horror at the very idea of such a contest. To many this will seem strange, for these same people and newspapers have been declaring that the war effort is utterly mismanaged, manpower in a muddle, and goodness knows what else wrong with the administration of Canada's affairs. Although the use made of available manpower has astonished other nations in the resultant production of armed forces, war munitions and agricultural supplies, and although Canada's price control has kept the cost-of-living increase down to 18.3 per cent. compared with 51.4 per cent. at the comparable stage of the Great War, these partisan critics persist in saying that everything is all wrong, the government a failure, and the war effort handicapped.

If that were the case, and if the Conservatives would be able to do so much better—if they have better men than Mr. Howe for Munitions and Supply, Mr. Ilsley for Finance, Mr. Ralston for Defence, Mr. Power for the Air Force, Mr. Macdonald for the Navy—surely their desire should be for an election to rescue the country from these misfits! But such their desire is not. The plain fact is that they know very well that these ministers have filled the war posts with outstanding success. They know that Canada's effort under a Liberal government has been a splendid one. And they lack experienced men in their own party to take over the portfolios. They had to go outside their own parliamentary representation to get a leader, and the one they got has had no federal parliamentary experience whatever, nor has he attempted to get into parliament where he might acquire some.

Mr. Bracken is, of course, an able and a good citizen, but his experience as head of the Manitoba government is no substitute for parliamentary experience at Ottawa. Manitoba is a fine province, but its population is not much greater than that of the municipality of Toronto; almost exactly the same, in fact, as the city directory estimate of Toronto's population. Manitoba collects, from all sources, only two-thirds of what Toronto collects in taxes alone. This is not said in disparagement of a splendid western province with an unsurpassed war record, but as an indication of the comparatively limited sphere in which Mr. Bracken has acquired his experience. It is true that he was 20 years premier, whereas Mr. T. L. Church's seven years as mayor of Toronto is the record here. But leadership of a provincial government does not qualify any man to step into the vastly different and greater sphere of an Ottawa premiership, with all its international relationships as well as its national problems.

It is claimed for Mr. Bracken that he set an example of non-partisanship by establishing a coalition government in Manitoba. But the circumstances under which he established it were these: After the provincial election of 1936, Mr. Bracken found himself with only 23 supporters in a house of 55, instead of his previous 36. It was only by securing the support of half a dozen opposition members that he managed to carry on. In the fall of 1940, with this condition prevailing, an election in sight, and with the Sirois report coming up at Ottawa, Mr. Bracken formed a non-partisan government. Today he is not head of a coalition, but of an old line party. The effort to represent him as some kind of non-partisan won't do.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Lethbridge Herald

Date Oct 1/43

D 46816

Subject

Why So Perturbed?

The other political parties which have been riding rough-shod, high, wide and handsome over the Liberals for the past couple of years are complaining now that Prime Minister King has served notice that the day for playing the political game all one way has passed. Evidently they think Mr. King's notification is "not cricket".

Hon. John Bracken, leader of the Progressive-Conservatives, has issued a statement saying that Mr. King "approaches his political opponents with a cloak over his political sword." The Calgary Herald says that "Mr. King has left himself plenty of loopholes" for holding a general election.

It seems as if Mr. King's political opponents are inclined to protest too much. Just what did they expect? Had Prime Minister King announced that, under no circumstances would there be an election until March, 1945, they would have berated him as a dictator. They would have told us that the Prime Minister had turned his back on responsible government, and that Parliament would have something to say about when the next election might be held.

Mr. King has cleared the air by telling the people of Canada that, in the ordinary course of events, there will be no election until after the war or, in the alternative, until the expiry of the term of the present Parliament, which is March, 1945. But he was not foolish enough to say that, no matter what happened in Parliament, there would be no election. Who knows what might happen at the 1944 session? The Government might be defeated on the floor of the House, and in that event how could an election be averted?

It seems to us Mr. King's political opponents ought to be pleased that the public has been assured that, under ordinary circumstances, the country will not be disturbed in the midst of its war effort by holding an election until either the war is ended or Parliament has run out its regular term. The public appears to be quite willing to take Mr. King at his own word. But no so his political opponents. They are trying to gain political advantage by putting some other construction on the Prime Minister's words, advising the people that Mr. King must be playing some deep-dyed political game. We think the public is getting a bit sick of the continual effort of political opponents to hold the Prime Minister up to scorn while he is carrying the heavy load of directing a war government that is doing a good war job. The public expects some fairness in such matters.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun

The PM to see

Date Oct 2/43

D 46817

Subject

Canada Approves No Election

Comment all the way across the country indicates that the great majority of Canadians approve Mr. King's decision not to hold an election now.

The Canadian people are as sane and patriotic as any in the world. They have one present purpose, above all others—to win the war. And they are too sensible to believe that we can help to win the war overseas if we are going to devote the autumn and winter to a political war at home. We shall have plenty of time for political campaigns when the great campaign of Europe has ended in Berlin.

There is absolutely no reason for the government to go to the country before the normal period. The government was elected in 1940 on one policy only—to carry through the largest possible war program. By their own knowledge, by the testimony of all their allies, the Canadian people know that this program—despite all its mistakes—has been larger and better than we had ever dared to hope.

But the Canadian people also know that the program is not complete, Canada's job not done, the war not won. The government's mandate to complete the program, finish the job and win the war still holds. It will hold until such time as Parliament challenges it in the people's name.

The government's only honest course, therefore, is to go ahead, fight the war to the utmost and stop worrying about the election. The Canadian people want it on the job not on the stump.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Oct 2/43

Subject

5190
D 48818

Mr. King's Election Threat Seen Club Over Own Party

Liberal M.P.'s Must Stay In Line Or Run Risk At Polls—Premier Keeps "Fire Exits" Open—West Gets Hundred Million Dollar Salve

By CICERONE

OTTAWA, Oct. 2 — One thing which was cleared up at Ottawa this week concerned a general election in 1943. Whenever it is to come, at least it evidently won't be in this year of grace. As a matter of fact, it was never planned nor expected nor exploited in government circles, in this twelve-month, because no possible reason for it could be dug up.

Nevertheless, Mr. King never gave any undertaking to that effect. As late as last week when someone, under the impression that he had given such an assurance, sought to remind him of it, the Prime Minister demanded to know when he had said that. He wanted to be shown and evidently was not averse to perpetuating the doubt.

But on Monday he cleared it away, after taking time to consult others about it and after having heard the clear intimation of the caucus that an election is precisely the thing they don't want now or much before it becomes a necessity. So that afterthought part of his speech was prepared at the last minute, whereas the rest of it had been released hours before. No election this year in any event. That is clear enough. There was also a declaration of professed hope of none being necessary before 1945, when the term ends, unless the war in Europe is over before then.

Many Loopholes

At this point, however, we run into the qualifications which may very well bring about an election in 1944. Should any fire break out, or even appear to be smouldering in this House, Mr. King provides himself with adequate exits, front and rear. Distortion and misrepresentation of the government and its program; dissension in the cabinet or in its following; evidence, on the outside, that any "considerable part" of the population have lost confidence—any of these, we are advised, could be seized on as a warrant for dissolution. All of those things have been charged, or actually happened before, without an election.

Whether this will keep the "boys" in line, remains to be seen. Progressive Conservatives and the C.C.F. won't be awed. The Bloc Populaire won't be, nor the Social Credit party, but it may tend to be of arresting effect on some of the Quebec following—and those of the party—who don't want a premature election, but are inclined to be refractory.

An election is not desired immediately, not because of the "consternation" that Mr. King professes to see if Parliament were dissolved now—nothing like that happened in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand—but because the party isn't ready. Mr. King's pronouncement brought from John Bracken, Progressive Conservative leader, the charge that the Premier approaches his opponents with his political sword cloaked and seeks to manoeuvre opposition parties into responsibility for precipitating a wartime election. Clearly, one could come any time—next winter or spring, or later. On a quiz program, the precise time would now be a $64 question.

Bid For Votes

While it was said, after the Liberals had considered revamping their program, that there would be no attempt to "outbid" the Progressive Conservatives, or the C.C.F. the week recorded something along the line of a definite bid for the western vote. A hundred million dollars more will go out there for wheat through raising the initial payments from 90 cents to $1.25 a bushel and, in the bargain, closing the Winnipeg wheat pit. The boys on the floor of the Exchange, it seems, were talking of two-dollar wheat, which would be good for the producer, but not for the cost of bread. As Donald Gordon explained, the government agency is to take everything in wheat and there will be no Exchange in Winnipeg as a gauge of world markets in wheat. Chicago is not recognized as a reliable guide and Liverpool, which used to be, is closed for the duration.

An old proposition, unheard of for a long time, was quietly revived this week by the Montreal Gazette. Discussing, in a highly critical vein, Mr. King's qualified declaration about an election, that Montreal newspapers seized upon a statement by Col. Ralston that the "war is just beginning" to urge the need of a government representative of all parties. That would be a coalition. It would look to the war first, but also to peace, incidentally. Just what is behind the suggestion is not clear, apart from the greater efficiency of war enterprise. Conceivably, it may be thought that, in an election, the old parties may cancel out each other. Should that occur by any chance, it would invite the consequences of a highly disturbed condition, just when equilibrium and cool-headedness will never be needed more in maintaining the established economy and free enterprise, released from the impediments of war restrictions.

Coalition Remote

Neither of the major parties have any particular word of the revival of any coalition move, but the Montreal paper is published on the next street north of St. James street and is pretty close to what is going on here. If such a government should come about—as might happen if Mr. King should get involved in an insurrection of his followers—it would be the formation going to the polls and seeking a mandate for after the war as well as for the rest of it.

But the horoscope is very dim. The prevalent opinion seems to be that, after four years without any coalition, the chances for it now are not propitious. No such idea was as much as mentioned at the Liberal pow-wow this week and last, nor is it heard of among the Progressive Conservatives.

For Hon. George A. Drew, the ruling powers at Ottawa never indicated much affection and none of it was ever sacrificed at the other end either. But, surprising is the extent of the expression here that the Ontario Premier is "playing his cards well." Two of his Ministers have come for conference and appear to have got on fine. There is no evidence of desire to carry on any vendetta. Authorities here say that they "know where Drew stands" and, reasonably, what to expect of him. Upon the course of his predecessor, in relation to Ottawa, they could never venture a guess.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Oct 2/43

Subject

D 46819

Politics and an Election

Mr. King's statement about future elections will be regarded by the public, rightly we think, as a somewhat definite announcement that there will not be an election until the parliamentary term reaches or nears its termination. But the active promoters of the fortunes of the C.C.F. and the Conservative parties will see in it, or will claim to see in it, the threat of an early election; and will find in it a justification for their past preoccupation with party activities to the exclusion of any marked concern for so secondary an objective as the winning of the war. It will be made the pretext for an increase in their activities, if indeed this is possible.

* * *

Mr. King has in his hands the power of dissolution; and he has said that he will exercise it in the event of certain developments. Should he become convinced that his administration had lost the confidence of the people he would ask for an immediate dissolution. His substantial reasons for holding that this is not the case are not likely to be impaired by any political developments of the next twelve months. His statement of belief that no other party or any possible combination of parties can command a comparable degree of confidence, the point at issue being the prosecution of this war to a victorious end, must command the support of all those capable of taking a cool and detached view of the situation. The other ground for a possible election, the disruption of the government's following in the House, may be dismissed from the mind. The disruption which this following has already suffered is a credential that should commend the government to the people of Canada at large. The members who deserted the Liberal party to found the Bloc Populaire did so in protest against the vigor and capacity with which the government is prosecuting the war.

Mr. King is within the mark in saying that there would be consternation throughout the country if an election were called at any time in the near future. This could only arise from a general feeling of indignation that the energies of the people should be distracted at a critical stage of the war, which is bound to be the case any time within the next twelve months, into an unnecessary political struggle entered upon by the government in the interests of a party and without regard to the injury thus done to the Canadian war effort. This is the line that the opposition parties, which now derive a measure of satisfaction from taunting the government with holding on to office after the confidence of the people had been withdrawn, would instantly take if an election were called. They would recognize, for all their boasting, that the government had them at a fatal disadvantage unless they could make the electors believe that a wholly unnecessary election, distracting and injurious to the country's war effort, had been called by the government solely for party advantage. The C.C.F., which would almost certainly be the government's chief opponents, would suddenly avow an interest in the war which has been conspicuously lacking up to date. Their simulated concern would be a masterpiece in hypocrisy.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 46820

Subject .....

Under present circumstances or any future circumstances that can be foreseen, the course of the government is plainly marked. It was confirmed in office by the largest majority which the Canadian parliament has ever known; and the issue which evoked this majority was whether for the duration of the war leadership should be left to the Liberals or given to a promised combination of its opponents. That majority is still in full control of the House of Commons; and the mandate which the government sought and which was given them has nearly two years to run—a period which should see complete defeat of the Axis powers. Plainly the duty of the government is to respect that mandate and to consider it as binding until its obligations are discharged.

* * *

The sum of the declarations made at Ottawa amount, in our opinion, to a reaffirmation by the government of its determination to adhere to its programme of a maximum war effort, regardless of all political opposition until that opposition proves itself capable of seriously hampering this programme in which case an appeal will be made to the people. This, if firmly adhered to, is an assurance that there will be no election, provided the war goes on, until parliament completes it term.

If the war ends earlier, the government would be justified in asking the people whether they want to be represented at the Peace Conference by those who had successfully directed the war effort or by the amateurs and the critics who throughout the whole period of the war have regarded it as a continuing opportunity for political exploitation.

The probability that this occasion will present itself at an earlier date than was once thought possible suggests that such political activity by the government and its supporters as will not interfere with the demands upon their time which the war effort makes is now desirable and necessary. Hence the reorganization of the Liberal Federation in preparation for a campaign of education looking forward to an election that will in any case arrive in less than two years. The Federation is a democratic body which makes party policy and directs the work of organization so necessary under our political system. National political organizations make considerable demands upon the time and energy of many citizens in all parts of the Dominion; and there has been a considerable body of opinion that has favored the reduction of these activities to the minimum during the war. But obviously the obligation must be general. Mr. King in his address to the Federation made the charge that Liberal abstention from party activities had given the opposition parties opportunities of which they had taken full advantage. The accuracy of this statement will not be questioned. The answer to these activities need not take the form of verbal protest to which no heed will be paid. The practical course is to answer in kind; and this is to be followed. It may therefore be assumed that the period of pre-election activity by all political parties has arrived. If there are those who think such activities undesirable in war time they should have no difficulty in fixing the responsibility for their resumption.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Charlottetown Patriot

Date Oct 2/43

Subject

D 16821

OPPOSITION CRITICISM

What is the basis of the present very heated attack upon Prime Minister King? It would appear to be just another outbreak of unrestrained anger over the fact that the Liberals are going to put into action their Federal organization so that the people may be kept fully informed on all matters relating to Government policy and the necessity for such restrictive measures adopted for the furtherance of the war effort and to protect the economy of the nation.

Surely such a movement should not arouse undue jealousy or anger. The occasion was the first opportunity Hon. Mr. King had of addressing the National Liberal Federation which had not assembled previously since the 1940 general election. It must be remembered that he was speaking in Liberals that he was giving his view as to why it has become necessary to complete organization and take a more active interest in preparation for the next election.

Mr. King pointed out that up to date the first thought of himself and his Government has been the prosecution of the war. How well they performed this duty is known and recognized by all the Allied leaders who are unanimous in their words of praise. He observed that such was not the case in respect to the Opposition parties whose political activities are well known.

Mr. Bracken the Pro.-Con. leader evidently felt the cap fitted him and he protested that his cross-country tour, and that of his organizer Mr. Bell, were not for political purpose but simply to get acquainted. Of that, we suggest, the people are the best judges.

As far as the holding of a Dominion election is concerned Mr. King clearly stated that the Government hoped that an election would not become necessary until the boys overseas had returned, or before the expiration of the present term of Parliament in 1945. That we believe, is the hope of all serious minded Canadians.

The Prime Minister pointed out, however, that certain contingencies might arise that would force an election sooner, among which was a blockade, or filibuster, or something of that nature by the Opposition parties.

And that, apparently, is where the shoe pinches. The Tories are trying to made it appear that Mr. King's statement is a threat aimed at warding off all criticism.. No man who possesses any common sense would accuse the Government leader of trying to throttle such verbose critics as R.B. Hanson, John Diefenbaker, Mr. Church or Mr. Coldwell. Such a thing would be utterly possible. And Mr. King obviously had no such thought in mind. But certain legislation which the Government might introduce and consider essential to pass must be passed or the country will be asked to pronounce on the same.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication N.Y.Times

Date Oct 3/43

D 46822

CANADIAN ELECTION THIS YEAR BARRED

Parliament May Last to 1945, King Says, Unless Lack of Support Forces Vote

OPPOSITION IS SUSPICIOUS

Sees Move as Means to Call for Ballot and Then Put Blame on Dissident Parties

By P. J. PHILIP
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, Oct. 2—For a time at least, the threat of a political crisis that has been looming large in the minds of many Canadians has been removed by the assurance Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King gave the National Liberal Federation on Monday that no election would be held this year. It was even possible, he said, that the present Parliament might continue in existence until its statutory life expires in the middle of 1945.

If it could be done, Mr. King assured his party and the country, he wished to avoid a second wartime election, especially now when so many men are overseas and so many workers away from their voting homes.

At the same time, the Prime Minister made it clear that neither he nor the party was master of events. There were at least four sets of conditions that might make an election before 1945 necessary, he said.

First, the clear evidence that any considerable proportion of the people were unwilling to support the Government's policies; second, such impeding, misrepresentation or distortion of Government policies by any one of the opposition groups as made it impossible to do effective work; third, a split in the Government or among its supporters; fourth, some unforeseen event that might make necessary or advisable a reconstruction of the Government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Opposition Sees Subterfuge

This presentation of the situation was hailed by the Premier's supporters, who had promised him their complete loyalty, as indicating that there would be no departure from democratic procedure. It has not pleased the opposition, however. Progressive Conservative leader, John Bracken immediately replied that the conditions set out by the Prime Minister would give him an excuse for calling an election at any time and then blaming others with the responsibility.

What has seemed to irk the opposition groups more than anything else was the Premier's accusation that they were thinking of winning elections while the Government was engaged in winning the war. At the same time, the Liberals, in view of the recent successes of the opposition groups in various elections, have themselves begun to think seriously of elections, and with a new executive are planning what is called "a wide program of education" on the electorate.

They certainly have a stout array of facts of accomplishment to present. In a speech at Sherbrooke on Thursday, Trade Minister James A. MacKinnon was able to claim that during these four years of war under Liberal administration Canada had grown to be the third largest trading nation in the world, surpassed only by the United States and Great Britain. In 1942 the Dominion doubled the value of its 1939 exports, and in the first seven months of this year had shown an increase of 22 per cent over the corresponding period of last year. During the first seven months of this year, the favorable balance of trade had reached $606,000,000.

Wheat Price Increased

This prosperity, it is admitted, has drawbacks when it is accompanied by all kinds of restrictions on public spending. It is there that the Liberals feel the need of "educating" the public. They believe they have been right in their policies of wage and price control, but it is difficult to convince people with more money in their pockets and little chance to spend it.

One spectacular act of the Government this week was the closing of wheat trading on the Winnipeg market and the raising of the minimum price for wheat from 90 cents to $1.25. The move had been in contemplation for many months, but it was the sharp rise in prices during the last few weeks that finally forced this decision. Government control of the wheat industry is now practically complete, and while it takes the responsibility for the intricate business of marketing, it has secured the public everywhere against speculative rises in price. Incidentally, it has put several million more dollars into the pockets of Western wheat producers who have long been claiming that the prices paid were unprofitable.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune

Date Oct 6/43

Subject

D 46823

Views From French Canada

Reactions to Mr. King's Speech: Views of the French-Canadian press on Premier King's recent address to the National Liberal Federation at Ottawa are subject to prevailing party winds. Thus *Le Soleil,* Quebec City (Lib.), devotes a whole column to a eulogy of the Liberal leader.

Mr. King is described as a man sent by Providence to see Canada through the war emergency. Critics are dismissed as envious and jealous, and the editorial closes with the words: "Mr. King deserves the support of every man and woman of good will."

Le Canada, Montreal (Lib.) is a little less enthusiastic. It warns those who are dividing the remains of the Liberal party "not to sell the bear's skin before killing the bear." Mr. King, it says, has exposed his opponents' game. "We know now the plots of the Tory party behind the innocent face of John Bracken," it goes on, "and we understand the tactics of the C.C.F., which is trying to be all things to all men," while the Quebec *Bloc Populaire* "is trying to set the rest of Canada, and in fact the whole of North America, against Quebec."

However, *Le Droit,* Ottawa, Independent Nationalist, feels that Mr. King has grave reason to be alarmed regarding his party's future. To quote: "The great confidence which has been shown the prime minister during the last quarter of a century has suffered rude shocks since the death of Mr. Lapointe. We have only to cite the numerous members of the Commons who have left his party during this period. . . If the rumor be well founded — and there is every indication that it is—a new political group, comprising from six to ten Liberal members, will emerge during the next few months."

"Has the government lost the confidence of the public? That is something which only a general election would reveal. But it is quite certain that were there to be a general election tomorrow the Liberal party would suffer a lot of seats. Its position, in spite of Mr. King's efforts to demonstrate the contrary, is grave."

Le Devoir, Montreal, Nationalist, is very angry at Mr. King for saying that "racial and religious prejudice, fanned to an extreme by the *Bloc Populaire,*" was responsible for the defeat of the government candidates in the two recent by-elections in Quebec.

"We were unaware," concludes the editorial, "that Mr. King supported to such an extent the idea of Anglo-Saxon supremacy throughout the world and in North America particularly."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 46824

Name of Publication Western Producer

Date Oct 7/43

Subject

MR. KING'S SPEECH

THE SPEECH which Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed to a dinner gathering of the National Liberal Federation in Ottawa last week was, in its own peculiar way, a masterpiece. Whether it will achieve the purpose aimed at is another matter. The dose has been administered so often, the prime minister's virtuosity has by repetition become so familiar that it may have lost its magic. But the performance was in the best Mackenzie King tradition which has stood him and his party in good stead in the past. He was able to say and did say:

> "I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters."

That kind of record is no accident. It was built upon just such skilful presentations of his position as he gave his supporters last week. Whether in this time of completely altered circumstances and of awakened public consciousness it will have the old appeal remains to be seen.

* * * * * *

A prime example of Mr. King's method was his handling of the question of calling a general election. At this time, he stated, when the bloodiest fighting is still to come "no one could wish for a general election in Canada if it is possible to avoid one." He himself hopes that there will be no need for a general election until "the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back to their homeland" those Canadians who survive the war overseas. Having, by these and other assertions in like vein, hammered home the impression that he, certainly, was definitely opposed to any electoral appeal he then proceeded to list several sets of circumstances in which in his opinion an election would be essential. Thereby he discloses his whole purpose which is very simple and with simple people might be ingenious. He wants first to create in the mind of the public the conviction that he himself is opposed to an election. At the same time he outlines a set of conditions under which, on a pretext he can create any day of the week he chooses, he is at liberty to call an election and place the responsibility for calling it on somebody else. As Mr. Bracken, in a statement issued in reply to the prime minister's speech, puts it:

> "While claiming to place human values and the high purpose of war above political consideration, Mr. King then puts himself in a position for political action upon the slightest pretence."

On the question of partisanship Mr. King can always be interesting. Being somewhat of a partisan himself he does not find it easy to denounce this evil thing in the outright terms in which it should be denounced. Yet he does very well by the simple device of taking the ground that every party saving only his own has been playing politics. That should serve his purpose if he can get away with it. It is hardly worth while to go into the point here—others may be trusted to do that—but it should be stated that Mr. King's attempt to picture his own party as a knight in shining armor, so far as partisan politics is concerned, will be received with lifted eyebrows by most people outside the ranks of his most loyal followers.

That partisanship is rampant throughout Canada at the present time few competent observers will deny. This is an even more serious danger than it might seem. For free public discussion is a main safeguard of democratic institutions and never more so than in a time of war when much of our accustomed freedom must be relinquished. But, free, honest discussion is almost impossible when the whole country is saturated in factional, partisan sentiment. There is hardly a daily newspaper in Canada which can be accepted as a fair, detached informed journal of opinion. Almost every pronouncement is assessed as being for or against the government and accepted or repeated on that count. Every source of comment, individual or journalistic, is assumed to be the product of political bias of one form or another. Nobody can help this and it is safe to say that most people don't like it but there is little they can do about it. In the circumstances, however, public discussion which should be helpful, often is harmful; criticism which could be so useful only rouses resentment and adds fuel to the fires of faction.

Little wonder that the prime minister resents the hold which partisan politics now has particularly when it hurts him. Every responsible person must deplore the existence of such conditions, especially in wartime. What is the cause of it? We do not suggest that Mr. King is himself the whole cause. He is not. But he is the one individual in Canada who has contributed most to it. It flowered in the two decades of the armistice and during that period, as Mr. King is not loathe to confess, he was the most influential personal force in Canadian political life. If he did not contribute largely to the growth of narrow partisanship what did he do to avert it? He cannot avoid responsibility. The form and direction of public opinion doesn't grow out of the ground; it derives largely from public men, particularly from the leaders of political parties and most of all from the heads of governments. Over the period when this miasma

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D 46825

of partisanship was developing in Canada—that was the time when Mr. King could have done something about it. What did he do? If it comes to that, what is he doing now? We, as much as Mr. King, deplore its existence but we would suggest, with deference, that the way to remove it is not to proclaim a new and more intense partisanship campaign for his own party.

* * * * * *

Our final point concerns Mr. King's remarks on the Bloc Populaire in Quebec. At that party he directed his most bitter shafts. He professed to view it as a temporary, shortlived faction but that is a view which is not fully borne out by the results in Cartier and Stanstead. Be that as it may, the point is that for the twenty odd years during which, in his own words, he enjoyed "so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters" a substantial number of these supporters were from the province of Quebec. During all that time, according to his own professions, his dearest ambition was to promote the unity of the two great races in Canada and one of his means to that end was, day in and day out, to court the favor of Quebec. Are not the present conditions in that province the irrefutable verdict on the result of those efforts and is not that verdict, in one word, failure? When will Mr. King learn that facts cannot be sidestepped forever, that realities must be faced and that the first step to rectifying a mistake is the frank confession that a mistake has been made?

* * * * * *

The prime minister of Canada belongs to the generation of Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald. He is the Canadian opposite number of these two British statesmen on whose heads history will lay a terrible responsibility. Their chief characteristic was that they loved power, were ready to face anything but facts, evinced a glowing interest in everything but realities. The world of today though close in time to theirs is an age apart in everything else. Mr. King has lingered on the scene longer than most of his political coevals—lingered on into a new era. That is something, as his most recent speech clearly shows, which he does not yet realize. If he continues in his present position and does not soon wake up to the changes going on around him every Canadian may have to suffer for it.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Oct 6/43

Subject

The Attack Upon Mr. King

The surprise and indignation which has been manifested by the official Opposition over Mr. King's recent vigorous party address is due to the fact that not for the first time he has sadly disappointed them. His business as they see it is to give all his energies to the war effort, leaving the political field clear for their party activities; and moreover to be careful in his war labors not to place himself in any relationship or position calculated to draw public attention to his performance. When on either of these counts he fails to live up to their demands they unlimber their verbal artillery. Therefore there is at the moment a lively Dominion-wide barrage in progress, with every popgun joining in. There is nothing new or exciting in all this, since this is only the latest in a long series of similar bombardments; and it is likely to be about as effective as its predecessors.

In an article which we reproduce elsewhere on this page, Saturday Night undertakes to analyze the reasons for this latest outburst. It regards it as a recrudescent manifestation of the bitterness which was in evidence in the early months of last year over the breakdown of a carefully planned bit of party strategy which resulted from Mr. King's failure to perform along the lines laid down for him. This was, according to Saturday Night's version, his refusal to form a so-called "national government" pledged to policies which would have divided this country on racial and to some extent on religious grounds. Saturday Night's theory is given a measure of support by the Montreal Gazette which, at the time this political stroke was attempted, was second only to the Toronto Globe and Mail in the violence of its advocacy. The Gazette attributes the present activity and the virulence of the "hostile "political party groups" to Mr. King's refusal some twenty months ago to form "a thoroughly representative war govern-"ment" in which other parties could co-operate, and his continued refusal. It even claims "that the time is ripe for the "formation of such a government."

* * *

It is not desirable that myths should centre about the political crisis, if it is worthy of being dignified by these terms, which arose over the conscription issue. There was never any intention on the part of those promoting the drive for conscription that there should be a "national" government under the premiership of Mr. King. That was not the bright idea at all. It was proposed to form a government which was to be headed by persons chosen by and agreeable to the Toronto organization which launched and directed the drive. The whole audacious proposition rested upon the assumption that at least half the Liberal membership in the House of Commons would bolt from Mr. King's leadership and join up under very different leadership. There was never any chance of its success; and its failure had important political consequences. It completed the disintegration of the remnant of the Conservative party; and

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forced the reconstruction of the party under a new name (the third change of title within a few years), and with a leader whose availability for the position chiefly arose from the fact that his public statements over a period of twenty years were at no point in keeping with the traditions of the party.

The service rendered to Canada by Mr. King in this period of crisis is adequately set forth by Saturday Night in the article quoted. That it has not been fully appreciated either by the dissentients of Quebec or by influential bodies of opinion in the other camp does not detract from its value. Time has been gained for the taking of second thoughts; and this has resulted in some significant changes of front. The Gazette and some other Conservative newspapers are trying to convince themselves and the public that their drive was not primarily for compulsory overseas service; what they were really interested in, according to their present story was a compulsory drafting of labor of all kinds to meet the country's man-power needs. All that is needed to reduce this explanation to its right proportions is to refer them to their own columns when the drive was on. It is somewhat encouraging to note these signs that with the passage of time their heads have cooled; possibly if the necessity to send conscripted men overseas does not arise they will not make this the pretext for an attempt to stir up the passions of 1941-1942. Equally it is to be hoped that if conscripted men are needed the people of Quebec, save a remnant of incorrigible isolationists, will support the action which the government under those circumstances will be obliged to take.

* * *

The political situation with respect to conscription is so clear that misrepresentation and misunderstanding by well-meaning and intelligent persons is hardly possible. The fanatical determination to enforce it at all hazards despite the fact that reinforcements by these means are not at the moment necessary, lingers on only in certain not very influential quarters. The obligation to send conscripted troops overseas if they are needed rests clearly upon the government which is also bound by its own engagement to submit its action in this respect to the judgment of the House. There is no doubt as to what that judgment would be; and there are grounds for hope that the government's action would be approved by a substantial majority of the people of Quebec. In fact, a once highly dangerous situation has been dealt with in a fairly satisfactory manner thanks to the course taken by Mr. King and his colleagues; and the steadiness with which their followers supported them. In the party disputation which is now under way as a result of the activities of the Opposition, the record of the government has been vigorously expounded and defended by Mr. King in the first forthright party speech which he has made since the war entered its critical phases. His right to make that speech in the terms that he employed will not be questioned by the public, however displeased his political opponents may be with his performance.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication 1L Cttadino Canadese-Sabato D 5172

Date Oct 2/43 /43

Subject

Le dichiarazioni del primo ministro on. W. L. Mackenzie King durante i convegni delle diverse organizzazioni del partito liberale federale sulla data delle prossime elezioni sono state chiare ed esaurienti. Il primo ministro in sostanza ha detto: Io non ho intenzione di fare elezioni, ma affrontero' l'elettorato ogni qualvolta venissi a trovarmi di fronte ad ostruzionismo delle opposizioni, ad una rottura del mio partito sulla condotta della guerra o se la guerra finisse. Oltre questi casi e loro implicazioni, io non intendo precipitare il paese in una lotta elettorale.

Il partito liberale ha lasciato fare e dire molto, ha dati molti vantaggi a tutte le opposizioni, ha permesso restrizioni che si sono rivelate inutili.

Per la condotta efficace della guerra e per la sopravvivenza del partito liberale stesso è necessario che il partito si metta a contatto con la nazione, spieghi molte cose e faccia intendere le ragioni di certi sacrifici.

Dal convegno sortirà una rinnovata attività liberale nel paese. E non sarà un male. Anzi.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication L'Action Catholique

Date Sep 30/43

Subject

5172/43

D 46829

Les dires de M. King

A l'occasion du caucus des sénateurs et députés libéraux, à l'occasion aussi du Congrès de la Fédération libérale nationale, l'hon. M. King a prononcé quelques discours. Il s'est même montré agressif à l'égard des autres partis. Ceux-ci commencent à riposter.

Les seules déclarations du Premier Ministre que nous voulons souligner, ont trait aux élections, à la conscription et à notre effort de guerre.

Pas d'élections maintenant

M. King semble bien décidé à ne pas faire d'élections générales avant l'expiration de son terme d'office, soit en 1945. A ceux de ses partisans qui réclamaient une consultation immédiate de l'électorat avant que les partis adverses aient le temps de parfaire leurs organisations, le Premier Ministre objecte qu'il vaut mieux éviter au pays l'épreuve d'une campagne électorale en un temps où la guerre entre dans sa phase décisive.

Sur ce point, M. King a raison. Rien ne justifierait un appel au peuple dans les circonstances actuelles.

Le volontariat est suffisant

Au sujet de la conscription, le chef du parti libéral a dit tout juste un mot. Sans se compromettre pour l'avenir, il a tout de même déclaré que, depuis le début des hostilités, le gouvernement n'a jamais eu assez de navires à sa disposition pour traverser tous les VOLONTAIRES.

Voilà qui enfonce un clou aux conscriptionnistes. Les partisans du service militaire obligatoire pour outre-mer prétendaient que le volontariat ne donnerait pas suffisamment de recrues. Celles-ci ont été tellement nombreuses qu'on a manqué de navires pour les traverser toutes.

Il faut bien admettre qu'en nombre d'endroits, on a pratiqué le volontariat "forcé". On a placé les mobilisés dans une situation telle qu'ils pouvaient difficilement refuser de signer pour service n'importe où. Il reste pourtant que jusqu'ici, quiconque refusait de traverser l'océan n'y était pas contraint. Après la déclaration de M. King, nous ne voyons pas pourquoi le Cabinet changerait d'attitude pour appliquer la loi de conscription.

Nous le voyons d'autant moins que l'effort de guerre du Canada n'a encore été dépassé par aucun autre pays, de l'aveu même du Premier Ministre.

Le Canada fait plus que les autres, mais...

L'hon. M. Mitchell s'était déjà demandé si nous n'avions pas trop entrepris pour une population comme la nôtre. La semaine dernière encore M. Roosevelt rendait

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au Canada le témoignage qu'il avait fait plus que les autres, compte tenu de son infériorité numérique. M. King admet maintenant que nul n'a fait davantage.

Si tel est le cas, et nous ne pouvons plus en douter, le temps est venu de réfléchir aux conséquences de notre prodigalité en hommes et en argent. Déjà des signes de déséquilibre économique se manifestent. Voilà que par suite du manque de main-d'oeuvre et du manque de transports, la production des oeufs, du porc et des produits laitiers est compromise dans l'Est du pays.

Faute de moulées alimentaires dont regorgent pourtant les greniers de l'Ouest, les producteurs de l'Est vendent prématurément leurs porcs, sous-alimentent leurs pondeuses, négligent de soigner les vaches laitières.

S'il faut plus d'hommes pour charger de blé les wagons et les cargos, s'il faut plus de main-d'oeuvre pour fabriquer des transports, qu'on force un peu moins sur la mobilisation pour l'armée ou les industries de guerre. Il est inadmissible que nos troupeaux manquent de nourriture quand l'Ouest en gaspille. C'est un scandale qui a trop duré ; c'est un signe non équivoque du déséquilibre de notre économique en faveur d'un effort de guerre exagéré. N'est-il pas temps qu'on s'en avise en haut lieu ?

Louis-Philippe ROY

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Sep 28/43

Subject

The Pln to see
Seen by P.M.
7/10/43.

D 46881

"Above All Is Humanity"

In his address last night to the advisory council of the National Liberal Federation, Prime Minister King included a reference to the position of capital and labor. He said:

"The claims of humanity are superior to those of industry. They are superior to the special claims of either capital or labor. It is the general not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today."

In saying this, Mr. King was only repeating what he wrote long since in his book on "Industry and Humanity." But the assertion is one which needs repetition. "Above all is humanity." The King repeated it during his visit to Canada. It is one of the great controlling truths of life.

It is a truth which both labor and capital must heed. It has frequently been charged that capital thinks only selfishly in terms of profit. If that were invariably the case, it would be a condemnation of that particular factor in industry. But capital has a partner —labor. Capital has its cartels and its associations. Labor has its unions. It is sometimes said that the unions, as well as their money-partners and management-partners, disregard the claims of humanity as a whole. That, if it were true, would indeed be unfortunate. For labor invests its life where capital invests only its money; and life is closer to humanity as a whole than money can ever be.

So when it is said by some that the unions are often heedless of humanity at large, that they fight solely for their own interests, that they are not prepared to battle for the rights of the weak who are not within their own craft—when that sort of charge is made it is a serious charge. People who say that sort of thing point out that the unions appeared to be cool to the announcement of a family allowance policy which would benefit hundreds of thousands of people who have no union back of them. But in that instance the suggestion that such allowances would be a substitute for justified wage increases was no doubt what sent organized labor off in that wrong direction.

In any event it is important that labor and capital alike should recognize the great truth that the claims of humanity at large are paramount. "Over all is humanity."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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Date Sep 28/43

Subject

The Prime Minister has seen
7/10/43

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D 10651

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Droit

Date Sep 30/43

Subject

5190
D 46832

Tactique électorale

S'il doit y avoir des élections générales avant la fin de la guerre, on peut prévoir, d'après le récent discours de M. King, quelle sera la tactique du gouvernement.

Le premier ministre entend jeter sur les partis de l'opposition la responsabilité de la tenue des élections générales. Tandis que le gouvernement canadien, abandonnant tout travail d'organisation politique, se consacrait en entier à assurer la victoire des Alliés, dira-t-il, les partis de l'opposition s'occupaient d'abord de servir leurs intérêts personnels, au lieu de collaborer à l'effort de guerre du pays. Le Parti conservateur progressiste a placé, en premier lieu, son organisation politique. La C.C.F. a sapé l'effort de guerre de la nation par ses tactiques. Quant au Bloc canadien il est en train de détruire l'unité du Canada. Le gouvernement canadien a trop longtemps toléré pareille situation. La mesure est pleine. Il importe de savoir, à ce stage de la guerre, quelle est la volonté du peuple canadien, à qui veut-il confier la tâche d'achever ce que nous avons commencé, de participer à la conférence de la paix et de prendre en main la direction de l'après-guerre en notre pays. Et M. King annoncera alors des élections générales.

C'est bien ce qui ressort du discours prononcé par le premier ministre devant la Fédération libérale nationale. "Bien que le gouvernement ait consacré presque exclusivement son temps et son attention à diriger l'effort de guerre du Canada et à résoudre les problèmes que la guerre fait surgir d'un jour à l'autre, a dit M. King, les partis politiques qui lui font la lutte ont pris une attitude différente. Au lieu d'aider le gouvernement à faire comprendre au peuple l'extrême gravité du conflit mondial et la nature urgente des nécessités de la guerre, ils ont élaboré et perfectionné leur organisation politique, disséminant leur propagande de parti et exploitant le mécontentement que suscitent inévitablement les mesures de contrôle nécessaires en temps de guerre, ainsi que l'irritation que font naître toutes les restrictions, de quelque nature qu'elles soient. Pour le gouvernement d'un pays en guerre, c'est là une situation intolérable, qu'on ne saurait laisser se perpétuer."

Lorsque le gouvernement jugera qu'il est temps de mettre fin à la situation actuelle qu'il dit être "intolérable" et qu'il "ne saurait se laisser perpétuer", il déclenchera des élections générales. Il accusera les partis d'opposition de l'y avoir poussé. La campagne qui s'ensuivra prendra un double aspect. Dans la province de Québec, tentant de refaire le "coup" de l'honorable Ernest Lapointe en 1939, il mettra en garde les Canadiens français contre les dangers de l'isolement pour eux au sein du continent anglo-saxon de l'Amérique du nord et il fera appel à l'unité canadienne. Dans le reste du pays, il fera valoir son effort de guerre, qu'il juge prodigieux et inégalé par toute autre nation unie, compte tenu des circonstances.

Quels seront les résultats de cette campagne? Personne ne saurait le dire exactement. Mais ce qui est certain, c'est que, d'ici la fin de la durée d'office du gouvernement actuel, les divers partis politiques fédéraux vont redoubler d'ardeur, pour parfaire leur organisation, puisqu'ils peuvent s'attendre d'un moment à l'autre à des élections générales. C'est dire que l'atmosphère politique va devenir plus chargée que jamais et que la situation présente, déjà jugée "intolérable" par le premier ministre, empirera considérablement.

Camille L'HEUREUX.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
75		"Politics and the War", (National Liberal Federation), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 46529 - D 46557	
75		Welcome to Dr. Fernandez (for Minister of Chile), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1943	D 46558 - D 46564	
75		National Liberal Federation, Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 46565 - D 46832	
75		Art Show, Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Oct. 1943	D 46833 - D 46841	
75		Victory Loan Appreciation, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1943	D 46842 - D 46869	
75		Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Nov. 1943	D 46870 - D 46873	
75		Radio Broadcast to Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 46874 - D 46901	
75		Radio: New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 46902 - D 46922	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date OCT 25 1943

D 16833

Subject

MACKENZIE KING AT ART OPENING

Expresses Great Admiration Canadians Have for People of Czechoslovakia

Ottawa, October 28.—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King said tonight that while no real progress is made through war, it serves to bring peoples of the world together more quickly.

Mr. King spoke briefly at the opening of an exhibition of Czechoslovakian art at the National Gallery of Canada, commemorating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak republic.

The Prime Minister said he was proud to have the privilege of expressing on behalf of the people of Canada the "great admiration" of the Canadian people for the people of Czechoslovakia.

"We admire their love of freedom, their love of liberty," he added.

He described the formation and development of Czechoslovakia and said that all that country stood for never was more important to civilization than it was at the present time.

Dr. Frantisek Pavlasek, Czechoslovak Minister to Canada, replied.

The collection includes about 60 paintings and sculptures, 25th anniversary of Czechoslovakian independence.

Oskar Kokoshka's portrait of T. G. Masaryk, painted in London during the Battle of Britain, is a central item in the show. Its sale price will be devoted to orphans of London firemen.

Maxim Kopf, husband of Dorothy Thompson, is represented by a portrait of Miss Thompson and a cityscape, Columbus Circle.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D16834

1. The War is not yet over;

Strenuous efforts will be needed
on the home front
as well as on the battlefronts.

No time for relaxing of effort;
it is in our hands to determine
whether the war will now be

short and decisive

or

prolonged and even more
devastating.

2. The war effort of Canada
reflects careful planning
from the very beginning -

mobilization of men and resources
on a vast scale -

some readjustments already
in progress

Orderly mobilization has involved
a variety of measures of
control

Wages
Prices
Rationing of food, gasoline -

Cost of living has increased 18%
since outbreak of war,
but only 3% on average since
price control instituted.

D 46835

Priorities in employment -
treatment of essential industries, &c.

Some of these controls will have to be maintained beyond the end of hostilities

- partly to prevent the evils of inflation
(in last war far worse in 1919-1920 than in 1918)

- partly to enable Canada to share in enormous task of relief and rehabilitation for countries now under Nazi or Japanese domination
(note Canadian representation at U.N.R.R.A. Conference, Atlantic City, now in session)

3. Post-war Adjustment and Rebuilding

Attention is already being given to many problems of;

demobilization or transfers to essential industries (already in progress);

broad measures of social security for the whole population in addition to discharge benefits, &c. for armed forces

development and conversion of industrial plant capacity called into existence by war needs;

attention to post-war international trade, shipping, air transport

D46836

Relations between industry and organized labour

(formulation of comprehensive labour code at present under consideration following conference with representatives from provinces);

Various projects of public works postponed in Wartime because of strengthening of essential materials.

4. Status of Canada as a world power - a part of the vision of the future
- recent exchange of Embassies between Canada and U.S.A. sets the scene for other new developments -

before 1939, 6 Canadian Missions abroad
now, 1943, 19 " " "

including representation in:

U.S.A.;
Great Britain and other Commonwealth Nations;
U.S.S.R.;
China;
to Allied Governments in London

3 in Latin America -

Canadian interest in functional representation on other international bodies, e.g.: Combined Production & Resources Board (U.S., U.K., Canada);
Combined Food Bd. " " " ;
Interim Commission of United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture;

D 46837

also in variety of joint bodies with U.S.A., including:

Permanent Joint Board on Defence;
Joint War Production Committee;
Joint War Aid Committee.

Mutual Aid to United Nations another mark of growing stature:

food to Britain;
munitions to U.S.S.R., China, French National Committee;
wheat to India, etc.

($1,000,000,000 for fiscal year 1943/44)

The Overall Strategy of the War

- Quebec Conference
- detailed reports about Moscow Conference and other developments
- constant consultation through established channels.

D 46838

1. The War is not yet over;

Strenuous efforts will be needed on the home front as well as on the battlefronts.

No time for relaxing of effort; it is in our hands to determine whether the war will now be

short and decisive

or

prolonged and even more devastating.

2. The war effort of Canada reflects careful planning from the very beginning -

mobilization of men and resources on a vast scale -

some readjustments already in progress

Orderly mobilization has involved a variety of measures of control

Wages
Prices
Rationing of food, gasoline -

Cost of living has increased 18% since outbreak of war, but only 3% on average since price control instituted.

D 46839

Priorities in employment -
treatment of essential industries, &c.

Some of these controls will have to be maintained beyond the end of hostilities

- partly to prevent the evils of inflation
(in last war far worse in 1919-1920 than in 1918)

- partly to enable Canada to share in enormous task of relief and rehabilitation for countries now under Nazi or Japanese domination
(note Canadian representatim at U.N.R.R.A. Conference, Atlantic City, now in session)

3. Post-war Adjustment and Rebuilding

Attention is already being given to many problems of;

demobilization or transfers to essential industries (already in progress);
broad measures of social security for the whole population in addition to discharge benefits, &c. for armed forc
development and conversion of industrial plant capacity called into existence by war needs;
attention to post-war international trade, shipping, air transport

D 46840

Relations between industry and organized labour

(formulation of conprehensive labour code at present under consideration following conference with representatives from provinces);

Various projects of public works postponed in Wartime because of strengthening of essential materials.

4. Status of Canada as a world power -
a part of the vision of the future
- recent exchange of Embassies between Canada and U.S.A. sets the scene for other new developments -

before 1939, 6 Canadian Missions abroad
now, 1943, 19 " " "

including representation in:

U.S.A.;
Great Britain and other Commonwealth Nations;
U.S.S.R.;
China;
to Allied Governments in Lond

3 in Latin America -

Canadian interest in functional representation on other international bodies, e.g.: Combined Production & Resources Board (U.S., U.K., Canada)
Combined Food Bd. " " "
Interim Commission of United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture;

D 46841

also in variety of joint bodies with U.S.A., including:

Permanent Joint Board on Defence;
Joint War Production Committee;
Joint War Aid Committee.

Mutual Aid to United Nations another mark of growing stature:

food to Britain;
munitions to U.S.S.R., China, French National Committee;
wheat to India, etc.

($1,000,000,000 for fiscal year 1943/44)

The Overall Strategy of the War

- Quebec Conference
- detailed reports about Moscow Conference and other developments
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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
75		"Politics and the War", (National Liberal Federation), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 46529 - D 46557	
75		Welcome to Dr. Fernandez (for Minister of Chile), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1943	D 46558 - D 46564	
75		National Liberal Federation, Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 46565 - D 46832	
75		Art Show, Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Oct. 1943	D 46833 - D 46841	
75		Victory Loan Appreciation, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1943	D 46842 - D 46869	
75		Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Nov. 1943	D 46870 - D 46873	
75		Radio Broadcast to Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 46874 - D 46901	
75		Radio: New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 46902 - D 46922	

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister D 46842

Ottawa,.....

Mr Gibson

To see if this draft is any help. Will you please follow up with P.M.?

WL

D 6843

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Copy for Mr. Gibson,
Laurier House.

For the Prime Minister.

The National War Finance Committee in the attached letter are asking if you will participate in the usual Victory Loan broadcast on Sunday night, November 14th, this to be by way of a recording if more convenient to you.

A draft is herewith and Mr. Gibson has also been asked to prepare something.

If you wish to record, Saturday at 11.00 A.M. is suggested but any other time can be conveniently arranged.

W.J.T.

November 12, 1943.

D46844

SUGGESTED MATERIAL FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W.L. ~~McKENZIE~~ Mackenzie KING
VICTORY LOAN APPRECIATION BROADCAST
Sunday, November 14, 1943

The successful prosecution of a war is dependent on many factors - morale, men, munitions and money being but a few. These essential elements are so inter-related that each forms an essential part of the one pattern of Victory.

Canadians are experiencing a well deserved thrill of new hope because of the brilliant victories being won by our fighting forces at sea, on land, and in the air. We are producing munitions and supplies here at home at a speed and volume to meet every demand from the war fronts.

Now we can find further satisfaction in the success of the Fifth Victory Loan. With the largest objective in the history of our war financing the people have demonstrated their overwhelming determination to speed the victory. It affords me the greatest pleasure to express the Government's appreciation of that splendid achivement by the Canadian people.

Mr. Ilsley and Mr. Towers, who are here with me tonight, will tell you of the totals reported so far and some of the interesting story of how those outstanding results were attained. Before they speak I should like to express the sincere thanks of the Government to Mr. Graham Towers, General Chairman / Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, and to the Provincial Chairmen, thousands of Canadians in every part of the Dominion who devoted themselves to the patriotic task of selling Victory Bonds; to all who aided them by informing and inspiring us with the purpose of the Loan; and

D 46845

to all who by their own self-denial made possible this newest wartime achievement.

I am sure you join me in extending to the Minister of Finance congratulations on the success of the Loan. Mr. Ilsley's task has not been an easy one, yet his confidence in the people of Canada has again and again been justified as each new call for greater sums of money has been met with ever greater response. To him, as to all of us who are charged with the responsibility of conducting this war, it is heartening and inspiring to feel and see such tangible evidence of the unity of purpose that prevails among Canadians.

In the midst of our satisfaction over the success now being attained at home and abroad let none of us forget that our greatest effort yet lies before us. We cannot contemplate the remainder of the road to victory without realizing how costly it will be. The cornered and wounded beast is the most dangerous. Our blows must be more powerful than ever before. Our vigilance must not relax for even a brief moment of respite. At home -- in work and in savings -- we must match the heroic efforts of our fighting men abroad; we must pour new and greater energy and determination into the battle of freedom. We have but one purpose among us. We have advanced that purpose far. Let us, no matter what the cost, see it to its final glorious conclusion!

J.A. G.
11.11.43

DRAFT

D 46846

VICTORY LOAN APPRECIATION

I am speaking tonight to acknowledge the contributions to victory of Canadians in the Fifth Victory Loan Campaign.

The sense of appreciation which I should like to convey to all my fellow Canadians who have shared in this great contribution is the greater because of the imperative stage of the world-wide war upon which the United Nations have now entered. For, in the year which has now elapsed since forces of the Allied powers launched their major offensive in North Africa, the whole outlook in the war has been changed. Where there were defeats and disappointments, setbacks and many unforeseen events, there have lately been mounting successes in every theatre of war.

But, in the light of these hard-won successes, there must be no slackening of effort either at home or abroad. It would be fatal, at this stage of a total war which has made heavy demands upon our resources, to think that any lesser ~~heavy~~ effort than we have made until now, will suffice to bring us to victory. We must fight with unwearying determination, with unflagging singleness of ~~mind~~ purpose, and undaunted strength of mind and heart, until victory has been won. We cannot tell how soon that may be. We hope it may be soon, but we must be

D 46847

prepared for a lengthy struggle. We must reckon with terrible battles still to be fought, and perhaps for a greater outpouring of blood and treasure for a final offensive than our nation has ever known.

The response of all Canada to this Fifth Victory Loan shows how determined the people are to speed the victory in the way best open to them. The subscribing of more than one and one-third billion dollars represents the largest sum ever collected on a voluntary basis in Canada. It represents also a tremendous help in paying for the inevitable costs of waging war. It means, in another direction, a powerful safe-guard against inflationary tendencies because of pressure on the price ceiling structure. It assures for the years of transition after the end of hostilities sums of money which, when repaid by the Government, will provide for the people of Canada many articles of comfort and use which they have been willing to forego because of wartime necessities. It holds out the prospect of planning the post-war economy of Canada in such a way that there will be an equitable distribution of goods and services to meet the needs of the people as a whole.

The full measure of thanks which I should like to express to my fellow citizens this evening is in words that spring from my heart. They spring also from my own sense of the magnitude of the war effort of Canada to which people from

D 46848

every walk of life have contributed willingly and usefully. It speaks today perhaps in the faint undertone of what time will send out as a mounting overtone - the place of Canada in an orderly international society of free nations. It holds out the promise of Canada's contributions to the rebuilding of a battered world - the providing of food, machinery, skilled personnel, to work in the task of healing ugly wounds, restoring shattered confidences, and vindicating for all time the free spirit of freedom loving men and women.

For what your savings, loaned to the Government, have made possible, not alone for the winning of war, but, as we can already discern, for the building of peace, I am very profoundly grateful.

D 46849

ADDITION A

Where so many Canadians have given of their time and thought and energy, it is not easy to express in any adequate way the thanks of my colleagues and myself. But I should like Mr. Ilsley, the Minister of Finance, and Mr. Towers, the Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, who will speak to you in a moment, to know how much all Canada appreciates their characteristic devotion to the cause in which we fight. The appreciation which I should like to express to them, as leaders in the Fifth Victory Loan Campaign, likewise goes out in full measure to all who have helped in any capacity.

J.A. C.
11.11.43

DRAFT

D 46850

VICTORY LOAN APPRECIATION

I am speaking tonight to acknowledge the contributions to victory of Canadians in the Fifth Victory Loan Campaign.

The sense of appreciation which I should like to convey to all my fellow Canadians who have shared in this great contribution is the greater because of the imperative stage of the world-wide war upon which the United Nations have now entered. For, in the year which has now elapsed since forces of the Allied powers launched their major offensive in North Africa, the whole outlook in the war has been changed. Where there were defeats and disappointments, setbacks and many unforeseen events, there have lately been mounting successes in every theatre of war.

But, in the light of these hard-won successes, there must be no slackening of effort either at home or abroad. It would be fatal, at this stage of a total war which has made heavy demands upon our resources, to think that any lesser ~~heavy~~ effort than we have made until now, will suffice to bring us to victory. We must fight with unwearying determination, with unflagging singleness of ~~mind~~ purpose, and undaunted strength of mind and heart, until victory has been won. We cannot tell how soon that may be. We hope it may be soon, but we must be

D 46851

prepared for a lengthy struggle. We must reckon with terrible battles still to be fought, and perhaps for a greater outpouring of blood and treasure for a final offensive than our nation has ever known.

The response of all Canada to this Fifth Victory Loan shows how determined the people are to speed the victory in the way best open to them. The subscribing of more than one and one-third billion dollars represents the largest sum ever collected on a voluntary basis in Canada. It represents also a tremendous help in paying for the inevitable costs of waging war. It means, in another direction, a powerful safeguard against inflationary tendencies because of pressure on the price ceiling structure. It assures for the years of transition after the end of hostilities sums of money which, when repaid by the Government, will provide for the people of Canada many articles of comfort and use which they have been willing to forego because of wartime necessities. It holds out the prospect of planning the post-war economy of Canada in such a way that there will be an equitable distribution of goods and services to meet the needs of the people as a whole.

The full measure of thanks which I should like to express to my fellow citizens this evening is in words that spring from my heart. They spring also from my own sense of the magnitude of the war effort of Canada to which people from

D 46852

every walk of life have contributed willingly and usefully. It speaks today perhaps in the faint undertone of what time will send out as a mounting overtone - the place of Canada in an orderly international society of free nations. It holds out the promise of Canada's contributions to the rebuilding of a battered world - the providing of food, machinery, skilled personnel, to work in the task of healing ugly wounds, restoring shattered confidences, and vindicating for all time the free spirit of freedom loving men and women.

For what your savings, loaned to the Government, have made possible, not alone for the winning of war, but, as we can already discern, for the building of peace, I am very profoundly grateful.

Victory Loan 3½ mins

D 46853

Nelson figures
Towers orgn
PM generally c̄
success & its
rel^n to the
Stat Picture

price control

actl contrbn financing of war
wim. mean in post-war sit^n
" " " price control
planned economy

1st revise, W.L.M.K.
Nov. 13, 1943

D 46854

We have just ~~had~~ another observed Day of Remembrance ~~Day.~~ In the time that has elapsed since ~~the day of~~ Remembrance Day a year ago~~,~~ the whole outlook of the present war has ~~been~~ changed. Where there were defeats and disappointments, there have lately been a series of successes~~, in every theatre of war.~~ We have all been ~~experiencing~~ gaining new hope because of ~~the brilliant~~ many victories~~, being won by our fighting forces at sea, on land, and in the air.~~

Today, we are experiencing ~~the highest~~ great satisfaction in the success of ~~the~~ Canada's Fifth Victory Loan. With the largest objective in the history of our war financing, the people have demonstrated their overwhelming determination to speed the victory.

I wish tonight to express the Government's appreciation of ~~this~~ the splendid ~~achievement by the Canadian people.~~ response to the campaign

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Ilsley, and the Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, Mr. Towers, will speak to you in a moment. They will tell you of the totals thus far reported, and the interesting story of how some of the outstanding results were attained. Before they speak, I should like to express the thanks of the

D 46855

Government to Mr. Towers, and to those who devoted themselves so wholeheartedly to the patriotic task of selling Victory Bonds. I wish also to thank those who assisted in the campaign by explaining the purposes of the loan; and to thank all who, by their contributions, have made possible this latest wartime achievement.

The Minister of Finance's task has not been an easy one. I am sure you will wish to join me in extending heartiest congratulations to Mr. Ilsley on the success of the loan. His confidence in the patriotism of the men and women of Canada has been increasingly justified as new calls for larger sums of money have been met with ever-greater responses.

Recent achievements on the diplomatic front, as well as advances made in ~~the~~ different theatres of war, have led to much speculation ~~as to the probable time of the~~ as to a possible early termination of the war. In making estimates of the kind the wish is apt to be father to the thought. It is, of course, a commonplace to say that, at any time, anything may happen. ~~Through some unpredictable agent all our present calculations may be set at naught.~~ That, however, is far from being a realistic ~~view of the manner in which wars, once begun, are brought to a close.~~ way of viewing the progress of war and, more particularly, of the way of calculating how, once begun, wars are brought to a close. The whole experience of war makes

D 46856

clear that progress towards final victory ~~accomplishment~~ is much slower than at times it appears to be.

~~On November 11, 1918, after more than four years of conflict, we thought that the war in Europe had ended. We now see that on that day the embers of war were but smothered; that they continued ~~throughout~~ to smoulder, and over four years ago burst into flame. This conflagration has since become more widely spread and more devastating than anything which had gone before.~~ There has been much progress towards ultimate victory ~~[illegible]~~

~~Many believed~~, At the beginning of this year, Many believed that the course of ~~the~~ its days ~~might~~ would witness the supreme effort which would be ~~a~~ the prelude to the unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil. The supreme effort, however, has still to be made. For my part I believe that the only assumption on which it is right to proceed is 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, ~~and that we must all brace ourselves for that task and strain every nerve for its accomplishment.~~

which Mr Churchill recently ~~[illegible]~~ expressed as the ~~assumption~~ one on which he himself was proceeding; namely, that

How long that campaign may last, no one can ~~say~~ tell. All that we know of a certainty is ~~can be sure~~ that every ~~dollar which the~~ we ~~subscribe~~ effective contribution we now make, ~~be it in [illegible]~~ will ~~save~~ hasten the day of victory and will save many lives. That is why the success of ~~our~~ our Fifth Victory Loan ~~[illegible]~~ means so much to ~~our~~ our fighting men.

It may be before, it may be beyond, another Remembrance day.

Omit

W.L.M.K.
Nov. 13, 1943

D 46857

We have just had another Remembrance Day. In the time that has elapsed since the day of Remembrance a year ago, the whole outlook of the war has been changed. Where there were defeats and disappointments, setbacks and disasters, there have lately been mounting successes in every theatre of war. We have all been experiencing new hope because of the brilliant victories being won by our fighting forces at sea, on land, and in the air. To meet the demands from the war fronts, here at home we continue to produce at speed and in volume the required munitions and supplies.

2,669,000

Today, we are experiencing the highest satisfaction in the success of the Fifty Victory Loan. With the largest objective in the history of our war financing, the people have demonstrated their overwhelming determination to hasten the victory.

+300,000

~~$1,783~~ 2,790,576
2,790,000
1,363,901,600

I am speaking tonight to acknowledge the contributions to victory of millions of Canadians in this Fifth Victory Loan, and to express the Government's appreciation of this splendid achievement by the Canadian people.

The Minister of Finance, the Honourable Mr. Ilsley, and the Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, Mr. Towers,

D 46858

will speak to you in a moment, will tell you of the totals reported so far, and the interesting story of how some of these outstanding results were attained. Before they speak, I should like to express the thanks of the Government to Mr. Towers and to the thousand of Canadians in every part of the Dominion who devoted themselves so wholeheartedly to the patriotic task of selling victory bonds; also to all who aided them by informing and inspiring us with their accounts of the purposes of the loan and to all who, by their own self-denial, made possible this latest war-time achievement.

The Minister of Finance's task has not been an easy one. I am sure you will wish to join me in extending heartiest congratulations to Mr. Ilsley on the success of the loan. His confidence in the desire of the Canadian people to demonstrate their determination by increasing contributions of money, as well as in other ways; and their determination to do their utmost in the winning of the war, has been justified as each new call for greater sums of money has been met with ever greater responses.

The great success of the Fifth Victory Loan is one more unmistakable evidence of the unity of purpose of the Canadian people. Recent achievements on the diplomatic

D 46859

front, as well as the advances made in the different theatres of war, have led to much speculation as to the probable time of the termination of the war. It is, of course, a commpnplace to say that, at any time, anything may happen. That, however, is far from being a realistic view of the manner in which wars are brought to a close.

On November 11, 1918, we all believed that the war in Europe had ended. After four more years of fighting, we now see that the embers were but smothered on that day; that they continued to smoulder and four years ago burst into flame, wider spread and more devastating than anything which had gone before. The whole experience of war makes clear that progress toward accomplishment is much slower than at times it appears to be.

D 46859

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 46860

ADDITION A

Where so many Canadians have given of their time and thought and energy, it is not easy to express in any adequate way the thanks of my colleagues and myself. But I should like Mr. Ilsley, the Minister of Finance, and Mr. Towers, the Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, who will speak to you in a moment, to know how much all Canada appreciates their characteristic devotion to the cause in which we fight. The appreciation which I should like to express to them, as leaders in the Fifth Victory Loan Campaign, likewise goes out in full measure to all who have helped in any capacity.

D 46861

ADDITION A

Where so many Canadians have given of their time and thought and energy, it is not easy to express in any adequate way the thanks of my colleagues and myself. But I should like Mr. Ilsley, the Minister of Finance, and Mr. Towers, the Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, who will speak to you in a moment, to know how much all Canada appreciates their characteristic devotion to the cause in which we fight. The appreciation which I should like to express to them, as leaders in the Fifth Victory Loan Campaign, likewise goes out in full measure to all who have helped in any capacity.

D 16862

ADDITION A

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date NOV 15 1943

D 46863

Subject

Thank Canadians For Success Of 5th Victory Loan

Prime Minister Mackenzie King said last night that by their response to the $1,200,000,000 Fifth Victory Loan appeal Canadians have demonstrated their "overwhelming determination to speed the victory."

In an address carried over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King, joined by Finance Minister Ilsley and Graham F. Towers, chairman of the National War Finance Committee, expressed the government's appreciation of the "splendid response" to the campaign, and thanked the War Finance Committee, the canvassers and those who, by their contributions, made possible "this latest wartime achievement."

He said Mr. Ilsley's task has not been an easy one. However, the finance minister's confidence in the patriotism of the men and women of Canada "has been increasingly justified as new calls for larger sums of money have been met with ever greater response.

The Allies have indeed achieved progress towards ultimate victory, but the supreme effort has still to be made. Mr. King said he assumed, with Prime Minister Winston Churchill, that the 1944 campaign in Europe will be the most severe "and, to the western allies, the most costly in lives of any we have yet fought."

Consequently, every effective contribution now made will "speed the victory and save many lives." That is why the success of Canada's Fifth Victory Loan will "continue to mean so much to our fighting men."

Returns to Saturday.

Mr. Ilsley said returns to Saturday showed Canadians had purchased $1,364,000,000 of victory bonds, indicating that the final result will be more than $1,375,000,000—as against a minimum objective of $1,200,000,000.

Canada had never yet been disappointed in her victory loan drives. The entire population deserved praise, but thanks were due especially to men and women of the armed forces, who subscribed a total of more than $35,000,000.

"Our troops in the Mediterranean area alone, who are actually fighting mile by mile across the mountains and valleys of Italy, subscribed almost $1,000,000."

Mr. Towers said victory loan canvassers constitute the "greatest volunteer selling organization on earth," and the success of each loan depends on their loyalty, purpose and devotion. This organization is supported by "countless thousands" of other Canadians without whose whole-hearted cooperation the loan could not succeed.

"The Fifth Victory Loan was a national enterprise, participated in by virtually every family in the Dominion. To thank one is to thank all. Let us all, then, take pride in the achievement and by the success attained take new heart for the future, and with renewed vigor carry on the tasks that are severally ours. . . . That, in unity of effort, will truly speed the victory."

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Nov.15/43

D 46864

Su

Thing to Do Is Speed It

Effective Contributions to Shorten Struggle and Save Lives

By JOHN MARSHALL
Ottawa Bureau of The Windsor Star

OTTAWA, Nov. 15.—How long the 1944 campaign in Europe may last, no one can tell, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King declared last night in thanking the Canadian people for their response to the Fifth Victory Loan.

'It may be before, it may be beyond, another Remembrance Day," he said. "All that we know of a certainty is that every effective contribution we now make will speed the victory and save many lives."

WISH FATHERS THOUGHT

"Recent achievements on the diplomatic front, as well as advances made in different battlefronts, have led to much speculation as to a possible early termination of the war. In making estimates, the wish is apt to be father to the thought. It is a commonplace, at any time, to say that anything may happen. That, however, is far from being a realistic way of viewing the progress of wars, and more particularly of calculating how, once begun, wars are brought to a close. The whole experience of war makes clear that progress toward final victory is much slower than at times it appears to be.



MR. KING

"At the beginning of this year, many believed that the course of its days would witness the supreme effort which would constitute a prelude to the unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil. Progress toward ultimate victory has indeed been achieved. The supreme effort, however, is still to be made," said the prime minister, repeating the warning of Prime Minister Winston Churchill that the 1944 campaign in Europe will be the most severe, and to the western allies, the most costly in lives of any yet fought.

SPEEDING OF VICTORY

Mr. King said last night that by their response to the $1,200,000,000 Fifth Victory Loan appeal Canadians have demonstrated their "overwhelming determination to speed the victory."

Mr. King, joined by Finance Minister Ilsley and Graham F. Towers, chairman of the National War Finance Committee, expressed the government's appreciation of the "splendid response" to the campaign, and thanked the war finance committee, the canvassers and those who, by their contributions, made possible "this latest wartime achievement."

He said Mr. Ilsley's task has not been an easy one. However, the finance minister's confidence in the patriotism of the men and women of Canada "has been increasingly justified as new calls for larger sums of money have been met with ever greater response.

MR. ILSLEY

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MR. TOWERS

Mr. Towers said Victory Loan canvassers constitute the "greatest volunteer selling organization on earth," and the success of each loan depends on their loyalty, purpose and devotion. This organization is supported by "countless thousands" of other Canadians without whose whole-hearted cooperation the loan would not succeed.

"The Fifth Victory Loan was a national enterprise, participated in by virtually every family in the Dominion. To thank one is to thank all. Let us all, then, take pride in the achievement and by the success attained take new heart for the future, and with renewed vigor carry on the tasks that are severally ours . . . that, in unity of effort, will truly speed the victory."

PERHAPS ANSWERING GODBOUT

There was some speculation here last night whether Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a broadcast address thanking Canadians for the success of the Fifth Victory Loan, was making a reply to Quebec reports that he had told Premier Godbout last week the war is likely to end next spring and it might even finish "any day now."

There has been no statement from the prime minister on the remark attributed to Mr. Godbout and reported by three Quebec City newspapers.

In Quebec Saturday Mr. Godbout's secretary issued, without comment, this brief statement: "I have enough difficulty myself figuring out when the war will end and I shall not try to interpret the opinion of state leaders on the subject."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Nov. 15/43

Thing to Do Is Speed It

Effective Contributions to Shorten Struggle and Save Lives

By JOHN MARSHALL
Ottawa Bureau of The Windsor Star

OTTAWA, Nov. 15.—How long the 1944 campaign in Europe may last, no one can tell, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King declared last night in thanking the Canadian people for their response to the Fifth Victory Loan.

'It may be before, it may be beyond, another Remembrance Day," he said. "All that we know of a certainty is that every effective contribution we now make will speed the victory and save many lives."

WISH FATHERS THOUGHT

"Recent achievements on the diplomatic front, as well as advances made in different battlefronts, have led to much speculation as to a possible early termination of the war. In making estimates, the wish is apt to be father to the thought. It is a commonplace, at any time, to say that anything may happen. That, however, is far from being a realistic way of viewing the progress of wars, and more particularly of calculating how, once begun, wars are brought to a close. The whole experience of war makes clear that progress toward final victory is much slower than at times it appears to be.



MR. KING

"At the beginning of this year, many believed that the course of its days would witness the supreme effort which would constitute a prelude to the unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil. Progress toward ultimate victory has indeed been achieved. The supreme effort, however, is still to be made," said the prime minister, repeating the warning of Prime Minister Winston Churchill that the 1944 campaign in Europe will be the most severe, and to the western allies, the most costly in lives of any yet fought.

SPEEDING OF VICTORY

Mr. King said last night that by their response to the $1,200,000,000 Fifth Victory Loan appeal Canadians have demonstrated their "overwhelming determination to speed the victory."

Mr. King, joined by Finance Minister Ilsley and Graham F. Towers, chairman of the National War Finance Committee, expressed the government's appreciation of the "splendid response" to the campaign, and thanked the war finance committee, the canvassers and those who, by their contributions, made possible "this latest wartime achievement."

He said Mr. Ilsley's task has not been an easy one. However, the finance minister's confidence in the patriotism of the men and women of Canada "has been increasingly justified as new calls for larger sums of money have been met with ever greater response.

MR. ILSLEY

Mr. Ilsley said returns to Saturday showed Canadians had purchased $1,364,000,000 of Victory Bonds, indicating that the final result will be more than $1,375,000,000—as against a minimum objective of $1,200,000,000.

Canada had never yet been disappointed in her Victory Loan drives. The entire population deserved praise, but thanks were due especially to men and women of the armed forces, who subscribed a total of more than $35,000,000.

"Our troops in the Mediterranean area alone, who are actually fighting mile by mile across the mountains and valleys of Italy, subscribed almost $1,000,000."

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Mr. Towers said Victory Loan canvassers constitute the "greatest volunteer selling organization on earth," and the success of each loan depends on their loyalty, purpose and devotion. This organization is supported by "countless thousands" of other Canadians without whose whole-hearted cooperation the loan would not succeed.

"The Fifth Victory Loan was a national enterprise, participated in by virtually every family in the Dominion. To thank one is to thank all. Let us all, then, take pride in the achievement and by the success attained take new heart for the future, and with renewed vigor carry on the tasks that are severally ours . . . that, in unity of effort, will truly speed the victory."

PERHAPS ANSWERING GODBOUT

There was some speculation here last night whether Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a broadcast address thanking Canadians for the success of the Fifth Victory Loan, was making a reply to Quebec reports that he had told Premier Godbout last week the war is likely to end next spring and it might even finish "any day now."

There has been no statement from the prime minister on the remark attributed to Mr. Godbout and reported by three Quebec City newspapers.

In Quebec Saturday Mr. Godbout's secretary issued, without comment, this brief statement: "I have enough difficulty myself figuring out when the war will end and I shall not try to interpret the opinion of state leaders on the subject."

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date NOV 15 1943

Subject

D 43865

Speculation On Mr. King's Words As Reply To Story On Possible End Of War

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In his broadcast address last night Mr. King said the Allies have indeed achieved progress towards ultimate victory but the supreme effort has still to be made, and that he assumed, with Prime Minister Winston Churchill, that "the 1944 campaign in Europe will be the most severe and, to the Western Allies, the most costly in lives of any we have yet fought."

The Prime Minister continued:

"Recent achievements on the diplomatic front, as well as advances made in different battle fronts, have led to much speculation as to a possible early termination of the war. In making estimates of the kind, the wish is apt to be father to the thought. It is, of course, a commonplace to say that, at any time, anything may happen.

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Office of
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Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date NOV 15 1943

D 46866

Subject

King Thanks Canadians For Success of Loan

Ottawa, Nov. 14 (CP). — Prime Minister Mackenzie King said tonight that by their response to the $1,200,000,000 Fifth Victory Loan appeal Canadians have demonstrated their "overwhelming determination to speed the victory."

In an address carried over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King, joined by Finance Minister Ilsley and Graham F. Towers, chairman of the National War Finance Committee, expressed the Government's appreciation of the splendid response to the campaign, and thanked the War Finance Committee, the canvassers and those who, by their contributions, made possible this latest wartime achievement.

He said Mr. Ilsley's task has not been an easy one. However, the Finance Minister's confidence in the patriotism of the men and women of Canada "has been increasingly justified as new calls for larger sums of money have been met with ever greater response."

The Allies have indeed achieved progress toward ultimate victory, but the supreme effort has still to be made. Mr. King said he assumed, with Prime Minister Churchill, that the 1944 campaign in Europe will be the most severe "and, to the Western Allies, the most costly in lives of any we have yet fought."

Will Save Lives.

Consequently, every effective contribution now made will "speed the victory and save many lives." That is why the success of Canada's Fifth Victory Loan will "continue to mean so much to our fighting men."

Mr. Ilsley said returns to Saturday showed Canadians had purchased $1,364,000,000 of Victory bonds, indicating that the final result will be more than $1,375,000,000 —as against a minimum objective of $1,200,000,000.

Canada had never yet been disappointed in her Victory Loan drives. The entire population deserved praise, but thanks were due especially to men and women of the armed forces, who subscribed a total of more than $35,000,000.

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"The Fifth Victory Loan was a national enterprise, participated in by virtually every family in the Dominion. To thank one is to thank all. Let us all, then, take pride in the achievement and by the success attained take new heart for the future, and with renewed vigor carry on the tasks that are severally ours . . . that, in unity of effort, will truly speed the victory."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Nov.15/43

Subject

D 46637

1944 WAR TO BE 'COSTLIEST' WARNING OF PREMIER KING

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Ottawa, Nov. 15—Next year's campaign in Europe will be the costliest in lives to the western Allies. It may finish before this time next year or may go beyond that, Premier King said in a national broadcast last night.

"All that we know of a certainty," asserted the prime minister in the course of thanking the Canadian people for the success of the Fifth Victory Loan, "is that every effective contribution we now make will speed the victory and save many lives."

Following is the text of Mr. King's address:

Whole Outlook Changed

"We have just observed another day of remembrance. In the time that has elapsed since Remembrance Day a year ago, the whole outlook of the present war has changed. Where there were defeats and disappointments, there have lately been a series of successes. We have all been gaining new hope because of many victories.

"Today, we are experiencing great satisfaction in the success of Canada's Fifth Victory Loan. With the largest objective in the history of our war financing, the people have demonstrated their overwhelming determination to speed the victory.

"I wish tonight to express the government's appreciation of the splendid response to the campaign. The minister of finance, Mr. Ilsley, and the chairman of the national war finance committee, Mr. Towers, will tell you of the totals thus far reported, and the interesting story of how some of the outstanding results were attained. I should like to express the thanks of the government to Mr. Towers, and to those who devoted themselves so wholeheartedly to the patriotic task of selling victory bonds. I wish also to thank those who assisted in the campaign by explaining the purposes of the loan; and to thank all who, by their contributions, have made possible this latest wartime achievement.

"Task Not Easy One"

"The minister of finance's task has not been an easy one. I am sure you will wish to join me in extending heartiest congratulations to Mr. Ilsley on the success of the loan. His confidence in the patriotism of the men and women of Canada has been increasingly justified as new calls for larger sums of money have been met with ever greater response.

"Recent achievements on the diplomatic front, as well as advances made in different battle fronts, have led to much speculation as to a possible early termination of the war. In making estimates of the kind, the wish is apt to be father to the thought. It is, of course, a commonplace to say that, at any time, anything may happen. That, however, is far from being a realistic way of viewing the progress of wars, and more particularly of calculating how, once begun, wars are brought to a close. The whole experience of war makes clear that progress toward final victory is much slower than at times it appears to be.

Supreme Effort Still to Come

"At the beginning of this year, many believed the course of its days would witness the supreme effort which would constitute a prelude to the unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil. Progress towards ultimate victory has indeed been achieved. The supreme effort, however, has still to be made.

"For my part, I believe 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 Enrope 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."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Nov.15/43

D 46868

Subject

Not Guessing Time War Will End

PRIME MINISTER W. L. MACKENZIE KING last night indirectly answered Premier Adelard Godbout, who is reported to have said Mr. King told him the war would be over by next spring. Joining with Hon. J. L. Ilsley, minister of finance, and Graham Towers, governor of the Bank of Canada and head of the Victory Loan Committee, Mr. King said no one can tell how long the campaign in Europe will last. It may be over before another Remembrance Day (November 11) or it may not. It is not being realistic in calculating when a war may end to say that anything may happen at any time. The only certainty is that every effective contribution made will shorten the war and save lives, he declared.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date Nov.15/43

Subject

P.M. Radio

D 46869

Mise en garde par le très hon. M. King

Nous avons gagné des victoires, mais l'effort suprême reste à venir, dit le premier ministre en félicitant les Canadiens du succès de l'emprunt.

Ottawa, 15. (D.N.C.) — Prenant la parole à la radio, hier soir, pour remercier les Canadiens de la générosité dont ils ont fait preuve dans leurs souscriptions au récent emprunt de la Victoire, le premier ministre King, a mis le public en garde contre la tendance à prendre des désirs pour des réalités et à escompter une fin trop prochaine de la guerre.

"Nous venons de célébrer un autre jour du souvenir", a dit le très hon. M. King. Durant le temps qui s'est écoulé depuis le même jour l'an dernier, la guerre a pris un aspect entièrement nouveau. Les déceptions et les défaites ont fait place à une série de succès. De nouveaux espoirs ont surgi à la suite de plusieurs victoires.

"Aujourd'hui nous éprouvons une grande satisfaction devant le succès du 5e emprunt de guerre du Canada. Ayant à atteindre l'objectif le plus élevé dans toute l'histoire de notre finance de guerre, notre peuple a montré sa détermination de hâter la victoire.

Reconnaissance du gouvernement

"Je veux exprimer ce soir l'appréciation du gouvernement pour le splendide accueil fait à la campagne.

"Je veux exprimer la reconnaissance du gouvernement à l'endroit de M. Towers, ainsi qu'à ceux qui se sont dévoués avec tant de coeur à la tâche patriotique de vendre des obligations de la victoire. Je désire aussi remercier ceux qui ont aidé à la campagne en exposant les buts de l'emprunt; de même que tous ceux qui ont apporté leur concours pour que cette oeuvre de guerre soit accomplie.

"La tâche du ministre des finances n'était pas facile. Je suis sûr que vous voudrez vous joindre à moi pour lui adresser les plus sincères félicitations pour le succès de l'emprunt. La confiance qu'il a placée dans le patriotisme des hommes et femmes du Canada s'est trouvée de plus en plus justifiée puisque les nouvelles demandes de plus grandes sommes d'argent ont été accueillies avec un succès grandissant.

Mise en garde

"Les récents événements diplomatiques, de même que les avances des fronts de bataille, ont donné lieu à des hypothèses au sujet d'une fin de guerre prochaine. Dans ces sortes de spéculations, les désirs sont susceptibles de prendre le pas sur les idées. C'est un lieu commun assurément que de dire que tout peut arriver à tout moment. Mais cela est loin de constituer une façon réaliste d'envisager la marche des guerres, et surtout de juger comment les guerres, une fois commencées, doivent se terminer. Toutes les leçons de guerre montrent clairement que la montée vers la victoire finale est beaucoup plus lente qu'on peut le croire à certains moments.

"L'effort suprême reste à venir"

"Au début de la présente année, plusieurs croyaient que nous verrions, dans le cours de l'année, l'effort suprême qui eût été le prélude de la reddition sans condition des forces allemandes sur le sol allemand. Il est vrai que nous avons fait des progrès dans le sens de la victoire. L'effort suprême cependant reste à venir.

"Pour ma part, je crois que la seule prétention sur laquelle on doive se baser est celle que nous a récemment révélée M. Churchill: à savoir que la campagne de 1944 en Europe sera la plus dure et, pour les alliés, la plus coûteuse en vies humaines que l'on ait connue.

"Personne ne peut dire combien de temps cette campagne durera; elle se terminera peut-être avant le prochain jour du souvenir, peut-être après. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que tout l'effort réel fait par nous en ce moment hâtera la Victoire et sauvera bien des vies. Voilà pourquoi le succès du 5e emprunt de guerre canadien continuera d'avoir une si grande signification pour nos combattants".

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
75		"Politics and the War", (National Liberal Federation), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 46529 - D 46557	
75		Welcome to Dr. Fernandez (for Minister of Chile), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1943	D 46558 - D 46564	
75		National Liberal Federation, Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 46565 - D 46832	
75		Art Show, Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Oct. 1943	D 46833 - D 46841	
75		Victory Loan Appreciation, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1943	D 46842 - D 46869	
75		Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Nov. 1943	D 46870 - D 46873	
75		Radio Broadcast to Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 46874 - D 46901	
75		Radio: New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 46902 - D 46922	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

file

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Journal

Date Nov.29/43

Subject

5172/43

Meeting of March

D 46870

Liberals Annoyed That P.M.'s Speech Not Made Publicly

Ottawa and district Liberals this morning were outspoken in their criticism of the decision which closed to press and public the Friday night session when Prime Minister King addressed executives of the Eastern Ontario and the management committee of the Ontario Liberal associations.

The management committee, it was explained this morning, had closed the meeting because Mr. King had been expected to talk politics and elections.

Ignoring both subjects, he confined himself exclusively to a "highly optimistic" outline of Canada's post-war prospects, and Liberals were complaining that in the exclusion of press and public an opportunity to favorably publicize the Government and the party had been lost.

Mr. King's talk, according to two Liberal M.P.s, was one of the best efforts the Prime Minister had made in more than a year.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date NOV 25 1943

Subject

D4687

King Plans Broadcast On Government Policy

By KENNETH C. CRAGG

Ottawa, Nov. 24.—Canada's new labor code, on which the Cabinet and Government advisers are currently performing a final polishing, a new wartime wages control order and policy statements bearing on price control and postwar rehabilitation, will be unveiled shortly by Prime Minister King in a nation-wide broadcast.

Up until a late hour tonight date of the address had not been set. The Cabinet, following a meeting of its War Committee today, held a late session to discuss the program.

Its importance can be guaged by the fact that the Prime Minister will announce it, although it concerns three other departments of Government, Labor, Finance and Munitions and Supply. Rehabilitation is in a different category in that it affects every branch of Government.

Administration of the code is founded on decisions reached at the recent conference on labor relations between the Dominion and the Provinces, and its terms will be restricted to war industries. Ontario representatives to the conference took the stand that it, with its collective bargaining and associated regulations, should be made to apply to all industries.

There is, however, nothing in the code that would prevent a Province bringing all industries within its jurisdiction under the terms of the order and still reserve its authority over non-war industries. Standardization of labor relations machinery throughout the Dominion was, in fact, the objective of the Federal Department of Labor, an objective on which it had to compromise due to opposition from Quebec and some of the other Provinces.

To Insist on Stabilization.

British Columbia, third industrial Province, for example, showed a tendency toward intense pride in its new collective bargaining legislation and a desire to maintain it as a guiding force in its labor relations in the non-war industrial field. Ottawa labor advisers, as a matter of fact, concede to British Columbia the position of having the best collective bargaining act in the Dominion—its own, the new one, excepted.

The new code applies also to those categories, of which transportation is a main one, that come under the old Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which it now supercedes.

The Prime Minister, it is stated, will make clear that the Government is committed unalterably to the wages and prices stabilization policy. The new wages control order, its framers believe, will permit a tighter control of wages and their effect upon inflation while, at the same time, allowing to the National War Labor Board a broader discretion in relieving low wage groups.

Following recommendations made both by Mr. Justice McTague, chairman of the board and J. L. Cohen, K.C., former member, from the board's inquiry into labor relations, the board will be expanded from a three-man to a five-man body. It is expected that Mr. Justice McTague will remain as its chairman. At the present time, he is aided by one representative each of labor and employers. In the future, the chairman will continue to act as the public's representative and labor and employer representation will be expanded to two each.

It is expected that the McTague report, and Mr. Cohen's minority report, which have been in the Government's hands since last August, will be released by the Prime Minister.

D 68[illegible]2

Ottawa Evening Journal
Nov. 29, 1943

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Mr. King's talk, according to two Liberal M.P.s, was one of the best efforts the Prime Minister had made in more than a year.

D46873

wj

W.J.T.

P.S.

The army Public Relations branch is also to submit a draft.

December 17, 1943.

1.

2. Marshall

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
75		"Politics and the War", (National Liberal Federation), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 46529 - D 46557	
75		Welcome to Dr. Fernandez (for Minister of Chile), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1943	D 46558 - D 46564	
75		National Liberal Federation, Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 46565 - D 46832	
75		Art Show, Opening of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Oct. 1943	D 46833 - D 46841	
75		Victory Loan Appreciation, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1943	D 46842 - D 46869	
75		Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Nov. 1943	D 46870 - D 46873	
75		Radio Broadcast to Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 46874 - D 46901	
75		Radio: New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 46902 - D 46922	

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 46874

MEMORANDUM

For the Prime Minister.

The C.B.C. telephoned yesterday to say that there was a possibility that they would, through use of B.B.C. facilities, be able to broadcast to our troops in the Mediterranean area. Today the arrangement has been confirmed. In anticipation of this, a draft message by yourself is submitted.

The C.B.C. would like you to take three or four minutes and suggest that it be recorded on Monday next so that they can make sure of having it transmitted overseas on a day when the reception is good.

D 46875

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re Broadcast to Mediterranean

The C. B. C. have just told the office that this broadcast could be recorded any time between 2 and 4 p.m. this afternoon. The latest time for recording with any assurance that the message will be received in time is 4 p.m., as it is intended to beam it overseas at 5 p.m. A beam channel has been reserved for this hour.

The actual programme to be broadcast to the Canadian forces in the Mediterranean is being made up in London. So far as is known in Ottawa it will include:

Music by Mart Kenny's band

Remarks by the Prime Minister

Statements (2 minutes each) from
Col. Ralston and Mr. Power

Comments on Canadian news by
Foster Hewitt (sports announcer)

Yours,
J. A. G.

Dec. 22

MEMORIAL AT AGIRA TO CANADIAN DEAD



At the top of a broad gravelled path on a hill near Agira in Sicily stands this cross commemorating Canadian troops who died in action during the Sicilian campaign. The memorial was fashioned by Italian craftsmen out of Syracuse limestone, with a superimposed crusader's sword, and will be the central feature of the Canadian cemetery in Sicily.

The Symbol of The Cross

D 46877 A2

Mingled with our Christmas wishes this year are remembrances of many brave men fallen in battle, many undaunted airmen who never returned, many stout-hearted mariners whose sepulchre is become the sounding sea.

Some of us have seen the cross -- the Crusaders Cross of White Limestone, erected in the Canadian cemetery near the battlefield of Agira. The cross has always been a symbol of sacrifice, and at this season of remembrance of Him who was the Prince of Peace, the Canadian Cross will become for many in our midst a symbol of the peace which we are striving to build.

The Prospect of Peace

D 46878 B 3

At this festival of the Prince of Peace, our thoughts, like yours, range beyond victory to the peace that will follow. We are striving to plan and to organize the peace you are earning for us, so that it may endure for generations to come. We are planning for the day of your return, a country which will accord you opportunities worthy of your exertions and your sacrifices.

The fighting men of Canada, I know, will wish me as well to extend, on behalf of all our people, fraternal greetings to your comrades in arms of all the United Nations. You are all joined together in a great brotherhood in arms to uphold the Christian ideal of human brotherhood which is the hope of the world. At this Christmas season, Canada salutes all the fighting men of the United Nations.

Strength in War and Peace

B 2
D 46879

The hour of reunion for most of you awaits the hour of victory. All Canada is proud of your splendid part in bringing victory nearer. Canadian ships and Canadian sailors in the Mediterranean are writing a brilliant chapter in the naval history of our country. Canadian airmen in Africa, Italy and the Middle East are upholding the finest of our national traditions in aerial warfare. Canadian troops in Sicily and in Italy have been worthy successors of the Canadian Corps of a quarter of a century ago. No country can offer higher praise to its fighting men.

The armed forces and the people of Canada have made our country strong in war; we must strive equally, once victory is achieved, to make Canada happy and prosperous in peace.

Expression of Greetings

D 46880 B 1

I am happy to have the opportunity, on behalf of all Canadians, to extend Christmas greetings to the men who are serving in Canada's forces in Italy, North Africa and throughout the Mediterranean area, whether on land, at sea or in the air. For some of you this will be the fifth Christmas spent away from your homes and your loved ones. All of you, whether the separation has been long or short, are in our thoughts at this season. Your families and friends are hoping and praying for your early and safe return to Canada.

With the greetings from Canada, I bring you the assurance that your country and your own people are united in support of your efforts. We are resolved, until the war is won, to exert ourselves to the utmost to ensure victory and to ensure it as speedily as possible.

The Hope of Peace

A 3

D 46881

As you celebrate this Christmas, you may be sure that you are ever in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and of all the people of Canada. As you enter into the New Year of 1944 -- a year of hope and expectancy for us all -- you will know that the prayers for your safety and your early return to your homeland are steadfast and sincere. They are mingled with our longing for peace -- a just peace -- that shall endure and make strong and secure the welfare of our own and future generations.

It will make us all happy if you will share the Christmas wishes we send to you with your comrades-in-arms of other United Nations. Their efforts joined with yours will hasten the day of victory.

Once again I send to you all the wish that is old, yet ever new -- a joyous Christmas and a bright New Year.

A 1

D 46882

DRAFT

JAG/DR
20:12:43

The Battle of Italy after 6 Months

~~Christmas Broadcast to Mediterranean~~

It is nearly six months since all Canada was thrilled by the news of Canadian landings near Pachino, in Sicily. This assault was the very beginning of the battle for the liberation of Italy. Today, with the battle of Italy still proceeding on the mainland against the Nazi enemy, the people of Canada have been following the fighting with an interest which mounts with each succeeding day.

The battles from Pachino to Orsogna in which Canadian forces have served have become a part of our contribution on the fighting fronts of this world wide war. It is with a vivid remembrance of those contributions that I send to you today, the fighting men of Canada, the most cordial greetings and our united good wishes.

(1) When this war began more than four years ago, none of us could foresee or know that, in 1943, many thousands of our soldiers, sailors and airmen would be spending Christmas in Italy, or in North Africa, or elsewhere in the Mediterranean theatre of operations. But the warmth of the greetings which we send to you grows greater by the knowledge of how substantially your efforts have carried Canada, together with the United Nations, along the road towards final victory.

ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE

OUR FILE.....
REF. YOUR.....
DATED.....

The Office of the Prime Minister

For the Prime Minister

(Att'n. Mr. Pickersgill)

1. Herewith draft notes which you requested.

D 46883

2. It is regretted that the pressure of time has made it impossible to have "fair" copies prepared. It is realized however, that revisions of the draft will be necessary.

3. For your approval, pls.

L.M. McKechnie

(L.M. McKechnie)
A/DPR, RCAF 20.12.43

Last para p 2

R.C.A.F. G. 32C 700M—4-43 (3200) H.Q. 885-G-32C

46884

DRAFT NOTES FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

Radio Broadcast to the armed forces, Middle East and Medtterranean, Dec 25/43

To the Canadian armed forces fighting in the Medterranean area and to their comrades and Allies I bring you today the warmest greetings of all Canadians at home. To you and to your kind alone we owe the fact that at home we are enjoying this day in security; with peace in our own lamd and with a degree of happiness tempered only by your absence from our midst.

Because of your determined effort and gallant sacrifices, the possibilities of the failure of our cause have lost their terror. You have given us confidence. You have revealed that our highest hopes may be realized soon.

But because my voice today brings you this message of pride and hope and confidence do not conclude that we are insensitive to the immensity of the task which lies before you and before us to support you.

The battle for Italy has been consistently tough and it is recognized here at home that there has been no deterioriation in the fighting ability of your enemies in spite of the realiztion throughout Germany that they have no chance of winning the war.

We are fully aware here at home that the enemy still has powerful forces in the field. We know that to defeat these huge forces, to draw finally the fangs of agression and give back a measure of stability to civilization, is still a gigantic task. We know too well the price you are prepared to pay for that ultimate success and we solemnly acknowledge, now, our debt to you.

To our gallant Navy we owe a debt, not only for their work in the Medterranean but for their help im holding the Atlantic life-line which has made the rest possible. A year ago the outlook for the great and continuous Battle of the Atlantic was very grim. Today thanks to the Navy and to the Air Force, it is reasonable to hope that the twilight of the U-boat is approaching.

D 46885

To the men of our Army, I can say as simply as possible for the Canadian people... " we are proud." The manner in which you have struck at the enemy,consistently driving him back over the most difficult terrain, has been beyond praise. Gradually you are penetrating that fortress which the enemy has called "impregnable" bringing with you the added terror to the Germams of air bases closer to the heart of their country. Obviously Germany is desperately anxious to keep our heavy bombers as far away as possible from her industry in Sputh Germany and Austria.

In relation to the action on the Russian front, the Italian operation may be a small one. But you are killing Germans, you are demonstrating your superiority in men and equipment and you are a spearhead threatening the very vitals of the enemy.

You, I can well say for the people of Canada, have maintained the highest fighting traditions of Canadians.

To the men of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Canada sends a special salute. You are making a major contribution to the allied air offensive which daily over Germany grows in fury and effect. In a dozen theatres of combat you are fighting with great skill and daring. In the Medterranean theatre you have been particularly active both in long range bombing missions and in close support for our armies. There is no need for me to recite the facts of your deeds. But the Canadian people expect me to tell you of their admiration and gratitude. It is unbounded.

Germany today stands as a rotten tree. How far that rot has penetrated we cannot be sure. Some sudden disaster may bring it crashing. But it is the wiser course to assume that it still may take many heavy blows to bring it down. It is to tell you that we are fully confident of your ability to strike those blows and to tell you that we are prepared to support you to our utmost that I address you today.

Let us pray God that a year from today the task will be over and the prospect of many Christmases at home be bright.

D 46886

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re Broadcast to Mediterranean

The C. B. C. have just told the office that this broadcast could be recorded any time between 2 and 4 p.m. this afternoon. The latest time for recording with any assurance that the message will be received in time is 4 p.m., as it is intended to beam it overseas at 5 p.m. A beam channel has been reserved for this hour.

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Statements (2 minutes each) from
Col. Ralston and Mr. Power

Comments on Canadian news by
Foster Hewitt (sports announcer)

J. A. G.

Dec. 22

DRAFT

JAG/DR
20:12:43

D 46887

A 1

Christmas Broadcast to Mediterranean

It is nearly six months since all Canada was thrilled by the news of Canadian landings near Pachino, in Sicily. This assault was the very beginning of the battle for the liberation of Italy. Today, with the battle of Italy still proceeding on the mainland against the Nazi enemy, the people of Canada have been following the fighting with an interest which mounts with each succeeding day.

The battles from Pachino to Orsogna in which Canadian forces have served have become a part of our contribution on the fighting fronts of this world wide war. It is with a vivid remembrance of those contributions that I send to you today, the fighting men of Canada, the most cordial greetings and our united good wishes.

When this war began more than four years ago, none of us could foresee or know that, in 1943, many thousands of our soldiers, sailors and airmen would be spending Christmas in Italy, or in North Africa, or elsewhere in the Mediterranean theatre of operations. But the warmth of the greetings which we send to you grows greater by the knowledge of how substantially your efforts have carried Canada, together with the United Nations, along the road towards final victory.

A 2

Mingled with our Christmas wishes this year are remembrances of many brave men fallen in battle, many undaunted airmen who never returned, many stout-hearted mariners whose sepulchre is becoming the sounding sea.

D A6888

A 2

Some of us have seen the cross -- the Crusaders Cross of White Limestone, erected in the Canadian cemetery near the battlefield of Agira. The cross has always been a symbol of sacrifice, and at this season of remembrance of Him who was the Prince of Peace, the Canadian Cross will become for many in our midst a symbol of the peace which we are striving to build.

A 3

As you celebrate this Christmas, you may be sure that you are ever in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and of all the people of Canada. As you enter into the New Year of 1944 -- a year of hope and expectancy for us all -- you will know that the prayers for your safety and your early return to your homeland are steadfast and sincere. They are mingled with our longing for peace -- a just peace -- that shall endure and make strong and secure the welfare of our own and future generations.

It will make us all happy if you will share the Christmas wishes we send to you with your comrades-in-arms of other United Nations. Their efforts joined with yours will hasten the day of victory.

Once again I send to you all the wish that is old, yet ever new -- a joyous Christmas and a bright New Year.

DRAFT

JAG/DR
20:12:43

D 46889

A 1

Christmas Broadcast to Mediterranean

It is nearly six months since all Canada was thrilled by the news of Canadian landings near Pachino, in Sicily. This assault was the very beginning of the battle for the liberation of Italy. Today, with the battle of Italy still proceeding on the mainland against the Nazi enemy, the people of Canada have been following the fighting with an interest which mounts with each succeeding day.

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Mingled with our Christmas wishes this year are remembrances of many brave men fallen in battle, many undaunted airmen who never returned, many stout-hearted mariners whose sepulchre is becoming the sounding sea.

D 16890

Some of us have seen the cross -- the Crusaders Cross of White Limestone, erected in the Canadian cemetery near the battlefield of Agira. The cross has always been a symbol of sacrifice, and at this season of remembrance of Him who was the Prince of Peace, the Canadian Cross will become for many in our midst a symbol of the peace which we are striving to build.

As you celebrate this Christmas, you may be sure that you are ever in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and of all the people of Canada. As you enter into the New Year of 1944 -- a year of hope and expectancy for us all -- you will know that the prayers for your safety and your early return to your homeland are steadfast and sincere. They are mingled with our longing for peace -- a just peace -- that shall endure and make strong and secure the welfare of our own and future generations.

It will make us all happy if you will share the Christmas wishes we send to you with your comrades-in-arms of other United Nations. Their efforts joined with yours will hasten the day of victory.

Once again I send to you all the wish that is old, yet ever new -- a joyous Christmas and a bright New Year.

Draft

Copy for Mr Sebom

VW1

B 1

Christmas broadcast to Mediterranean

D 46891

I am happy to have the opportunity, on behalf of all Canadians, to extend Christmas greetings to the men who are serving in Canada's forces in Italy, North Africa and throughout the Mediterranean area, whether on land, at sea or in the air. For some of you this will be the fifth Christmas spent away from your homes and your loved ones. All of you, whether the separation has been long or short, are in our thoughts at this season. Your families and friends are hoping and praying for your early and safe return to Canada. + B2

B3

The hour of reunion for most of you awaits the hour of victory. All Canada is proud of your splendid part in bringing victory nearer. Canadian ships and Canadian sailors in the Mediterranean are writing a brilliant chapter in the naval history of our country. Canadian airmen in Africa, Italy and the Middle East are upholding the finest of our national traditions in aerial warfare. Canadian troops in Sicily and in Italy have been worthy successors of the Canadian Corps of a quarter of a century ago. No country can offer higher praise to its fighting men. + B4

D 46892

B2

With the greetings from Canada, I bring you the assurance that your country and your own people are united in support of your efforts. We are resolved, until the war is won, to exert ourselves to the utmost to ensure victory and to ensure it as speedily as possible.

B5

At this festival of the Prince of Peace, our thoughts, like yours, range beyond victory to the peace that will follow. We are striving to plan and to organize the peace you are earning for us, so that it may endure for generations to come. We are planning for the day of your return, a country which will accord you opportunities worthy of your exertions and your sacrifices. + B6

B4

The armed forces and the people of Canada have made our country strong in war; we must strive equally, once victory is achieved, to make Canada happy and prosperous in peace.

B6

The fighting men of Canada, I know, will wish me as well to extend, on behalf of all our people, fraternal greetings to your comrades in arms of all the United Nations. You are all joined together in a great brotherhood in arms to uphold the Christian ideal of human brotherhood which is the hope of the world. At this Christmas season, Canada salutes all the fighting men of the United Nations.

U Copy for Mr Gibson

Draft notes for the Prime Minister, supplied by the Public Relations Branch of the Armed Forces

D46893

To the Canadian armed forces fighting in the Mediterranean area and to their comrades and Allies I bring you today the warmest greetings of all Canadians at home. To you and to your kind alone we owe the fact that at home we are enjoying this day in security; with peace in our own land and with a degree of happiness tempered only by your absence from our midst.

Because of your determined effort and gallant sacrifices, the possibilities of the failure of our cause have lost their terror. You have given us confidence. You have revealed that our highest hopes may be realized soon.

But because my voice today brings you this message of pride and hope and confidence do not conclude that we are insensitive to the immensity of the task which lies before you and before us to support you.

The battle for Italy has been consistently tough and it is recognized here at home that there has been no deterioration in the fighting ability of your enemies in spite of the realization throughout Germany that they have no chance of winning the war.

D 46894

We are fully aware here at home that the enemy still has powerful forces in the field. We know that to defeat these huge forces, to draw finally the fangs of aggression and give back a measure of stability to civilization, is still a gigantic task. We know too well the price you are prepared to pay for that ultimate success and we solemnly acknowledge, now, our debt to you.

To our gallant Navy we owe a debt, not only for their work in the Mediterranean but for their help in holding the Atlantic life-line which has made the rest possible. A year ago the outlook for the great and continuous Battle of the Atlantic was very grim. Today thanks to the Navy and to the Air Force, it is reasonable to hope that the twilight of the U-boat is approaching.

To the men of our Army, I can say as simply as possible for the Canadian people ... "We are proud." The manner in which you have struck at the enemy, consistently driving him back over the most difficult terrain, has been beyond praise. Gradually you are penetrating that fortress which the enemy has called "impregnable" bringing with you the added terror to the Germans of air bases closer to the heart of their country. Obviously Germany is desperately anxious to keep our heavy bombers as far away as possible from her industry in South Germany and Austria.

D 46895

In relation to the action on the Russian front, the Italian operation may be a small one. But you are killing Germans, you are demonstrating your superiority in men and equipment and you are a spearhead threatening the very vitals of the enemy.

You, I can well say for the people of Canada, have maintained the highest fighting traditions of Canadians.

To the men of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Canada sends a special salute. You are making a major contribution to the allied air offensive over Germany which daily grows in fury and effect. In a dozen theatres of combat you are fighting with great skill and daring. In the Mediterranean theatre you have been particularly active both in long range bombing missions and in close support for our armies. There is no need for me to recite the facts of your deeds. But the Canadian people expect me to tell you of their admiration and gratitude. It is unbounded.

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Let us pray God that a year from today the task will be over and the prospect of many Christmases at home be bright.

D 46896

For release to the press
for publication after 12 noon E.D.T.
Friday, December 24, 1943.

Christmas message from Prime Minister Mackenzie King
broadcast to Canada's armed forces
in the Mediterranean area
December 25, 1943

On this Christmas Day, I am particularly happy to have the opportunity to speak to the men and women who are serving abroad in Canada's forces. I do so on behalf of all Canadians. From all at home, I bring to you the warmest of Christmas greetings.

For some of you, this will be the fifth Christmas away from your homes and your loved ones. Whether your absence has been long or short, you are all, more than ever, in our thoughts.

When the war began in September, 1939, none of us could have foreseen that in 1943, many thousands of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen would be spending Christmas in Italy, North Africa and throughout the Mediterranean area. This year, in the Mediterannean, Canadian sailors have been writing a brilliant chapter in the naval history of our country. In Africa, Italy and the Middle East, Canadian airmen are adding, day by day, to the highest traditions in aerial warfare.

In Sicily, some six months ago, the landing of Canadian troops, along with British and American troops, marked the very beginning of the battle for the liberation of Europe. Within three months, Italy had surrendered unconditionally. Since that hour, we at home have been following your fight against the Nazi enemy, with an interest and pride which have mounted with each succeeding day. All Canada is proud of your achievements in battle.

At this Christmas Season, you have reason to rejoice that you are fighting to preserve the spirit of Christmas itself. You are fighting to save from destruction its contribution to civilization, and to extend, throughout the world, its influence for good.

D 46897

Mingled with our Christmas wishes is the remembrance of those of your comrades whose sepulchre is the sounding sea or the soil of distant lands. There could be no more fitting symbol of their sacrifice than the crusaders' cross which you have raised near the battlefield of Agira. Its symbolism holds its place in our hearts, as it does in yours.

To your comrades in arms of the United Nations, I extend, with you, the warmest of fraternal greetings. You are all joined together in a militant brotherhood to uphold in arms the Christian ideal of human brotherhood which is the hope of the world.

With these greetings from Canada, I bring you the assurance that your country is united in support of your efforts. Like you, we are all resolved to exert ourselves to the utmost to ensure victory, and to ensure it as speedily as possible.

As you enter the New Year, remember that every day you will be in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and that the efforts of all in Canada will be joined with yours to hasten your safe return to your native land.

My renewed best of wishes to you all!

D 46898

For release to the press
for publication after 12 noon E.D.T.
Friday, December 24, 1943.

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broadcast to Canada's armed forces
in the Mediterranean area
December 25, 1943

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At this Christmas Season, you have reason to rejoice that you are fighting to preserve the spirit of Christmas itself. You are fighting to save from destruction its contribution to civilization, and to extend, throughout the world, its influence for good.

D 46899

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With these greetings from Canada, I bring you the assurance that your country is united in support of your efforts. Like you, we are all resolved to exert ourselves to the utmost to ensure victory, and to ensure it as speedily as possible.

As you enter the New Year, remember that every day you will be in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and that the efforts of all in Canada will be joined with yours to hasten your safe return to your native land.

My renewed best of wishes to you all!

D 46900

For release to the press
for publication after 12 noon E.D.T.
Friday, December 24, 1943.

Christmas message from Prime Minister Mackenzie King
broadcast to Canada's armed forces
in the Mediterranean area
December 25, 1943

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At this Christmas Season, you have reason to rejoice that you are fighting to preserve the spirit of Christmas itself. You are fighting to save from destruction its contribution to civilization, and to extend, throughout the world, its influence for good.

D 46901

Mingled with our Christmas wishes is the remembrance of those of your comrades whose sepulchre is the sounding sea or the soil of distant lands. There could be no more fitting symbol of their sacrifice than the crusaders' cross which you have raised near the battlefield of Agira. Its symbolism holds its place in our hearts, as it does in yours.

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As you enter the New Year, remember that every day you will be in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and that the efforts of all in Canada will be joined with yours to hasten your safe return to your native land.

My renewed best of wishes to you all!

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
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75		Radio: New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 46902 - D 46922	

DRAFT

SoA 1944

D 46902

A New Year Message

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

The world is on the eve of a new year which may be as momentous as any year in the history of mankind. ~~In the coming year, if all~~ only if all do their part, ~~we~~ may witness the defeat and collapse of Nazi Germany. ~~We may also hope for great progress in the struggle to destroy the militarism of Japan.~~

The Canadian people have every right to be proud of the achievements of our navy, army and air force in the year now ended. For our fighting men, the new year will bring even harder fighting and heavier losses. We know they will be equal to whatever tasks they undertake. It is for all of us at home to do our utmost to ensure that their sacrifices will not be in vain.

Three duties will be imposed by the stern taskmaster of war on the people of Canada in the coming year. Our fighting men will require all the support we can give them by our work, by our savings, and by our steadfastness on the home front. Canada's national security after the war will depend upon international co-operation to keep the peace won by the fighting men of the United Nations. The

D 46903

foundations of that international organization are being laid now. Its success will depend upon a united will for peace among our own people and the other free peoples of the world. Active support is as necessary to win the peace as to win the war.

The prosperity of our country, work and homes and security for the men who are fighting for our freedom and for all our people, will not be achieved by magic. Planning and preparation are needed. We can have a prosperous post-war Canada only if we are united in our arms and agreed upon the means of reaching the goals we set for ourselves.

The three tasks for 1944, as I see them, are to work for victory, to organize for security, and to plan for prosperity. Let these be the New Year's resolutions of the Canadian people.

DRAFT

JAG/Z
29-12-43

D46904

MESSAGE FOR NEW YEAR'S EVE

The people of Canada are standing today at the threshold of what may be one of the most momentous years in the history of our civilization.

I should like to give to all my fellow citizens a message of hope and encouragement as we enter upon this New Year.

It is a year in which we shall all have to exert our utmost efforts for victory.

Victory at any future date, and victory, if we are to achieve it at the earliest possible day, means many exertions and many sacrifices.

It means that we must back up our fighting men with every resource we can muster, and with all the weapons we can produce. We must support them in every way we can, so that our united effort, as a part of the larger effort of the United Nations, will help to speed the victory.

We must also hold fast on the home front. We must continue to combat the unseen enemies in our midst - cpmplacency, selfishness, and all the evils which will arise if we do not win the battle against inflation.

We must take care that at this critical moment we do not hazard the structure and substance of our war

D 46905

effort, and all the careful planning which has made it, by anything less than our best efforts, for every day until the enemy is defeated. No one can foretell how long it may be before the day of victory. The fighting is certain to be heavy, and there may be many anxious days before the enemy is brought to unconditional surrender. Throughout this New Year, we must have unquenchable faith in the ideals for which we all fight, implacable determination to see the fight through to the very end.

Here, in our own homeland, shall we not resolve in our hearts and minds that a better Canada shall arise - a Canada strengthened by the efforts of all the people; a Canada made proud by the remembrance of the laying down of many brave lives; a Canada rising to a new destiny in bringing food and clothing and the comfort of more generous humanity to many millions of the oppressed and persecuted of freedom-loving lands? May not the vision of a saner world, a durable peace, a more equitable distribution of the world's stores of abundance--may not all of these spur us on in the high quest for victory?

With a full realization of all that you have done throughout the years to make our country strong and its effort worthy, I extend to you all - the men and women and children of Canada, my greetings and best of wishes for the New Year.

Draft J. A. G.

D 46906

I should like to send to all the people of Canada a message of hope and good cheer as we enter upon 1944.

This year will demand an utmost effort for every day until victory is achieved. It will require of every citizen courage and endurance to meet the still heavier burden of sacrifice which may lie ahead.

In meeting these demands, we must back up ~~our~~ our fighting men wherever they serve. We must hold fast on the home front. We must work harder than ever for victory. We must grapple with problems of transition from the grim necessities of war to the humanitarian essentials of a durable peace.

The cause in which we fight is the greatest upon which our nation has ever embarked. Let us, each one, resolve to do our utmost to speed the victory in this New Year.

D 46907

CANADA'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

As we pass from the Old Year into the New, the thoughts of all Canada are of the men and women who are serving in ~~Canada's~~ our armed forces throughout the world, defending, with their lives, our liberties, and the world's freedom. Our thoughts are of the great company who have already given their lives that evil forces may be overborne and Christian civilization may survive.

We will hold in reverence for all time the memory of their supreme sacrifice. It has given to their names, and to the name of our country, an immortal place. Our thoughts are of the wounded, the maimed and the suffering; and of those who are confined to prison camps. Our thoughts are of the homes that have been bereaved of their loved ones. ~~One and all, have their place in our hearts tonight.~~

Our soldiers, sailors and airmen have fought, and continue to fight in order that everything which free men value and cherish may remain our inheritance, and become the heritage of future generations.

Tonight we are resolved, as never before, that their sacrifice shall not be in vain; that their warfare shall be crowned with victory. For our armed forces, 1944

D 46908

will bring harder fighting and heavier losses. For all of us at home, that should mean more of high endeavour, a deeper unity and the utmost effort ~~similar~~ we can put forth. Only if we all do ~~their~~ our part may we hope to witness the defeat and collapse of Nazi Germany in the coming year.

In the arena of world conflict, wherever the sons and daughters of Canada may be, we send to them tonight the word that their lives are more precious to us than all else; that our supreme aim is to ensure their early return to their own homeland. We want them to know that a united country is waiting to greet them with gratitude and pride. It is of that hour we are thinking as we welcome the dawn of a new year, the days of which give promise of victory.

What we wish for our own, we also wish for the fighting forces of all the United Nations.

W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister.

New Year's Eve,
1943

Draft

J. A. G.

D 46909

I should like to send to all the people of Canada a message of hope and good cheer as we enter upon 1944.

This year will demand an utmost effort for every day until victory is achieved. It will require of every citizen courage and endurance to meet the still heavier burden of sacrifice which may lie ahead.

In meeting these demands, we must back up our fighting men wherever they serve. We must hold fast on the home front. We must work harder than ever for victory. We must grapple with problems of transition from the grim necessities of war to the humanitarian essentials of a durable peace.

The cause in which we fight is the greatest upon which our nation has ever embarked. Let us, each one, resolve to do our utmost to speed the victory in this New Year.

D46910

CANADA'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

As we pass from the Old Year into the New, the thoughts of all Canada are of the men and women who are serving in our armed forces throughout the world, defending, with their lives, our liberties and the world's freedom. Our thoughts are of the wounded, the maimed and the suffering; and of those who are confined to prison camps. One and all have their place in our hearts tonight. Our thoughts are of the homes that have been bereaved of their loved ones. Our thoughts are of the great company who have already given their lives that evil forces may be overborne and Christian civilization may survive. We will hold in reverence for all time the memory of their supreme sacrifice. It has given to their names, and to the name of our country, an immortal place.

Our soldiers, sailors and airmen have fought and continue to fight, in order that everything which free men value and cherish may remain our inheritance, and become the heritage of future generations.

Tonight we are resolved, as never before, that their sacrifice shall not be in vain; that their warfare shall be crowned with victory. For our armed forces, 1944

D 46911

will bring harder fighting and heavier losses. For all of us at home, that should mean more of high endeavour, a deeper unity and the utmost effort we can put forth. Only if we all do our part may we hope to witness the defeat and collapse of Nazi Germany in the coming year.

In the arena of world conflict, wherever the sons and daughters of Canada may be, we send to them tonight the word that their lives are more precious to us than all else; that our supreme aim is to ensure their early return to their own homeland. We want them to know that a united country is waiting to greet them with gratitude and pride. It is of that hour we are thinking as we welcome the dawn of a new year, the days of which give promise of victory.

What we wish for our own, we wish also for the fighting forces of all the United Nations.

W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister

New Year's Eve,
1943

B/= after X-mas
(Dec 23-43)

D 46912

BROADCAST FOR NEW YEAR'S EVE

I. Introduction.

II. Tasks for 1944:

A. The Armed Forces.

B. The Production Front.

C. The Home Front vs. Inflation,

Labour Relations

Ex-service personnel

Public Health.

III. Responsibilities Abroad:

A. Mutual Aid

B. U. N. R. R. A.

C. Food

D. Refugees.

IV. The Organization of Peace:

A. Security

B. Prosperity.

DRAFT

JAG/Z
16.12.43

D 46913

BRADCOAST FOR NEW YEAR'S EVE

I. Introduction

We are standing tonight at the threshold of what we recognize as a critical and momentous year. Never in your lifetime or in mine, perhaps, have any of us looked forward into a new year with the same feelings of hope and expectancy. Our hope is that within the year 1944 final victory may be won over the forces of tyranny and domination which have beset the world. Our expectancy is tinged with a sober realization that, for the western allies, the campaigns of 1944 will be the sharpest; and in the loss of lives the most severe, of any we have yet experienced.

If we look back for a moment at the position of affairs in this world-wide war on earlier New Year's Eves, we shall find in the prospect of today many strong grounds for encouragement. We may be glad in the fact that the military initiative which a year ago had been so strongly taken by the allied powers has been maintained and extended on many battlefronts. We may find cause for satisfaction also in the knowledge that the planning of the United Nations, both for the encompassing of the defeat of the common enemy at the earliest possible moment and for making strong and

D 46914

certain the organization of peace in the world of the future, has been carried forward with such agreement in purpose and vigour in execution.

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

It is of some of these responsibilities, and of the tasks which will fall to Canada during this eventful year of 1944, that I should like to speak tonight.

D 46915

II. TASKS FOR 1944

A. The Armed Forces

At this season of the year, our thoughts have been much with the fighting men of Canada, and for the women who serve in the army, navy and air force in many parts of the world. We have thought especially of some of our fighting men who have spent two, or three, or even four Christmases away from home. Our remembrance of these valiant men and courageous women must kindle in our hearts a sense of warmth and gratitude from one end of this land to the other. Our silent homage for the sacrifice of many honoured lives must bind us, as a people and a nation, ever more closely in unflagging effort until victory crowns the labours and the sacrifices of the Canadian nation.

The tasks of our armed forces in active theatres of operations have gained in importance in preparation for the supreme assault on the enemy fortress in Nazi Germany.

It will soon be six months since the first Canadian units landed in Sicily in the opening phase of the battle of Europe. Nearly four months have gone by since these seasoned Canadian troops, fighting under command of the redoubtable

D 46916

Eighth Army, carried the fight on to the mainland of Italy. In the heavy fighting which has pressed the Germans steadily northward, the Canadians have had their share. The First Canadian Division has been supplemented in Italy by other units and by the establishment of a headquarters of a Canadian Corps in the field. Wherever this battle of Europe is pressed against the enemy, and at whatever spot it opens anew, we may be sure that the rigorous training and unshaken fortitude of all of Canada's soldiers will meet every test of battle.

Canada's fighting men on land have been helped in their task by the widespread activities of their comrades of the Royal Canadian Air Force. In the devastating raids over the chief industrial centres of Germany, in daylight assaults upon transport and industrial facilities in occupied Europe, in the relentless pursuit of lurking U-boats by aircraft of Coastal Command, in the aerial defence of Britain by desultory enemy raiders, in close support of allied troops in Italy - in all of these our fighting airmen have had a growing and a spectacular part.

The steady output of trained aircrew from the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan ensures that with constantly improved aircraft, the war in the air will be

D 46917

carried relentlessly against the enemy. If the Nazi forces in Italy can be pushed northward to the mountain fringes, the airfields thus made available will become the centres of operation for heavy bombing against other parts of Hitler's Germany not yet reached.

From the very earliest days of the war, Canada's navy has helped to maintain the northern bridge of ships across the Atlantic which must be regarded as one of the most vital links of all the allied resources against the enemy. During the past year the steady output of combat vessels from Canadian shipyards - frigates, larger corvettes, algerine escorts, and many smaller craft - has made possible a greater concentration of weapons against the U-boat menace than ever before. The menace of the U-boat may never entirely disappear. But it is significant that over several recent months more U-boats have been sunk by the combined resources of escort vessels, carrier-based aircraft and land-based aircraft than the toll of merchant ships lost by enemy action. And the fact that through several months not a single ship in North Atlantic convoys fell a victim to submarine attack has enabled large quantities of food and munitions of war to be transported safely to the Citadel of Britain and thence to other allied powers.

D 46918

Many of Canada's navy have served in Canadian ships in many other war zones. They manned landing craft in the Sicilian and Italian landings, escorted transports to various forward bases, patrolled the sea lanes of the eastern Atlantic, and undertook many other sea-going tasks. Their services are never-ending, but they are an essential contribution to the winning of victory. In the intensified campaigns of 1944, Canada's navy will have a vital share.

More and more merchant ships, built in Canada, are carrying Canadian cargoes to distant lands to advance allied victory around the world. The men of Canada's merchant navy have their own battles to fight against the stress of storm and the hazards of war. They too will have their part to play in ensuring victory in 1944.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date Nov.16/43

D 40919

Subject

LES DANGERS DE L'OPTIMISME

Tout ce que l'on fait à ce moment-ci pour intensifier l'effort demandé par la guerre en cours hâtera l'heure de la victoire et épargnera bien des vies humaines, soulignait le premier ministre du Canada, le très hon. M. King, dans les commentaires que lui inspirait le succès du 5e Emprunt de la Victoire. Il a félicité la population canadienne de son empressement à souscrire les douze cents millions de dollars sollicités, en lui rappelant qu'elle doit être prête à coopérer dans les autres domaines aussi à accroître les forces armées des nations unies.

Les Alliés ont progressé évidemment sur le chemin du triomphe, a-t-il exposé, mais il leur reste à livrer de rudes combats. Il a cité à ce propos les paroles de M. Churchill, qui déclarait tout récemment que l'année 1944 sera peut-être très dure pour la coalition alliée. Ce n'est pas le temps de diminuer en rien les contributions que chacun est instamment pressé d'apporter de son côté à la préparation des batailles, sur terre, sur mer et dans l'air, qui devront être engagées et gagnées sur l'ennemi dans l'avenir.

Il ne faut pas se laisser emporter par son imagination. Les gains obtenus sur les divers fronts, en Europe du sud ou de l'est, ou par voie diplomatique, ont provoqué bien des conjectures sur les probabilités de durée des hostilités. Les opinions exprimées sur cette question ne doivent pas entraîner un relâchement dans le travail exigé de tous à cette période-ci. Le plus sûr moyen d'amener la fin rapide du conflit qui cause tant de misères et de privations dans le monde entier est de porter au plus haut point possible la puissance des nations unies.

La brillante façon dont s'est terminée la campagne du dernier emprunt est une preuve de l'état d'esprit qui règne chez les Canadiens. L'objectif pourtant très élevé qu'on leur avait fixé a été atteint et dépassé de quinze pour cent. Il est nécessaire que cette attitude persiste dans tous les champs d'activité. Il faut éviter de diminuer l'intensité de l'effort demandé à tous avant que la victoire nous soit définitivement et très nettement assurée: cela pourrait avoir des conséquences désastreuses. Les exagérations de l'optimisme doivent être tenues en bride.

Name of Publication Le Canada

Date Nov.17/43

Sub

D
4n920

Persister dans l'effort

L'éloquent message de gratitude que M. Mackenzie King vient d'adresser à la population canadienne à l'occasion du succès du Cinquième emprunt de la Victoire, aura été particulièrement compris dans Québec qui a été la première des provinces de ce Dominion à souscrire au delà de son objectif. MM. Louis Saint-Laurent et Philippe Brais devaient le souligner hier.

Un régiment canadien-français sur le front d'Italie a participé à cette campagne nationale en dépassant le chiffre de sa quote-part. Le capitaine paie-maître Guy Laframboise, de cette unité au combat, nous a rapporté une augmentation substantielle des souscriptions individuelles là-bas.

"La confiance que le ministre des Finances a placée dans le patriotisme des hommes et des femmes du Canada, dit M. King, s'est trouvée de plus en plus justifiée puisque les nouvelles demandes de plus grandes sommes d'argent ont été accueillies avec un succès grandissant."

Mais le premier ministre a ajouté à ces mots encourageants un avertissement dont il convient de tenir compte dans cette quatrième année d'un conflit que tout le monde aspire à voir se terminer au plus tôt.

Toutes les leçons de cette guerre, observe judicieusement M. King, montrent clairement que la montée vers la victoire finale est beaucoup plus lente qu'on peut le croire à certains moments. Au début de la présente année, plusieurs croyaient que nous verrions, dans le cours de 1943, l'effort suprême qui eût été le prélude de la reddition sans conditions des forces allemandes sur le sol allemand. Il est vrai que nous avons fait des progrès dans le sens de la victoire. L'effort suprême cependant reste à venir.

De toutes les forces qui ont été jusqu'ici engagées dans la lutte, ce sont celles du Canada que les circonstances ont le plus épargnées. De toutes les armées alliées sur pied à l'heure actuelle, c'est celle du général MacNaughton qui est encore la plus intacte.

Cette expression "effort suprême" qu'emploie M. King s'applique peut-être davantage aux forces canadiennes. La volonté de vaincre que nous venons d'affirmer pendant l'Emprunt, démontre que la nation est psychologiquement préparée au coup décisif qu'il lui faudra encore donner pour atteindre la victoire.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date NOV 16 1943

Subject

D 46921

"OPENING OF THE BALKAN OFFENSIVE".

Statements by Prime Minister Churchill and Prime Minister King that 1944 would be the climactic year of the European war have been accepted, generally, as indicating an opinion that fighting in Europe was unlikely to end until about this time next year. Yesterday, an official announcement of the air raid on Sofia, Bulgaria, suggested this might be a misconception. The communique spoke of the Sofia raid as "the successful opening of the Balkan offensive."

Unspoken, but underlying the expectation that "next year" means next autumn, is the assumption that major operations would not commence until spring. This may be a false assumption. Hibernation is not necessary along the "soft underbelly" of Axis Europe, not even in the stern and mountainous Balkan countries.

Moreover, attack here would be far from one-sided. Our attention, when we speak of a "Balkan offensive", tends to be focussed on amphibious operations in the Aegean or Adriatic Sea. Undoubtedly these would be included. But there is also pressure from the other side, and from within. Already, according to reports from Berne, Rumanian military spokesmen are clamoring for an Axis retreat to the line of the Bug River—outpost of that trans-Dniester territory which Germany handed to Rumania as the spoil of 1941. From that territory and from Bessarabia, taken from Russia in 1918, Rumanians are in flight as the Soviet advance rolls ever nearer. Farther north, the Red Army is within 50 miles of the Polish frontier at some points, and still pushing on. Meanwhile in Yugoslavia and in Greece, Nazis are beginning to realize that guerilla—"little war"—is no fit name for the sort of warfare they are facing.

It is too soon, of course, for us to know. But events may yet show the seemingly contradictory views that "1944 will be the climax" and that "the European war will be over by spring" are both right.

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It is too soon, of course, for us to know. But events may yet show the seemingly contradictory views that "1944 will be the climax" and that "the European war will be over by spring" are both right.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

Date Nov.16/43

D 46922

Subject

Predictions Are "Out"

Prime Minister King has denied the obviously ridiculous report that he predicted an end of the war "any day" or soon. It is scarcely likely that anyone took the report seriously, for it was directly contrary to Mr. King's consistently expressed view that victory is still a long way off, and contrary also to any factual survey of the situation as it stands. If anyone did accept the report as other than the product of misunderstanding or misrepresentation, he knows better now.

The Allied leaders are unanimous, and have been unanimous, in discouraging expectations that the enemy will collapse at an early date. Those who entertain such anticipations can find nothing to support them in statements by Mr. King, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt, or Mr. Stalin. They will find in these statements only emphatic warnings against the danger of assuming that we have yet won the war, or just about won it, or got far enough on the road to victory that the time of arrival can be foreseen.

It is of course true that Berlin may surrender unconditionally tomorrow. But it is not at all likely to do so, nor for many days after tomorrow. The Axis has lost driving power, but it has not lost the power to resist. For defensive purposes Germany is stronger now than it was in November 1918, and the party which controls Germany has more cause to dread vengeance at the hands of its victims. It will not give up until it can no longer fight.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

BROADCAST

by

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

OTTAWA, DECEMBER 4, 1943

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

D 46924

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by

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

Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

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D 46925.

The Need to Continue an Utmost Effort

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the Home Front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will

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contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners: they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives; workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the war began, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food, are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up, and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad.

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The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up. But wages and salaries never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, the fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war, and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you to-night is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy, unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage

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in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years, it was an up-hill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago, when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent as compared with 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent, which is just ten times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war. We would be lessening the purchasing power of money in our possession, and penalizing all whose incomes are fixed. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run, all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the

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farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily, and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes to-day are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish to-night to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous

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fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were "frozen", the government did not "freeze" all wages. We knew there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and Regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why if prices were to be controlled it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, no one could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Recommendations of National War Labour Board

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy. Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The

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Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Basic Living Standards—Basic Wage Rates

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

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A Labour Relations Code

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

Post War Objectives

On another occasion, I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as *a national minimum of social security and human welfare;* not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the bread-winner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

BROADCAST

by

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

OTTAWA, DECEMBER 4, 1943

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

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by

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

Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

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The Need to Continue an Utmost Effort

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the Home Front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will

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contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners: they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives; workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the war began, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food, are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up, and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad.

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The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up. But wages and salaries never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, the fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war, and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you to-night is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy, unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage

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in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years, it was an up-hill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago, when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent as compared with 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent, which is just ten times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war. We would be lessening the purchasing power of money in our possession, and penalizing all whose incomes are fixed. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run, all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the

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farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily, and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes to-day are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish to-night to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous

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fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were "frozen", the government did not "freeze" all wages. We knew there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and Regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why if prices were to be controlled it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, no one could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Recommendations of National War Labour Board

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy. Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The

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Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Basic Living Standards—Basic Wage Rates

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

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A Labour Relations Code

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

Post War Objectives

On another occasion, I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as *a national minimum of social security and human welfare;* not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the bread-winner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

D 46943

DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS

10-11-43

To Mr J. H. Gibson

Memorandum Re The Cost of Living

The Prime Minister's office called this morning and asked that the attached material be sent to you. It forms part of a memo sent to Mr. St Laurent to-day.

W. Freeman
Prices Statistician

D46944

Memorandum for the Honourable the Minister of Justice, Mr. L.S. St. Laurent

Re The Cost of Living

1. The relative level of living costs at the beginning of the last war and the present war, and the rise to October 1918 and 1943 are listed below. These comparisons are in terms of index numbers related to the average cost of a typical wage-earner family living budget in the five-year period 1935-1939, i.e., 1935-1939 = 100.0.

Official Cost-of-Living Index Numbers, 1935-1939 = 100.0.

August, 1914.	80.3	-	100.8,	August, 1939
October, 1918	123.1	-	119.3,	October, 1943
Percentage rise	53.3	-	18.4	

It may be noted that the cost of living was approximately 25 p.c. higher at the outbreak of the present war than in August, 1914. The rise during the last war was almost three times the rise during the present war to date (53.3 p.c. compared with 18.4 p.c.)

Living costs now are calculated to be 19.3 p.c. above the 1935-1939 average level as compared with 23.1 p.c. above it in October, 1918. While many individual items are lower in price now than in October, 1918, as the following statement shows, some others are higher. However, in very few cases has the percentage increase been as great for individual commodities in the present war as in the last.

. . .

D 16945

Speaking in Toronto on October 9, 1942, I spoke of certain objectives of the Government in giving definite content to measures for social security and human welfare. Of these objectives, I mentioned as a national minimum: useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the bread-winner, from ill health, and from old age.

Of these important public measures, I hope to speak at another time. Tonight I make no apology for confining my remarks to the all-out battle against inflation. It is upon the outcome of this battle that all our post-war plans must in some measure depend. Only if we can control the cost of living under war conditions can we expect to avoid disastrous unsettlement of business conditions when the stress of war conditions is removed. Only if we can keep down costs of production for war needs, can we grapple effectively with the post-war problem of full employment.

In this battle against inflation, the forces of our home front have been able to maintain the initiative for two years. If we can maintain this initiative until

D 16946

the hour of victory, we shall have achieved also many positive social gains at home. The forces of the United Nations, since they were able to take the initiative on world battlefronts, have had many and mounting successes. If on our home front, we can maintain our initiative, we shall have gone a long way towards creating the assurance of security, confidence and contentment for the Canada of the future.

HOP

Part Two
Revised version (JAG)

D 46947

The Danger of Inflation

There are two sides to waging a modern war. One side is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy; the other with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster.

More than half of all that Canada produces today goes into making war - in the form of ships and planes and guns and machines and munitions of war, of equipment, clothing and food-stuffs. We cannot expect to use half of our total production for war and to improve the standard of living of our people at the same time. But we can, and must, maintain if possible the standards which we have. By a miracle of production, we now produce in Canada almost twice as much as we did before the war. What is left over for the people to consume almost equals our total production in 1939. Some things are scarce; other things, notably food, are more abundant. In the midst of the greatest war in history, we have achieved in Canada a more just and fair distribution of goods among all the people than ever before in our history.

This great measure of social justice has been achieved mainly because the government set out in 1939 to distribute the cost and the burdens of war as fairly as possible in accordance

D 46948

with the ability of the people to bear them. We turned our backs resolutely on the easy and fatal road of inflation.

This battle on the home front against inflation has been fought with many weapons. The most drastic of these weapons has been the ceiling on nearly all prices. Since it was started in November 1941, price control has been so effective in Canada that too many people take it for granted. When prices do not go up, we think it is natural and quite easy to keep them down. Indeed, the very success of the ceiling has become a danger because its success has caused us to lose sight of the difficulties of maintaining it.

Although every country at war has recognized that inflated prices are a constant danger on the home front, no other country has been so successful as Canada in keeping down the cost of living. This record lays upon all of us a special duty to fight this enemy of inflation, so that our war effort both at home and abroad may be strong and unstinted.

Keeping down the cost of living may not sound a very spectacular activity. It has been an uphill fight against many kinds of pressure. But if prices were to rise at will, wi thout any kind of control over them, the long-term results would be disastrous. Rising prices would make it more costly and more difficult to pay for Canada's war effort. Uncontrolled prices would increase the cost of living more rapidly than wages and salaries could increase. Rising prices would reduce the value of savings. Rising prices would mean hardship for many people,

D 16949

and great distress to the people least able to meet it.

If we are to have a <u>maximum</u> war effort, then there are bound to be scarcities in some of the goods that people would like to buy. If there had been no control over rising prices, desire of more people to buy more goods which were already scarce would have sent those prices soaring. Because these goods are scarce, there must be a planned distribution of both goods and services on the fairest basis we can discover. Still more important, if we are not going to lose all the benefits of the control over prices during the past two years, we must see that this control is continued and that fair distribution is assured.

D 16950

Part Three (JAG)

Government Policy Against Inflation

In fighting against inflation, control of prices alone will not defeat the enemy. Neither will it alone ensure a fair distribution of goods and services. A greater demand for goods, reflecting the fact that more people have more money to spend, will of itself tend to make prices rise. so also will an increase in the cost of producing goods, and of distributing them until they reach the final consumer.

This greater demand for goods can be reduced if the ability to buy the goods is correspondingly reduced. We have already made drastic reductions in Canada. We place rigid limits on profits. We tax high incomes very heavily. The people of Canada, by investing in Victory bonds and war savings, have set voluntary limits to their own capacity to buy goods which they might otherwise not have felt obliged to do without.

But if the cost of living is to be controlled effectively, all the costs of production must be controlled. For if costs are not kept within limits -- costs of raw materials, labour, transportation -- then retail costs to the consumer cannot be kept down.

In this respect there is no difference between the consumer and the producer. I do not think anyone will want to argue, in wartime, whether the advantage of controlled prices to the consumer outweighs the limitations which producers and

D 16951

workers accept. Two years' experience in keeping the cost of living within bounds has shown that all of these interests are bound up together, and that we cannot now afford to separate them .

D 46952

JWP Part 8
JAG Part 4

An Appeal to Labour

I realize that in carrying out this program of control, some restrictions have been made both upon the workers (in terms of wages) and upon the farmers (in terms of prices for farm products). I would say at once that the loyal acceptance of these restrictions by the workers and the farmers has placed two special obligations upon the Government. The first, which concerns the workers, is that remedies should be found for any injustice which exists. The second, which relates to the farmers, is that they should be safeguarded against any sharp or sudden decrease in the prices paid for farm products. They have been selling in a market over which a price "ceiling" has been placed; they should now have the further assurance and protection of a "floor" below which prices will not fall.

In addressing an appeal to all the people of Canada this evening, I should like to include a special word of appeal to wage earners. Every group in every community has a constant interest in seeing that the cost of living is controlled. No group has a greater interest in this battle, perhaps, than the people who are wage-earners. The real value of any wages is what the money will buy. In Canada we have been both fortunate and successful in keeping up the buying power of Canadian dollars.

D 46953

dollars. Since 1939, the cost of living in Canada has risen a little more than 18 per cent. But, since price ceilings were established two years ago, the rise has been only 3 per cent. Of this 3 per cent the great bulk has been made up by the increases in the price of food.

I have already suggested that we are producing nearly twice as much as before the war and that more than half of our increased production is being used for war purposes. Of what is left from total production for civilian needs there is much more even distribution than there ever was before the war. During the war, there has been in Canada a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain the basic standard of living which we now enjoy. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation. The only way in which we might attempt, during war time, to improve the general standard of living would be by taking away from our war effort. We could only do this if we used more manpower and

D 46934

more resources to satisfy civilian demands for things which we have learned to do without. I do not believe that the people of Canada want the government to relax its efforts in waging war in order to alter or improve living standards at the expense of the war effort. We may never finally achieve complete fairness and justice. But we can try, and we can see that gross injustices are not allowed to remain.

The policy of the government against inflation includes the rigid control of profits, steeply graded income taxes, consistent war savings, a comprehensive control of prices, and a maintaining of basic salaries and wage rates. This policy must stand or fall as a whole. Our part of it is essential to the success of the battle against inflation.

This battle against inflation is the biggest fight we have ever waged against any enemy on the home front. It is a battle of the private citizen in co-operation with the Government of Canada. There are no Generals, or Colonels, or Sergeant-Majors. It is a war effort on the home front in which the main battle against inflation must also destroy the enemy pill-boxes of complacency, selfishness, rumour-mongering, and defeatism.

D 16955

I do not need to suggest to you that if this citizens' army were to fall back in disorder before the assaults of the enemy of inflation, the whole structure of our war effort would be impaired. We should forfeit all the advantages of more than four years of careful planning. We should waste valuable parts of the superb industrial organization which has been built up to provide the weapons and munitions of war. We should be false to the trust reposed in us, as a people and a government, by those whose voluntary savings have helped to pay for so large a part of the cost of this tremendous effort. We should have broken faith with those whose loved ones have already laid down their lives on many a far-flung battle line.

I am sure that the people of Canada will not slacken their fight against the enemies on the home front. For this is a fight in which everyone can have a part. Not all of us can serve in the Navy, or the Army, or the Air Force. But we can all help to ensure that the regulations which control prices and keep the cost of living within bounds are loyally and faithfully carried out. For, if the system breaks down, if the battle-line begins to crumble, no one will gain in the long run.

D 46956

I would ask you to think of this battle against inflation in still another way. If we cannot control the cost of living in wartime, how shall we be prepared to meet the tremendous demands of the period of re-adjustment which must follow the defeat of the enemy? If we cannot prevent the worst evils of inflation by controlling prices and wages, how can we expect to move forward with new measures of social security for all the people? If the whole economic basis of our society is disrupted, how can we hope to achieve the post-war goals of maximum production based upon full employment?

The answer to these questions is in your hands. Everything you do now to push back the enemy of inflation will count for gains far beyond victory itself. Fair prices, adequate wages, and equitable distribution will be just as important in peace as they have been in war. You can help to make possible all of these things.

Draft

JAG/Z
12.11.43

D 16957

WARTIME CONTROLS

Introduction.

Since I last spoke to the people of Canada about the progress of the war, there have been many changes in the growing picture of the Allied offensive. I have said frequently, over the past four years, that our first duty is the winning of the war. It still is an imperative and the most urgent duty facing the citizens of Canada. Both Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt have lately reminded us that there must be no relaxation of our efforts now; and to those who have been fighting and working abroad and at home, the very intensity of the fighting which lies ahead must bring home yet again the stark fact that the war still has to be won.

Most important of all, if we are to retain and act upon the initiative on the fighting fronts so hardly won, we must fight as never before. If we are not to lose all we have gained in four years of fighting, and more particularly in the year which has now elapsed since the beginning of the major allied offensive, in North Africa, then we must fight for everything which we value most.

D 46958

Some of the things we have gained, in the light of disappointments and reverses, have been won at almost a desperate price. If we are to win in the end, and no one can say exactly how soon that end will be, then we must realise, too, that no effort can be too small to count on the side of victory.

This is especially true in waging war on the home front. The fact that our war effort has been built up to its present magnitude and usefulness is the result of careful planning and many hours of patient, unremitting work. If it were not for the substantial organization of our war industry in Canada, we could never have put into the field highly-trained and well-equipped army formations, such as those which have lately fought with gallantry and distinction in Sicily and in Italy. Neither could we have provided ships and fighting men for Canada's navy, who have served on every ocean, nor could we have contributed the war planes and trained airmen who have fought in the skies over many an embattled land. And without the voluntary savings of more than two millions of Canadians, subscribers to the victory loans, the task of paying for our war effort would have been far more difficult.

D 46959

So far as that extra cost could not be met by borrowing from the private earnings of the people, an attempt would have to be made to meet it through still heavier taxes. If the economic limits of taxation had been reached, and if loans to the government still were insufficient, then the only recourse would have been to some measure of inflation, with consequences potentially dangerous to the whole nation and bringing hardship to many resolute and uncomplaining citizens.

Except at times when victory loan campaigns have been in progress, we have tended to think, in general terms, of the war as being a war fought out on fronts removed from Canada altogether. This is perhaps a useful occasion for saying something about an unceasing battle on the home front. Some parts of this battle have been occupying a good deal of attention, both in the public press and in private discussion. The part I mean is the wartime control over prices and wages. It is a part which concerns every man and woman in Canada, now, and for every day, until victory over the Axis powers has been achieved.

J. A. G.
10.11.43

D 16960

Draft re Wage and Price Control

I should like to speak to the people of Canada today about a subject which has been occupying a good deal of attention, both in the public press and in private discussion. It is the subject of wartime controls over wages and prices. It is a subject which concerns every citizen of Canada, now and for every day until victory over the Axis powers has been achieved.

In speaking of wage and price controls, I should like to pay a tribute of honour and appreciation to the people of Canada as a whole. Some of these controls go back to the earliest days of the present war, more than four years ago. Some have been set up more recently, as the world-wide sweep and spread of conflict has made a stepping-up of our war effort necessary. These controls have done something which had never been done in Canada before. They limited the amounts of many commodities available for purchase and use. They prhhibited, in some cases, the manufacture of certain articles, and they restricted the variety of manufactures which had once been possible. They rationed certain foodstuffs in short supply, or in the production of which Canada had accepted very large commitments to supply a part of the needs of Britain and other of the United Nations.

D 46961

These controls have extended much father than to food or clothing or gasoline. They regulate strictly the prices which may legally be charged for a great range of goods and services. They limit the extent to which increases in wages or salaries or bonuses may be paid to persons in defined occupations. They specify how much may be claimed as profit in business undertakings, whether by individuals or by corporations, and the taxes which must be paid upon these profits.

From even these examples it is clear that controls have been set up at many points in our domestic economy. They have been set up in areas where, five years ago, many people would say the government of Canada had no business to intervene. Some people still say that the government has no place in private business, and you will be aware that certain agencies in Canada have been talking about the long-term benefits of what they call "free enterprise" or "freedom of opportunity" or some other name.

I will deal with these arguments in a moment. Meanwhile, let me discuss what the effect of these controls measures has been. I am interested in them not as <u>controls as such</u>, for indeed they are sometimes both complicated in administration and occasionally costly in operation. But I am interested in them because of what they have meant to the

D 46962

people of Canada in the mass; how they have affected habits of everyday life; how they have assured as equitable as possible a distribution of everyday needs; and how they have afforded some constant security against the notorious evils of inflation and the distress which elsewhere has followed in their train.

In this world-wide war, not all of our enemies are the Axis powers of Hitlerite Germany and grasping Japan. There are some enemies who never reach a battlefront abroad. They do not need to, for they wage war right in our midst. They are peculiarly the enemies of the civil population on the home front, and it is there that these enemies must be beaten and destroyed before they can do even worse damage elsewhere.

Now it is true that more people are gainfully employed in Canada than at any previous time in our history. In consequence the amount of money, earned as wages and salaries, which might be spent on consumers goods - food, clothing, furntirue, entertainment - is greater than ever before. But the supply of goods to meet these increased demands has not increased in comparison, and under wartime conditions it cannot be increased if our war effort on the production front is to be maintained as an utmost effort.

D 46963

If no controls were set up in this situation, an increasing number of buyers would be clamoring for a declining volume of available goods. If there were no control over prices, and no rationing of certain foodstuffs, two tragic consequences would follow. In the first place, some of the people who <u>needed</u> foodstuffs could not obtain them, either because the prices were beyond their means, or because the supply was so unregulated that they would have to trust to mere chance to find the food they needed. Second, and in the long run far worse, the whole price structure would go soaring. The higher the prices became, and the lesser relationship prices had to the value of the goods received, the worse would be the ultimate blow where <u>deflation</u> overtook <u>inflation</u>.

(verify) Now it is also true that it takes today about $1.17 to purchase the food, electric light, clothing and so on for which in mid 1939 $1.00 was required. In other words, the (verify) general cost of living in Canada during wartime has increased about 17%. But nearly all of this increase arose in the earliest months of the war, before full economic controls could be applied, and since....., 1940, the indextof cost of living has never fluctuated more than ...%.

This is a very different situation from the one which prevailed 25 years ago during the latter part of the Great War. Then, instead of needing $1.17 to buy what had cost $1.00 in

D 46964

1914, it took $2...; and it was several years after the armistice before the distress created by an inflated price structure was relieved. If the people of Canada today who remember vividly these conditions of 25 years ago were asked to choose between price controls and fair distribution, or soaring prices and indefinite supply, I have no doubt what their answer would be.

Why then are there complaints against some measures of control? Are the complaints valid? Can they be answered by some relaxation of controls, or does the solution lie in other directions?

The answer to these questions is that in fighting against inflation the Government cannot ever win the battle by itself. No amount of economic control - whether rationing, or price control, or compulsory savings - can ever avail if the pople of Canada do not take their part. The whole success of any scheme designed to provide fair distribution of goods in short supply, and at the same time to avoid the notorious evils of inflation, depends upon the loyal help of every citizen concerned. It means that every person who earns money and who buys food or clothing must play the game or the system will break down. If it breaks down, the people who have least to go on will be the heaviest losers, If it breaks down no

D 46965

one will really gain in the long run, no matter whether he tries to hoard or whether he spends recklessly what he has.

There is another side to this question. In wartime the government has to ask people to submit to many regulations which never applied in peacetime. One reason why they are needed in wartime is that nearly half our entire national income is being devoted to war purposes. This means inevitably that purchases of consumers goods have to be subject to some control. It means that unlimited buying of other goods has to be discouraged by some means or other. In short, to meet the tremendously increased obligations of paying for our war effort, the government has to depend on obtaining more money. Some of that money can be obtained through taxation, on incomes, on luxury articles, on business profits, and so on. More of this money can be obtained by loans from the citizens themselves, loans which are guaranteed as to repayment by the full faith and resources of the Government.

D 46966

(2)

NEW SECTION

The First Duty in the Winning of the War

It sounds easy enough to say that our first duty is the winning of the war. Yet I believe that to no other duty, personal or corporate or national, can one enlist unanimity of view and the utmost effort of all.

The very course of this world-wide war will suggest why. For more than six months after Nazi forces invaded Poland and after Britain declared war against Germany, there was little actual fighting in the field. But when spring came it was but the work of a single night for Hitler's panzer divisions to spread through Denmark, pierce into Norway, and in short order thereafter to overrun the Netherlands and Belgium. The collapse of France brought the tide of Allied fortunes to its lowest ebb, and it was this moment which the jackal Mussolini chose for his shameless attack upon France. How far the tide has turned, to see this same Mussolini dismissed from his dictatorship, and, his vaunted colonial empire already obliterated, his homeland surrendering unconditionally to the forces of the United Nations.

But between June of 1940 and the summer of 1942 there were many other reverses in store. The battle for the western desert was begun, and it swung perilously close to the Nile and the Red Sea. In the spring of 1941 Hitler's armies reached

D 46967

out through the Balkans to engulf Yugoslavia and Greece. Together with other Nazi satellites in Eastern Europe, and excluding certain neutral powers, this meant that Hitler had achieved a virtual stronghold over the richest and most populous parts of Europe.

In June, 1941, Hitler launched his attach on the Soviet Union. Ever since, the Red Armies have been engaged on the longest fighting front in the world. By the end of the year, the Nazi forces had penetrated far into this great hinterland of rich farms and busy industries. But they were held, in the end, by the relentless and heroic names symbolized by the cities of Leningrad and Stalingrad, and they were hurled back, still short of the oil resources of the Caucasus which they coveted so greedily.

Five years after the original onslaught, the Nazis were still in possession of much Soviet territory. But their attempted summer offensive on the central front lasted less than a fortnight before the Russian counter-offensive became one of the great offensive feats of the war. Ever since the Germans have been pushed westward, so that countless villages which had been in Nazi hands for nearly two years have passed under Soviet control. The whole of the Donetz basin has been freed; Rostov, Taguarog, Kharkov, Kursk, Orel - all are again in Russian hands,

D 16968

and still the fighting continues, with the central Red Army spearhead deep into the Ukraine.

While Hitler was plunging into Russia, the Axis triumvirate of Germany, Italy and Japan was consolidated by the signature of an anti-comintern pact in Berlin on September 27, 1941. Just over two months afterwards, while conferences with Japanese representatives were actually proceeding in Washington, Japan launched the attack upon Pearl Harbour which brought the United States of America into the war. On January 1, 1942, the United Nations Declaration was signed at Washington. Thereafter the battle lines were sharply drawn and all the belligerents were stripped for action.

It was still a matter of months before the turning of the tide placed the global initiative for the first time in the hands of the United Nations. After Pearl Harbour, Japanese forces spread through the Western Pacific, through all of the Netherlands Indies, into the Indian Ocean, overland through Indo-China, Thailand and into Burma, and to the northern gateways to Australia. They dealt a sickening blow to Allied naval strength by sinking in a single day two of the strongest units of the British fleet. Later they reached out to the fringes of the western hemisphere in island outposts of the Aleutians (from which, however, they have now been driven out).

D 46969

It was in the Solomon Islands that United States land, sea and air forces in combination administered the first serious defeats to Japan. From the Solomons to New Guinea battle has since been joined from island to island. It has sometimes seemed a desperate struggle, but a combination of Australian, New Zealand and United States forces, fighting with great tenacity, saved the approaches to Australia and, with them, the vital Pacific sea route from America to India.

The largest Allied offensive was in Africa. In the western desert there had been many reverses of fortune before the great advance of the Eighth Army began at El Alamein on October 23. This was an advance which never stopped until it reached Tripoli, nearly 1200 miles to the west, and by that time Mussolini's African Empire was no more.

On November 7, Allied forces in great strength landed in North Africa, and carried the battles against the Axis eastward into Tunisia. The junction effected between the Eighth Army from the East, and the First Army from the west, with powerful support from United States and other Allied forces, finally drove the last remnants of the Axis forces out of Africa.

This task was completed early in May. It was then but a matter of weeks before the war of liberation entered a new phase. On July 10, British, United States and Canadian forces began landings in Sicily. A campaign of thirty-eight days, including some severe fighting, saw this strategic island pass

D 46970

completely under Allied control. This campaign was but a prelude to the invasion of the continent proper. When the Allied assault was launched against the mainland of Italy on September the 3rd, Canadian troops again shared in the operation.

The unconditional surrender of Italy was publicly announced five days later, when it became known that armistice terms had been signed between representatives of Marshal Badoglio for Italy and of General Eisenhower for the United Nations, also on September 3rd.

Throughout four years of war, the battle at sea and the battle in the air both have proceeded with varying fortunes but with constantly mounting successes for Allied ships, allied aircraft, and the men of many nations who sail the ships and pilot the planes. This battle is relentless and unceasing. The fact that it is so shows yet again why the first duty remains the winning of the war. The very intensity of fighting which lies ahead - not alone on land, but on every battlefront - must make us conscious that the war still has to be won.

Most important of all, if we are to retain and act upon the initiative on the fighting fronts so hardly won, we must fight as never before. If we are not to lose all we have gained in four years of fighting - gained sometimes at a desperate price - then we must fight for everything which we value most. If we are to win in the end, we must realize now

D16971

that no effort can be too small to count on the side of victory.

Nearly a year ago, in launching the Third Victory Loan campaign, I called attention to that compelling and suggestive slogan: "Nothing matters now but victory". I believe that was abundantly true at that moment; I believe it is even more true now. We must speed that victory. We must work and fight for it with every resource we possess, with every skill we can command, and with an implacable purpose for victory strong in our minds and vibrant in our hearts.

The first duty of Canad and of all its people is the winning of the war.

J. A. G.
18.9.43

D 46972

ENEMIES ON THE HOME FRONT

Not all of the enemies of the United Nations are the Axis powers against whom battle has been joined. Not all the menace of Hitler and his sattelites is to be found in his U-boats and his panzer divisions. There are now, as there have been throughout four years of war, insidious enemies who never reach a battlefront abroad. They do not need to, for in fact they wage a disastrous kind of war right in our midst, here on the home front. Their greatest victories are not in successes of arms, but in a far more subtle and dangerous field.

These enemies are known by curious names. They are complacency, selfishness, rumour-mongering, defeatism. They are peculiarly the enemies of the civil population. They run with the speed of a prairie fire, inflaming the minds and searing the consciences of ordinary, decent people. The wider the battlefront on which they operate, the deeper their villainy strikes into the very heart of the war effort. Now, more than ever before in this world-wide, this <u>total war</u>, these unseen enemies must be hunted out and destroyed.

D 16973

The enemy of complacency, which is home-front enemy Number One, says something like this: "Our war effort is already impressive. It is bigger than any effort, this country ever made before. Our war production has nearly reached its peak. We are beginning to win victories abroad. Perhaps the war will not last much longer. We are sure to win in the end. We can begin to take things a bit more easily."

This enemy is unscrupulous and persistent. He crops up everywhere. But he can be beaten. He can be beaten if people everywhere on the home front will meet him with weapons of realistic argument. The enemy of complacency cannot afford to survive against the weapons of truth and determination. He cannot exist if he is attacked in this way: "Our war effort must remain the utmost effort of all the people of Canada. It has to be the largest effort we have ever made because never in our history has so much been at stake. We must keep our war production at a maximum level and, at the same time, make the very best possible use of all of our resources, human and material. The success of our arms abroad only makes sharper the decisive battles which will still have to be fought and won. We do not know how long the war will last. But we do know, after

D 46974

four years of war that we cannot afford to relax even for an instant our vigilance, our effort and our determination. We shall win in the end only if we are able to meet the enemy with superior forces and armament, and if here at home we ~~xxxxxx~~ back up our fighting men, wherever they serve, with all the strength we can muster."

I do not need to ask you which of these voices sounds like the real voice of the people of Canada.

The second enemy of the home front - the enemy of selfishness - is not an enemy particularly of wartime, though he is a particularly dastardly sort of enemy at a moment when people are being asked to deny themselves many articles of comfort and to increase their savings and their investments in war savings stamps and victory loans. This enemy of selfishness is a sneaking enemy. He appeals to the baser natures of people in every walk of life. This is what he says: "I don't see why I should have to pay taxes. I pay enough already. I have more money now than I have had in twenty years. Why shouldn't I spend it for the things I have always wanted? I know that there is so great a demand for some things of which a supply is limited that there isn't enough for everybody. I suppose it is true that if there weren't strict price

D 46975

control buying whatever we wanted would lead to inflation with still higher prices and still less connection between the prices asked and the value received. But I guess it won't matter if I don't heed the warnings of the government not to buy things I can do without. Some people will heed these warnings and that will leave more for me."

In fighting this enemy the government cannot ever win the battle by itself. No amount of economic control - whether rationing, or price control, or compulsory savings - can ever avail if people ~~are going to be persuaded to talk as this enemy talks.~~ The whole success of any scheme designed to provide fair distribution of goods in short supply, and at the same time to avoid the notorious evils of inflation, depends upon the loyal help of every citizen concerned. It means that every person who earns money and who buys food or clothing must play the game or the system will break down. If it breaks down, the people who have least to go on will be the heaviest losers. If it breaks down no one will really gain in the long run, no matter whether he tries to hoard or whether he spends recklessly what he has.

There is another side to this question. In wartime the government has to ask people to submit to many regulations which never applied in peacetime. One reason why they are needed in wartime is that nearly half our entire national in-

D 6976

come is being devoted to war purposes. This means inevitably that purchases of consumers goods generally has to be subject to some control. It means that some articles - sugar and meat and butter and gasoline, for example, have to be rationed. It means that unlimited buying of other goods has to be discouraged by some means or other. In short, to meet the tremendously increased obligations of paying for our war effort, the government has to depend on obtaining more money. Some of that money can be obtained through taxation, on incomes, on luxury articles, on business profits, and so on. More of this money can be obtained by loans from the citizens themselves, loans which are guaranteed as to repayment by the full faith and resources of the Government.

These needs of the war effort are so imperative, now, and for every week until victory has been won, that I cannot believe that any fair-minded Canadian will shirk his duty to share in this urgent task. Indeed, the response of the Canadian people throughout four years of war has been so strking as to bring the enemy of selfishness out into the open. Once exposed to the light of determination, expressed by the support of the people of Canada, this enemy will not, as he does not deserve to, survive.

D 46977

The third enemy I have mentioned is rumour-mongering. That phrase is one so alien to our past experience that to many of our citizens it has a curious, frightening sound. The people who aid the most contemptibel enemy are frequently well-intentioned and respectable citizens. But they are people who are too ready to believe everything they hear. Worse still, hearing anything they can believe, they then proceed to pass it about, whether by shouts or whispers makes no difference, without ever asking themselves certain questions. Instead of asking: "Is this true? Di I know it to be true? Will it help the war effort if I repeat it", these aiders of the enemy retail the latest rumour to any willing listener, until an apparently harmless statement, gaining the currency of repitition, penetrates into innumerable places, quite possibly causing needless anguish and unnecessary hardship as it goes.

This is perhaps the hardest of all enemies to defeat. The law provides summary treatment for persons who deliberately impair the war effort. The rumour-mongers are not often deliberate, but they are careless and unthinking. If they are in doubt as to the wisdom of making any particular statement, they should pause long enough to make sure that their assertions are true. If they are still in doubt, they should then keep silence rather than create false impressions. It is the false impressions, the near-panic mentality, the unthinking repetition which can be cruel and painful, which help the enemy against which we fight. Let us not add to our burdens by encouraging an

D 46978

enemy at home.

The fourth enemy of defeatism does not often raise his head, for he deserves no place in the thoughts of a nation pledged to wage war without respite until victory is won. The people who listen to the defeatist enemy are of three kinds. Among these, some have never believed that the war could be won, and because of their disbelief they belittle and discredit the efforts of those who are fighting with every sinew of their strength. These particular defeatists would snatch at any straw to end the war, for, in the main, they have not perceived the issue in this gigantic struggle. It is an issue of the survival of civilization itself. It is an issue of servitude or freedom. There can be no choice which stops part-way towards the goal. There can be no compromise with the forces of tyranny and degredation. There can be no peace without victory; and so long, therefore, as the war lasts, there can be no place for defeatism.

There are others who see and know something of what is involved in this titanic struggle, but who have perhaps grown tired in the struggle and who sometimes utterly despair. There is no place for despair in our mentality so long as the fight can be waged against the enemy, anywhere he may be found. We have triumphed over many an occasion for despair, many a tragic reverse, not a few grievous disappointments. But we have fought on, and fight on we shall while breath is left in our bodies.

D 46979

This spirit is no less important now that the initiative on the fighting fronts has passed to the Allied Nations, and it is the Axis enemy which has suffered the reverses. These very successes must make us press forward as never before. What, one may ask, would have happened to China, if her humble and worthy people had resisted less tenaciously in the long war imposed by Japan? What could be said for the armies of the Soviet Union, if despair had ever been a counsel among the Russian people in their titanic battles against the Nazi aggressors? How could the solid people of Britain have endured throughout the worst of the war from the air if despair had ever seized hold of their minds? And what of the extensive and powerful underground movements of France, of Norway, of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other nations occupied by the enemy. People who risk death every day have no time to think about despair.

The last kind of defeatists are the worst of all. They are unscrupulous people who think pocketbooks more important than patriotism. They are the people who hope to profit from the doubts of other people. They are the ones who "sell the war effort short", and who think in terms of some distant gain for which they are preparing now.

Enemies of this kind are despicable in any community. They have no place in Canada. They must be defeated wherever they appear.

D 46980

The way to defeat them is to make it clear at every opportunity that the people of Canada are in this war right to the finish. We can make good our claims to benefit from victory only if we fight resolutely and without stint until all the enemies of freedom are everywhere defeated.

This is a tremendous task, for the war for survival, the war for freedom, is also a great war of liberation of many peoples, whose homelands have been despoiled while they themselves have been cruelly oppressed. Whatever hope of a better, far-off day inspires them must touch us too. Something in our hearts, something in our souls, must tell us that this is the greatest cause on which Canada has ever embarked. In that spirit we must fight on and on until victory crowns our united efforts, and peace and freedom are assured for all mankind.

JAG
19/9/43

D 46981

NEW SECTION

ESCAPIST ATTITUDES

We have laid much stress upon the fact that the war has still to be won; that many decisive battles still lie ahead, and that still greater fortitude, still heavier sacrifices will be demanded before victory can be achieved.

We do well, in taking stock of these sober judgments, to recall how different this war is from any other war of our lifetimes. It did not become a war among nations until many well-intentioned efforts for adjustment of difference had failed. It did not become, immediately, a conflice involving warfare of unparalleled swiftness and intensity, warfare on all the seas, in the skies, over many lands, on battlefronts in far-flung quarters of the globe.

But it was apparent, from the first advent of the Nazi leaders in Germany, that armed conflict, if it come, would be for no ordinary stakes. Strategic frontiers far-reaching territorial conquests, access to raw materials, supremacy at sea, the overlordship of the air, these were but incidents when confronted by the schemes of Hitler and his Nazi hierarchy. What they sought was nothing less than the domination of the world. Only when their own petty structures of authoritarianism came tumbling down around their own ears will this design be exploded; and before that happens there may be many months of war.

D 46982

All of this will help to explain how fatal, how perilous, is the escapist attitudes which recent Allied successes have thrown into sharp outline.

Some escapists, for example, say something like this: "The fighting seems to be going better. There is a general feeling of greater optimism about the outcome of the war. Perhaps we had better polish up our favourite ideas on the post-war world. Perhaps we have reached the stage where we can do with less economic controls. Perhaps we can afford to agitate for drastic changes in the government's labour policy. Perhaps we can think in terms of some relaxation of the price ceiling."

You have perhaps heard more talk of this kind in the last few months than at any earlier stage of the war. If talk of this kind is not combatted, swiftly and thoroughly, we are in danger of losing all the opportunities for hammer blows against the enemy which it has taken more than three years of hard fighting, and three years filled with many disappointments, to provide. I cannot see how anyone who looks realistically at the issue in this struggle, or at the course of the war through four heavy years, and who reckons up the battle still to be won, can tolerate such escapist attitudes. I cannot understand how they think this war - any war - can be won by relaxing of the common effort at the very moment when mounting successes have rewarded the skill and training and valour of allied arms.

D 16983

This does not mean that we do not think about the world - after - the - war. I still beliwve strongly, what I first said more than two years ago, that if a new world order is not on the way before this war ends, we may look for it in vain. We do need to plan, carefully and thoroughly, for the tremendous tasks of re-adjustment which the end of hostilities will create in Canada, not only for men and women of the armed services, but for hundreds of thousands of civilians as well. We do nned to think in terms of aiding strongly in the rebuilding of shattered countries, providing food for their people, seed for their farms, skilled medical assistance for physical rebuilding, skilled engineers to help in public projects of reconstruction. Already it is apparent that the assitance we have been able to furnish in war potential most recently through the operation of Mutual Aid Legislation, is but a part of a continuing assistance to the same allies under conditions of returning peace.

In addition, we shall have to reconsider problems of population, settlement and immigration. We shall have to prepare for participation in many forms of international organization; some concerned with security and the rule of law, others dealing with public health, transport, education, and the myriad social needs and material wants of civilized communities.

D 46984

All of this we shall need, and yet we must not let our zeal ourtun our discretion, nor our humanitarian principles outstrip our fighting needs at this moment. We cannot indulge in visions of plenty for ourselves and at the same time ignore the needs of people - the sheer, humble, decent people - elsewhere in a needy world. We cannot ask our people to accept direct taxation for no matter what social benefits and neglect the urgency of liberation from tyranny of other nations. We shall find ourselves, on the morrow of victory, bound up in a great bundle of life. We may never know whence the faggots of this bundle were gathered, but we cannot be unaware of the strength of the bundle as a whole. If this be true, then our effort now, this week, this year, and every day until victory is attained, must become stronger wherever we can make it strong. Still more determined wherever determination animates the peoples' will, and unrelenting in the faith that this cause, of freedom, liberation, peace, demands the utmost which all our resources of skill and work and purpose can provide.

D 16935

Part Two
Revised version (JAG)

The Danger of Inflation

A

There are two sides to waging a modern war. One side is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy; the other with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster.

More than half of all that Canada produces today goes into making war - in the form of ships and planes and guns and machines and munitions of war, of equipment, clothing and food-stuffs. We cannot expect to use half of our total production for war and to improve the standard of living of our people at the same time. But we can, and must, maintain if possible the standards which we have. By a miracle of production, we now produce in Canada almost twice as much as we did before the war. What is left over for the people to consume almost equals our total production in 1939. Some things are scarce; other things, notably food, are more abundant. In the midst of the greatest war in history, we have achieved in Canada a more just and fair distribution of goods among all the people than ever before in our history.

This great measure of social justice has been achieved mainly because the government set out in 1939 to distribute the cost and the burdens of war as fairly as possible in accordance

D 16986

with the ability of the people to bear them. We turned our backs resolutely on the easy and fatal road of inflation.

A

This battle on the home front against inflation has been fought with many weapons. The most drastic of these weapons has been the ceiling on nearly all prices. Since it was started in November 1941, price control has been so effective in Canada that too many people take it for granted. When prices do not go up, we think it is natural and quite easy to keep them down. Indeed, the very success of the ceiling has become a danger because its success has caused us to lose sight of the difficulties of maintaining it.

Although every country at war has recognized that inflated prices are a constant danger on the home front, no other country has been so successful as Canada in keeping down the cost of living. This record lays upon all of us a special duty to fight this enemy of inflation, so that our war effort both at home and abroad may be strong and unstinted.

Keeping down the cost of living may not sound a very spectacular activity. It has been an uphill fight against many kinds of pressure. But if prices were to rise at will, without any kind of control over them, the long-term results would be disastrous. Rising prices would make it more costly and more difficult to pay for Canada's war effort. Uncontrolled prices would increase the cost of living more rapidly than wages and salaries could increase. Rising prices would reduce the value of savings. Rising prices would mean hardship for many people,

D 16987

and great distress to the people least able to meet it.

If we are to have a <u>maximum</u> war effort, then there are bound to be scarcities in some of the goods that people would like to buy. If there had been no control over rising prices, the desire of more people to buy more goods which were already scarce would have sent those prices soaring. Because these goods are scarce, there must be a planned distribution of both goods and services on the fairest basis we can discover. Still more important, if we are not going to lose all the benefits of the control over prices during the past two years, we must see that this control is continued and that fair distribution is assured.

D 16988

Part Three (JAG)

Government Policy Against Inflation

B

In fighting against inflation, control of prices alone will not defeat the enemy. Neither will it alone ensure a fair distribution of goods and services. A greater demand for goods, reflecting the fact that more people have more money to spend, will of itself tend to make prices rise. So also will an increase in the cost of producing goods, and of distributing them until they reach the final consumer.

This greater demand for goods can be reduced if the ability to buy the goods is correspondingly reduced. We have already made drastic reductions in Canada. We place rigid limits on profits. We tax high incomes very heavily. The people of Canada, by investing in Victory bonds and war savings, have set voluntary limits to their own capacity to buy goods which they might otherwise not have felt obliged to do without.

But if the cost of living is to be controlled effectively, all the costs of production must be controlled. For if costs are not kept within limits -- costs of raw materials, labour, transportation -- then retail costs to the consumer cannot be kept down.

In this respect there is no difference between the consumer and the producer. I do not think anyone will want to argue, in wartime, whether the advantage of controlled prices to the consumer outweighs the limitations which producers and

D 16989

workers accept. Two years' experience in keeping the cost of living within bounds has shown that all of these interests are bound up together, and that we cannot now afford to separate them .

D16990

JWP Part 8
JAG Part 4

An Appeal to Labour

I realize that in carrying out this program of control, some restrictions have been made both upon the workers (in terms of wages) and upon the farmers (in terms of prices for farm products). I would say at once that the loyal acceptance of these restrictions by the workers and the farmers has placed two special obligations upon the Government. The first, which concerns the workers, is that remedies should be found for any injustice which exists. The second, which relates to the farmers, is that they should be safeguarded against any sharp or sudden decrease in the prices paid for farm products. They have been selling in a market over which a price "ceiling" has been placed; they should now have the further assurance and protection of a "floor" below which prices will not fall.

In addressing an appeal to all the people of Canada this evening, I should like to include a special word of appeal to wage earners. Every group in every community has a constant interest in seeing that the cost of living is controlled. No group has a greater interest in this battle, perhaps, than the people who are wage-earners. The real value of any wages is what the money will buy. In Canada we have been both fortunate and successful in keeping up the buying power of Canadian

From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the cost of living in Canada rose about 15%

XC

dollars. Since 1939, the cost of living in Canada has risen a little more than 18 per cent. But, since price ceilings were established two years ago, the rise has been only 3 per cent. Of this 3 per cent the great bulk has been made up by the increases in the price of food.

I have already suggested that we are producing nearly twice as much as before the war and that more than half of our increased production is being used for war purposes. Of what is left from total production for civilian needs there is much more even distribution than there ever was before the war. During the war, there has been in Canada a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country.

XF

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain ~~the~~ a basic standard of living ~~which we now enjoy~~. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation. The only way in which we might attempt, during war time, to improve the general standard of living would be by taking away from our war effort. We could only do this if we used more manpower and

D 26992

more resources to satisfy civilian demands for things which we have learned to do without. I do not believe that the people of Canada want the government to relax its efforts in waging war in order to alter or improve living standards at the expense of the war effort. ~~We may never finally~~ achieve complete fairness and justice. But we can try, ~~and we can~~ see that gross injustices are not allowed to remain.

The policy of the government against inflation includes the rigid control of profits, steeply graded income taxes, consistent war savings, a comprehensive control of prices, and a maintaining of basic salaries and wage rates. This policy must stand or fall as a whole. ~~Our~~ Every part of it is essential to the success of the battle against inflation.

This battle against inflation is the biggest fight we have ever waged against any enemy on the home front. It is a battle of the private citizen in co-operation with the Government of Canada. There are no Generals, or Colonels, or Sergeant-Majors. It is a war effort on the home front in which the main battle against inflation must also destroy the enemy pill-boxes of complacency, selfishness, rumour-mongering, and defeatism.

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D 46993

I would ask you to think of this battle against inflation in still another way. If we cannot control the cost of living in wartime, how shall we be prepared to meet the tremendous demands of the period of re-adjustment which must follow the defeat of the enemy? If we cannot prevent the worst evils of inflation by controlling prices and wages, how can we expect to move forward with new measures of social security for all the people? If the whole economic basis of our society is disrupted, how can we hope to achieve the post-war goals of maximum production based upon full employment?

The answer to these questions is in your hands. Everything you do now to push back the enemy of inflation will count for gains far beyond victory itself. Fair prices, adequate wages, and equitable distribution will be just as important in peace as they have been in war. You can help to make possible all of these things.

Draft

JAG/Z
12.11.43

WARTIME CONTROLS

D 16994

Introduction.

Since I last spoke to the people of Canada about the progress of the war, there have been many changes in the growing picture of the Allied offensive. I have said frequently, over the past four years, that our first duty is the winning of the war. It still is an imperative and the most urgent duty facing the citizens of Canada. Both Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt have lately reminded us that there must be no relaxation of our efforts now; and to those who have been fighting and working abroad and at home, the very intensity of the fighting which lies ahead must bring home yet again the stark fact that the war still has to be won.

Most important of all, if we are to retain and act upon the initiative on the fighting fronts so hardly won, we must fight as never before. If we are not to lose all we have gained in four years of fighting, and more particularly in the year which has now elapsed since the beginning of the major allied offensive, in North Africa, then we must fight for everything which we value most.

D 16995

Some of the things we have gained, in the light of disappointments and reverses, have been won at almost a desperate price. If we are to win in the end, and no one can say exactly how soon that end will be, then we must realize, too, that no effort can be too small to count on the side of victory.

This is especially true in waging war on the home front. The fact that our war effort has been built up to its present magnitude and usefulness is the result of careful planning and many hours of patient, unremitting work. If it were not for the substantial organization of our war industry in Canada, we could never have put into the field highly-trained and well-equipped army formations, such as those which have lately fought with gallantry and distinction in Sicily and in Italy. Neither could we have provided ships and fighting men for Canada's navy, who have served on every ocean, nor could we have contributed the war planes and trained airmen who have fought in the skies over many an embattled land. And without the voluntary savings of more than two millions of Canadians, subscribers to the victory loans, the task of paying for our war effort would have been far more difficult.

D 16996

So far as that extra cost could not be met by borrowing from the private earnings of the people, an attempt would have to be made to meet it through still heavier taxes. If the economic limits of taxation had been reached, and if loans to the government still were insufficient, then the only recourse would have been to some measure of inflation, with consequences potentially dangerous to the whole nation and bringing hardship to many resolute and uncomplaining citizens.

Except at times when victory loan campaigns have been in progress, we have tended to think, in general terms, of the war as being a war fought out on fronts removed from Canada altogether. This is perhaps a useful occasion for saying something about an unceasing battle on the home front. Some parts of this battle have been occupying a good deal of attention, both in the public press and in private discussion. The part I mean is the wartime control over prices and wages. It is a part which concerns every man and woman in Canada, now, and for every day, until victory over the Axis powers has been achieved.

J. A. G.
10.11.43

D 46997

Draft re Wage and Price Control

I should like to speak to the people of Canada today about a subject which has been occupying a good deal of attention, both in the public press and in private discussion. It is the subject of wartime controls over wages and prices. It is a subject which concerns every citizen of Canada, now and for every day until victory over the Axis powers has been achieved.

In speaking of wage and price controls, I should like to pay a tribute of honour and appreciation to the people of Canada as a whole. Some of these controls go back to the earliest days of the present war, more than four years ago. Some have been set up more recently, as the world-wide sweep and spread of conflict has made a stepping-up of our war effort necessary. These controls have done something which had never been done in Canada before. They limited the amounts of many commodities available for purchase and use. They prohibited, in some cases, the manufacture of certain articles, and they restricted the variety of manufactures which had once been possible. They rationed certain foodstuffs in short supply, or in the production of which Canada had accepted very large commitments to supply a part of the needs of Britain and other of the United Nations.

These controls have extended much father than to food or clothing or gasoline. They regulate strictly the prices which may legally be charged for a great range of goods and services. They limit the extent to which increases in wages or salaries or bonuses may be paid to persons in defined occupations. They specify how much may be claimed as profit in business undertakings, whether by individuals or by corporations, and the taxes which must be paid upon these profits.

From even these examples it is clear that controls have been set up at many points in our domestic economy. They have been set up in areas where, five years ago, many people would say the government of Canada had no business to intervene. Some people still say that the government has no place in private business, and you will be aware that certain agencies in Canada have been talking about the long-term benefits of what they call "free enterprise" or "freedom of opportunity" or some other name.

I will deal with these arguments in a moment. Meanwhile, let me discuss what the effect of these controls measures has been. I am interested in them not as <u>controls as such</u>, for indeed they are sometimes both complicated in administration and occasionally costly in operation. But I am interested in them because of what they have meant to the

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people of Canada in the mass; how they have affected habits of everyday life; how they have assured as equitable as possible a distribution of everyday needs; and how they have afforded some constant security against the notorious evils of inflation and the distress which elsewhere has followed in their train.

In this world-wide war, not all of our enemies are the Axis powers of Hitlerite Germany and grasping Japan. There are some enemies who never reach a battlefront abroad. They do not need to, for they wage war right in our midst. They are peculiarly the enemies of the civil population on the home front, and it is there that these enemies must be beaten and destroyed before they can do even worse damage elsewhere.

Now it is true that more people are gainfully employed in Canada than at any previous time in our history. In consequence the amount of money, earned as wages and salaries, which might be spent on consumers goods - food, clothing, furntirue, entertainment - is greater than ever before. But the supply of goods to meet these increased demands has not increased in comparison, and under wartime conditions it cannot be increased if our war effort on the production front is to be maintained as an utmost effort.

D 47000

If no controls were set up in this situation, an increasing number of buyers would be clamoring for a declining volume of available goods. If there were no control over prices, and no rationing of certain foodstuffs, two tragic consequences would follow. In the first place, some of the people who needed foodstuffs could not obtain them, either because the prices were beyond their means, or because the supply was so unregulated that they would have to trust to mere chance to find the food they needed. Second, and in the long run far worse, the whole price structure would go soaring. The higher the prices became, and the lesser relationship prices had to the value of the goods received, the worse would be the ultimate blow where deflation overtook inflation.

(verify) Now it is also true that it takes today about $1.~~17~~ 18 to purchase the food, electric light, clothing and so on for which in mid 1939 $1.00 was required. In other words, the (verify) general cost of living in Canada during wartime has increased about ~~17~~ 19%. But nearly all of this increase arose in the earliest months of the war, before full economic controls could be applied, and since November, 1941, the index of cost of living has never fluctuated more than 3.1%.

This is a very different situation from the one which prevailed 25 years ago during the latter part of the Great War. Then, instead of needing $1.17 to buy what had cost $1.00 in

but the actual rise in the cost of living index was almost 3 times the rise in the present war to this date. x

1914, it took $1.53/...; and it was several years after the armistice before the distress created by an inflated price structure was relieved. If the people of Canada today who remember vividly these conditions of 25 years ago were asked to choose between price controls and fair distribution, or soaring prices and indefinite supply, I have no doubt what their answer would be.

Why then are there complaints against some measures of control? Are the complaints valid? Can they be answered by some relaxation of controls, or does the solution lie in other directions?

The answer to these questions is that in fighting against inflation the Government cannot ever win the battle by itself. No amount of economic control - whether rationing, or price control, or compulsory savings - can ever avail if the pople of Canada do not take their part. The whole success of any scheme designed to provide fair distribution of goods in short supply, and at the same time to avoid the notorious evils of inflation, depends upon the loyal help of every citizen concerned. It means that every person who earns money and who buys food or clothing must play the game or the system will break down. If it breaks down, the people who have least to go on will be the heaviest losers, If it breaks down no

D 47002

one will really gain in the long run, no matter whether he tries to hoard or whether he spends recklessly what he has.

There is another side to this question. In wartime the government has to ask people to submit to many regulations which never applied in peacetime. One reason why they are needed in wartime is that nearly half our entire national income is being devoted to war purposes. This means inevitably that purchases of consumers goods have to be subject to some control. It means that unlimited buying of other goods has to be discouraged by some means or other. In short, to meet the tremendously increased obligations of paying for our war effort, the government has to depend on obtaining more money. Some of that money can be obtained through taxation, on incomes, on luxury articles, on business profits, and so on. More of this money can be obtained by loans from the citizens themselves, loans which are guaranteed as to repayment by the full faith and resources of the Government.

Draft

JAG/Z
12.11.43

D 47003

WARTIME CONTROLS

Introduction.

Since I last spoke to the people of Canada about the progress of the war, there have been many changes in the growing picture of the Allied offensive. I have said frequently, over the past four years, that our first duty is the winning of the war. It still is an imperative and the most urgent duty facing the citizens of Canada. Both Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt have lately reminded us that there must be no relaxation of our efforts now; and to those who have been fighting and working abroad and at home, the very intensity of the fighting which lies ahead must bring home yet again the stark fact that the war still has to be won.

Most important of all, if we are to retain and act upon the initiative on the fighting fronts so hardly won, we must fight as never before. If we are not to lose all we have gained in four years of fighting, and more particularly in the year which has now elapsed since the beginning of the major allied offensive, in North Africa, then we must fight for everything which we value most.

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Some of the things we have gained, in the light of disappointments and reverses, have been won at almost a desperate price. If we are to win in the end, and no one can say exactly how soon that end will be, then we must realize, too, that no effort can be too small to count on the side of victory.

This is especially true in waging war on the home front. The fact that our war effort has been built up to its present magnitude and usefulness is the result of careful planning and many hours of patient, unremitting work. If it were not for the substantial organization of our war industry in Canada, we could never have put into the field highly-trained and well-equipped army formations, such as those which have lately fought with gallantry and distinction in Sicily and in Italy. Neither could we have provided ships and fighting men for Canada's navy, who have served on every ocean, nor could we have contributed the war planes and trained airmen who have fought in the skies over many an embattled land. And without the voluntary savings of more than two millions of Canadians, subscribers to the victory loans, the task of paying for our war effort would have been far more difficult.

D 47005

So far as that extra cost could not be met by borrowing from the private earnings of the people, an attempt would have to be made to meet it through still heavier taxes. If the economic limits of taxation had been reached, and if loans to the government still were insufficient, then the only recourse would have been to some measure of inflation, with consequences potentially dangerous to the whole nation and bringing hardship to many resolute and uncomplaining citizens.

Except at times when victory loan campaigns have been in progress, we have tended to think, in general terms, of the war as being a war fought out on fronts removed from Canada altogether. This is perhaps a useful occasion for saying something about an unceasing battle on the home front. Some parts of this battle have been occupying a good deal of attention, both in the public press and in private discussion. The part I mean is the wartime control over prices and wages. It is a part which concerns every man and woman in Canada, now, and for every day, until victory over the Axis powers has been achieved.

J. A. G.
10.11.43

D 47006

Draft re Wage and Price Control

I should like to speak to the people of Canada today about a subject which has been occupying a good deal of attention, both in the public press and in private discussion. It is the subject of wartime controls over wages and prices. It is a subject which concerns every citizen of Canada, now and for every day until victory over the Axis powers has been achieved.

In speaking of wage and price controls, I should like to pay a tribute of honour and appreciation to the people of Canada as a whole. Some of these controls go back to the earliest days of the present war, more than four years ago. Some have been set up more recently, as the world-wide sweep and spread of conflict has made a stepping-up of our war effort necessary. These controls have done something which had never been done in Canada before. They limited the amounts of many commodities available for purchase and use. They prhhibited, in some cases, the manufacture of certain articles, and they restricted the variety of manufactures which had once been possible. They rationed certain foodstuffs in short supply, or in the production of which Canada had accepted very large commitments to supply a part of the needs of Britain and other of the United Nations.

D 47007

These controls have extended much father than to food or clothing or gasoline. They regulate strictly the prices which may legally be charged for a great range of goods and services. They limit the extent to which increases in wages or salaries or bonuses may be paid to persons in defined occupations. They specify how much may be claimed as profit in business undertakings, whether by individuals or by corporations, and the taxes which must be paid upon these profits.

From even these examples it is clear that controls have been set up at many points in our domestic economy. They have been set up in areas where, five years ago, many people would say the government of Canada had no business to intervene. Some people still say that the government has no place in private business, and you will be aware that certain agencies in Canada have been talking about the long-term benefits of what they call "free enterprise" or "freedom of opportunity" or some other name.

I will deal with these arguments in a moment. Meanwhile, let me discuss what the effect of these controls measures has been. I am interested in them not as <u>controls as such</u>, for indeed they are sometimes both complicated in administration and occasionally costly in operation. But I am interested in them because of what they have meant to the

D 47008

people of Canada <u>in the mass</u>; how they have affected habits of everyday life; how they have assured as equitable as possible a distribution of everyday needs; and how they have afforded some constant security against the notorious evils of inflation and the distress which elsewhere has followed in their train.

In this world-wide war, not all of our enemies are the Axis powers of Hitlerite Germany and grasping Japan. There are some enemies who never reach a battlefront abroad. They do not need to, for they wage war right in our midst. They are peculiarly the enemies of the civil population on the home front, and it is there that these enemies must be beaten and destroyed before they can do even worse damage elsewhere.

Now it is true that more people are gainfully employed in Canada than at any previous time in our history. In consequence the amount of money, earned as wages and salaries, which might be spent on consumers goods - food, clothing, furntirue, entertainment - is greater than ever before. But the <u>supply</u> of goods to meet these increased demands has not increased in comparison, and under wartime conditions it cannot be increased if our war effort on the production front is to be maintained as an utmost effort.

D 17009

If no controls were set up in this situation, an increasing number of buyers would be clamoring for a declining volume of available goods. If there were no control over prices, and no rationing of certain foodstuffs, two tragic consequences would follow. In the first place, some of the people who <u>needed</u> foodstuffs could not obtain them, either because the prices were beyond their means, or because the supply was so unregulated that they would have to trust to mere chance to find the food they needed. Second, and in the long run far worse, the whole price structure would go soaring. The higher the prices became, and the lesser relationship prices had to the value of the goods received, the worse would be the ultimate blow where <u>deflation</u> overtook <u>inflation</u>.

(verify) Now it is also true that it takes today about $1.~~17~~ 18 to purchase the food, electric light, clothing and so on for which in mid 1939 $1.00 was required. In other words, the (verify) general cost of living in Canada during wartime has increased about 17%. But nearly all of this increase arose in the earliest months of the war, before full economic controls could be applied, and since....Nov...., 1940, the indextof cost of living has never fluctuated more than 3.1%.

This is a very different situation from the one which prevailed 25 years ago during the latter part of the Great War. Then, instead of needing $1.17 to buy what had cost $1.00 in

D 17010

1914, it took ~~$2...~~ 1.53; and it was several years after the armistice before the distress created by an inflated price structure was relieved. If the people of Canada today who remember vividly these conditions of 25 years ago were asked to choose between price controls and fair distribution, or soaring prices and indefinite supply, I have no doubt what their answer would be.

Why then are there complaints against some measures of control? Are the complaints valid? Can they be answered by some relaxation of controls, or does the solution lie in other directions?

The answer to these questions is that in fighting against inflation the Government cannot ever win the battle by itself. No amount of economic control - whether rationing, or price control, or compulsory savings - can ever avail if the pople of Canada do not take their part. The whole success of any scheme designed to provide fair distribution of goods in short supply, and at the same time to avoid the notorious evils of inflation, depends upon the loyal help of every citizen concerned. It means that every person who earns money and who buys food or clothing must play the game or the system will break down. If it breaks down, the people who have least to go on will be the heaviest losers, If it breaks down no

D 47011

one will really gain in the long run, no matter whether he tries to hoard or whether he spends recklessly what he has.

There is another side to this question. In wartime the government has to ask people to submit to many regulations which never applied in peacetime. One reason why they are needed in wartime is that nearly half our entire national income is being devoted to war purposes. This means inevitably that purchases of consumers goods have to be subject to some control. It means that unlimited buying of other goods has to be discouraged by some means or other. In short, to meet the tremendously increased obligations of paying for our war effort, the government has to depend on obtaining more money. Some of that money can be obtained through taxation, on incomes, on luxury articles, on business profits, and so on. More of this money can be obtained by loans from the citizens themselves, loans which are guaranteed as to repayment by the full faith and resources of the Government.

D 47012

Dr Gibson

You may wish to keep
This in L.H. files. It was
damaged by a leak through ceiling
of my office over last weekend!

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Not to be released until after delivery.

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THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 47014

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

The need to continue an utmost effort

It may well be - and we fervently pray it will be so - that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer.

D47015

Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

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Battles on the home front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of

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~~the warrior~~.

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the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners: They are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the war began, and ~~more than~~ half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using ~~more than~~ half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy

with their larger incomes.

D 17018

with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up, and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation".

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up. But wages and salaries never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

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During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, the fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war, and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100% excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

D 47020

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling.

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices, ~~except the prices of a few items it is almost impossible to control~~. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy, unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-dential and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

D 47021

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an up-hill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago, when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18% as compared with 53% in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15%. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3%. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33% which is just ten times as much.

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The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war ~~and of foodstuffs~~. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary.

he would be lessening the purchasing power of money in our hands, and penalizing all those who are on fixed incomes

D 47021-1

~~he would be lessening the purchasing power of~~

We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of solders' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run, all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs.

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

D 47022

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily, and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are ~~greater than they were in 1939~~ equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living.

Now that we have reached the stage where ~~more~~ half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

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The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices.

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them ~~to~~ continue to help ~~to~~ hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its ~~part~~ side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

D 47024

Wage Stabiliziation

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were "frozen," the government did not "freeze" all wages. We knew there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilizied two years ago, a National War Labour Board and regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90% of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why it ~~has been~~ was necessary to control wages.

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When the price ceiling was established two years ago, no one could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy.

D 47026

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Basic Cost of Living - Basic Living Standards - Basic wage rates

~~Modifications of Wage Control~~ basic wage rates

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to ~~maintain~~ hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

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The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living ~~can be held~~ at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

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The cost of living, however, cannot be kept down unless wages remain stable. The rise in the price of coal, following the recent increase in the wages of coal miners, is an illustration of what will happen to the cost of living if the control of wages cannot be maintained.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

A ~~Code of~~ Labour Relations Code

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

D 17028

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In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of cooperation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion, I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against

~~privation resulting from unemployment~~,

D 47030

privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

Not to be released until after delivery. 16 17

D 47031

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, December 4, 1943

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Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

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I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

The need to continue an utmost effort

It may well be - and we fervently pray it will be so - that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

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D 47033

Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the ppast four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our

power to shorten the war.

D 47034

power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the home front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed fordes with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolised by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of

D 47035

the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; They are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war ~~began~~, and ~~more than~~ half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using ~~more than~~ half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy

<u>with their larger incomes.</u>

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with their larger incomes. ~~Today there is actually less for the people to buy for their own use, than there was in 1939.~~

If we ~~[redacted]~~ were now spending twice as much money ~~as less than we had to buy~~ as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost ~~[redacted]~~ a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call ~~[redacted]~~ "inflation".

The Evil Consequences of Inflation.

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:- First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but never quite as fast. ~~[redacted]~~ The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few ~~very clever~~ sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

D 47037

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in ~~hardly any case~~ few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When ~~living costs~~ prices fell, wages also began to fall. ~~fell faster.~~ Worse still, the fall in prices ~~[illegible]~~ was soon followed by ~~Then came~~ unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that ~~while the war lasts~~ in a time of war inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100% excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they ~~have~~ at least help~~ed~~ to keep up the the buying power of every dollar each of us ~~had~~ has left to spend.

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The Establishment of the Price Ceiling.

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices, ~~except the prices of a few items it is almost impossible to control~~. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

D 17039

The Importance of Price Control.

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has [redacted] risen only a little over 18% as compared with 53 53% in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15%. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3%. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 %, which is ~~more than~~ just 10 times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in cooperation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary.

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We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of solders' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs.

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

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But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are ~~greater than they were in 1939.~~ equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living.

Now that we have reached the stage where ~~more~~ half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

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But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are ~~greater than they were in 1939.~~ equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 47042

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices.

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government know that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognises that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

D 47043

Wage Stabiliziation

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilizied two years ago, a National War Labour Board and regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90% of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why it ~~has been~~ was necessary to control wages. & prices have to be controlled,

D 47044

The cost of living, however, cannot be kept down unless wages remain stable. The rise in the price of coal, following the recent increase in the wages of coal miners, is an illustration of what will happen to the cost of living if the control of wages cannot be maintained.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

A Code of Labour Relations

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

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The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If ~~that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses.~~ has been decided that No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that ~~it~~ by holding the cost of living ~~can be held~~ at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

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In peace time, the authority to make a law to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of cooperation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against

privation resulting from unemployment,

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privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. These are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

Not to be released until after delivery 8 p.m. E.D.T. December 4, 1943

D 47048

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

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I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

The need to continue an utmost effort

It may well be - and we fervently pray it will be so - that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer.

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Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war.

D 47051

power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging tho war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the home front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of

D 47052

the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

D 47053

with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation".

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:- First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

D 47054

During the last war, and the yeers immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment inthe post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100% excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

D 47055

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices, ~~except the prices of foreign exchange, impossible to control~~ We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

D 47056

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18% as compared with 53% in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15%. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3%. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33%, which is just 10 times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in cooperation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of food-stuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary.

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We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

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But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living.

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

D 47059

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

D 17060

Wage Stabilisation

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90% of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allwed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why, if prices were to be controlled, it was necessary to control wages.

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When the price ceiling was established two years ago, none could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy. [redacted]

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Modifications of Wage Control.

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

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The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

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The revised wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

A Code of Labour Relations

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

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In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of cooperation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against

privation resulting from unemployment

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privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail

Date December 4, 1943

Subject Inflation

Mr King Radio

File

D 47068

Mr. King Broadcasts Tonight On 'Battle Against Inflation'

Ottawa, Dec. 3 (CP).—Prime Minister Mackenzie King will make a half-hour broadcast over the national network of the CBC tomorrow night, starting at 8 o'clock, E.D.T., on "The Battle Against Inflation," his office announced tonight.

Various advance forecasts indicate that his main topic will be proposed revisions in the wartime wage-stabilization policy, but he likely will also speak more briefly on collective bargaining and arbitration of labor disputes and on postwar reconstruction.

He may even reveal in broad outline some of the Government's plans for maintaining employment after the war ends.

The wage-stabilization orders under consideration for many weeks by the Cabinet are understood to involve a new method of adjusting wage rates to the cost of living, and perhaps a consolidation of present cost-of-living bonuses with basic wage rates. Mr. King may not be able, however, to make specific announcements yet.

The new labor code was the subject of a recent conference between officials of Federal and Provincial Labor Departments. It arises out of reports of the National War Labor Board following a public inquiry into labor relations and wage conditions in Canada.

In connection with postwar reconstruction, Cabinet Ministers have predicted an important statement from Mr. King. The Prime Minister may discuss the importance of maintaining a stable price and wage structure in wartime so deflationary tendencies later may not jeopardize the implementation of reconstruction plans.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

:

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

BROADCAST

by

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

OTTAWA, DECEMBER 4, 1943

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

D 17068

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THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

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Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
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Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

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The Need to Continue an Utmost Effort

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the Home Front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will

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contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners: they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives; workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the war began, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food, are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up, and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad.

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The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up. But wages and salaries never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, the fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war, and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you to-night is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy, unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage

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in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years, it was an up-hill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago, when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent as compared with 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent, which is just ten times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war. We would be lessening the purchasing power of money in our possession, and penalizing all whose incomes are fixed. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run, all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the

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farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily, and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes to-day are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish to-night to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous

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fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were "frozen", the government did not "freeze" all wages. We knew there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and Regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why if prices were to be controlled it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, no one could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Recommendations of National War Labour Board

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy. Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The

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Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Basic Living Standards—Basic Wage Rates

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

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A Labour Relations Code

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

Post War Objectives

On another occasion, I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as *a national minimum of social security and human welfare;* not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the bread-winner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 6 1943

Subject

D 17077

TEXT OF MACKENZIE KING ON ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES

Ottawa, December 5.—(CP)—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Saturday night radio address on "The Battle Against Inflation":

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we now should be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we now can foresee.

However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily.

VIOLENCE IS SEEN

We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer.

Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime, waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure: If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the combined chiefs of staff are all agreed.

INFLATION BATTLE.

Here, surely, is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle—the battle against inflation.

On the home front, this now is the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory.

After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster.

One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are laboring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

TWO BATTLES.

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce now is being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food—are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

If we now were spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost 50 cents in 1939 would cost $1 today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

NOTHING NEW

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and that has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:

First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment.

We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period.

What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation.

To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national Treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent. excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns.

BENEFIT OF TAXES.

As all of us know, taxes and borrowing have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon.

We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

TWO-EDGED SWORD

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a salary or wages for his work.

It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less.

The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted.

In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent. as compared with 53 per cent. in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. so successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent. which is just 10 times as much.

THE FRONT LINE.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in cooperation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves.

Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of labor.

In other words, the farmers and labor were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them.

PLANNED LEVELLING

We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country.

The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners.

Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

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That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

FARM PRICES.

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the Government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war.

If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war.

As an essential part of its post-war policy, the Government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

INEQUALITIES, INJUSTICES

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the Government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied.

When wages were stabilized two years ago, national war labor board and regional war labor boards were established. To these boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions.

In the past two years, the war labor boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting 2,500,000 workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent. of the cases.

The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canada wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why, if prices were to be controlled, it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, none could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost-of-living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

WAGE CONTROL VITAL

Generally speaking, labor has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy.

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labor Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the board produced its findings in the form of a majority and a minority report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labor policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labor policy, the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports agree.

CONTROL TO CONTINUE

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The war labor boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost-of-living bonus. The payment of cost-of-living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction.

The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost-of-living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of labor than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus.

If the cost of living rises more than three per cent., and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole program of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised wage control order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labor Board which the government is prepared to carry out.

LABOR CODE.

The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labor relations to apply to war industries. A code of labor relations is already in the final stages of preparation.

The labor code will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The code will be enforced by a national wartime labor relations board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace-time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of cooperation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The code of labor relations will be enacted in the near future. When the code is published, the majority and minority reports of the National War Labor Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank labor, as I have thanked the farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to labor, as I have appealed to the farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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D 47080

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare not for labor only, but for all the people.

That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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D 47081

Subject

Le boni de vie chère assimilé au salaire

Un nouveau code des relations ouvrières

Le très hon. M. King énonce un programme de conventions collectives obligatoires, de réglementation des salaires.

La lutte contre l'inflation

Le gouvernement établira un prix minimum pour les produits agricoles. — Programme de bien-être social pour le peuple.

Ottawa, 6. (D.N.C.) — "Si nous voulons gagner la bataille contre le chômage durant les années de l'après-guerre, il nous faut tout d'abord gagner la bataille contre l'inflation."

C'est en ces termes que, dans une allocution radiophonique à l'adresse de la nation canadienne, le très hon. William-Lyon-Mackenzie King, premier ministre du Canada, a posé, samedi soir, le problème de l'inflation en expliquant la politique qu'a suivie son gouvernement dans la lutte contre l'inflation et en insistant sur la nécessité des contrôles établis sur les prix et les salaires dans le but d'éviter ce déséquilibre économique.

En insistant sur l'importance du contrôle des prix pour éviter l'inflation, le premier ministre a démontré que ce contrôle entrainait la nécessité de limiter le coût de la production et, par voie de conséquence, celle de stabiliser les salaires. Cette stabilisation des salaires, a déclaré M. King, n'empêche pas le redressement des injustices puisque, depuis deux ans, 40,000 demandes de relèvement de salaires, intéressant deux millions et demi de travailleurs, ont été accordées dans une proportion de 90 p. cent, ce qui a "valu aux salariés canadiens un supplément de salaires de plus de 150 millions de dollars".

Sans apporter de changement fondamental à sa politique de stabilisation des salaires, le gouvernement, a annoncé M. King, est disposé à la modifier sur certains points et à reviser sa politique du travail. C'est à ce moment de son discours que le premier ministre a fait connaitre les grandes lignes du nouveau code du travail en temps de guerre, élaboré depuis quelques mois à l'aide des recommandations des rapports McTague, Lalande et Cohen, mis au point depuis la conférence des ministres fédéral et provinciaux du travail et dont les détails seront rendus publics ces jours-ci.

En annonçant cette nouvelle, le chef du gouvernement a confirmé que les ouvriers obtiendront des contrats collectifs de travail obligatoires. Le code nouveau qui entrera bientôt en vigueur définira les pratiques déloyales ou injustes en ce qui concerne les conditions de travail et interdira ces pratiques. L'application de ce code sera confiée à un conseil national des relations ouvrières en temps de guerre. Autre modification: les boni de vie chère feront désormais partie du salaire de base.

Le premier ministre a aussi annoncé que le gouvernement a l'intention de présenter, à la prochaine session, un projet de loi établissant des prix minimums pour les produits agricoles, dans le but de prévenir une déchéance de ces prix après la guerre et d'empêcher ainsi que le conflit ne soit suivi d'une crise agricole.

Texte du discours de M. King

Au cours de la semaine, l'attention du monde s'est concentrée sur la conférence que les chefs des quatre grandes puissances ont tenue dans le Moyen-Orient. Ces conférences nous rappellent l'envergure mondiale du présent conflit. Elles révèlent plus clairement l'immensité de la tâche à accomplir avant la défaite de l'ennemi. Il nous fallait ce coup d'oeil plus large pour recouvrer le sens des proportions.

Nos yeux étaient tournés vers les régions où les Alliés ont remporté d'éclatants succès. Ces succès ont fait croire à nombre de gens que la guerre tire peut-être à sa fin. Cet état d'esprit s'est trop généralisé. Il est si répandu qu'il menace de diminuer l'élan de tout l'effort de guerre. Nombre de gens en sont venus à s'imaginer que nous devrions nous occuper surtout des problèmes d'après-guerre. Ils oublient que le principal problème, c'est encore celui de gagner la guerre. Il faut vaincre l'ennemi et remporter la victoire, avant qu'on puisse détourner l'énergie des individus et des nations de l'oeuvre de destruction massive pour l'affecter à l'oeuvre de restauration.

Je serais le premier à souligner la nécessité de prévoir l'existence et de préparer la solution des problèmes qui surgiront probablement à la fin des hostilités. A l'instard d'autres nations unies, le Canada a consacré une étude sérieuse aux problèmes de ce genre que nous pouvons

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Il faut continuer l'effort maximum

Il se peut fort bien — et nous le souhaitons ardemment — que nous soyons témoins en 1944 de la capitulation de l'Allemagne nazie. Il est possible qu'une fois l'Allemagne vaincue, le Japon se rende compte que son destin est pareillement décidé. Il est peu probable que la clarification qui a été faite de l'expression "capitulation sans condition" puisse porter le Japon ou l'Allemagne à céder plus facilement. Nous pouvons être sûrs que les dirigeants nazis en Allemagne et les chefs militaires au Japon, se rendant compte de ce que sera certainement leur propre sort, chercheront à contraindre leurs peuples à faire une lutte de plus en plus violente.

Le seul espoir de l'ennemi, c'est de tenir jusqu'à ce que les Nations unies donnent des signes de fléchissement sous le poids de la guerre. Tout indice de faiblesse ou d'indifférence chez l'un quelconque des pays libres encouragera l'ennemi à tenir plus longtemps. C'est l'endurance qui compte le plus dans une longue lutte. Le présent conflit est devenu une épreuve d'endurance et c'est la dernière reprise qui assurera la victoire ou la défaite.

La guerre ne prendra fin que lorsque l'une ou l'autre des forces en présence aura la certitude absolue de sa défaite. Tout ce qui pourra laisser croire à l'ennemi que la défaite n'est pas certaine, prolongera le conflit

Dans le plus fort de la lutte

Ce que nous devons le plus nous rappeler à l'heure actuelle c'est que nous sommes encore au plus fort de la lutte, dans toutes les régions du globe, contre l'agression sans merci et le crime monstrueux auxquels se livrent des ennemis terriblement puissants. Nous devrons surtout maintenir et même, dans la mesure où nous le pourrons, accroître notre immense effort de guerre des quatre dernières années. Nous ne saurions risquer de perdre aucun des gains que nous avons déjà réalisés au prix de tant de vies humaines.

Il est une chose dont nous pouvons être sûrs. Si la guerre ne se termine pas d'ici la fin de l'hiver en Europe, les forces canadiennes, britanniques et américaines seront, le printemps et l'été prochains, engagées dans une bataille qui sera plus violente et plus coûteuse en vies humaines que toutes celles qu'elles ont livrées jusqu'ici. Les chefs des états-majors combinés sont tous d'accord sur ce point. Cela devrait assurément engager chacun de nous à faire tout son possible pour abréger la guerre. Nous devrions aussi y voir un motif d'éviter tout ce qui pourrait être de nature à encourager l'ennemi et, partant, à prolonger le conflit et à causer un plus grand nombre de pertes de vie.

Le front domestique

Et j'en arrive aux remarques que je tiens à formuler ce soir au sujet d'une autre lutte, la lutte contre l'inflation. Sur le front civil, cette bataille est maintenant la plus critique de toutes. D'ici la fin du conflit, la perte de cette bataille, à un moment quelconque, nuirait énormément à notre effort de guerre général. Si nous la gagnons, nous contribuerons beaucoup à la victoire. Après le conflit, les succès que nous remporterons dans cette bataille contre l'inflation aideront plus que tous autre facteur à la solution des problèmes de l'après-guerre.

L'effort national essentiel qu'exige la guerre moderne est de deux espèces. D'une part l'armée, la marine et l'aviation doivent combattre effectivement l'ennemi.

Interdépendance de l'ouvrier et du soldat

D'autre part, toute la nation a le devoir d'appuyer les forces armées jusqu'à l'extrême limite de sa capacité. Un côté est symbolisé par le combattant; l'autre, par l'ouvrier. La clef de la victoire se trouve dans l'association stable et durable du combattant et de l'ouvrier. Le combattant ne s'aurait se battre sans les armes que fabriquent les ouvriers. La liberté de l'ouvrier dépend des succès que remporte le combattant sur le champ de bataille.

Les ouvriers ne sont pas seulement les salariés; ce sont tous ceux qui, directement ou indirectement, travaillent pour que le Canada puisse déployer un effort de guerre vigoureux. Ils comprennent les mères de famille, les ouvriers des mines et des forêts, ceux qui travaillent dans les usines, dans les ateliers et les bureaux; les cultivateurs et les pêcheurs; les hommes et les femmes d'affaires et les membres des professions libérales.

Production et inflation

Sur le front intérieur, nous avons eu deux batailles à livrer : la bataille de la production et la lutte contre l'inflation. Dans la bataille de la production, le Canada a remporté des succès magnifiques. Depuis le début des hostilités, il a doublé sa production, dont la moitié sert maintenant à des fins de guerre. Ses navires, ses avions, ses chars d'assaut, ses canons, ses munitions, ses vivres sont autant d'armes puissantes qui aideront à assurer la défaite de l'ennemi.

Cependant, si étrange que cela puisse paraître, les succès que nous avons connus dans la bataille de la production ont augmenté les difficultés que nous rencontrons dans la bataille contre l'inflation.

En doublant notre production, nous avons doublé les revenus de la population canadienne. Toutefois, comme nous employons plus de la moitié de notre production à des oeuvres de guerre, nous n'avons pas pu accroître les biens de consommation que la population pourrait se procurer avec ses revenus plus considérables.

Si maintenant nous dépensions deux fois plus qu'en 1939, les prix monteraient, et la valeur de chaque dollar tomberait. Le produit qui coûtait 50 cents en 1939, coûterait plus d'un dollar aujourd'hui. Nous passerions par ce que les économistes appellent l'"inflation".

Conséquences de l'inflation

L'inflation n'est pas chose nouvelle dans le monde. Plusieurs pays en ont fait l'essai, et toujours à leur détriment. Les mauvais effets de l'inflation se font sentir le plus souvent et le plus fortement aux époques de guerre. Voici à peu près comment le phénomène se produit: D'abord, les prix montent. Les salaires peuvent ensuite monter, mais ils ne montent jamais aussi vite que les prix. L'argent additionnel payé en salaires tend à provoquer de nouvelles hausses dans les prix. Quelques personnes rusées et peu scrupuleuses peuvent, par spéculation et mercantilisme, tirer avantage de l'inflation, mais tôt ou tard c'est la grande majorité qui en souffre.

Au cours de la dernière guerre et des années qui la suivirent immédiatement, les salaires se sont élevés rapidement, mais ce n'est que dans quelques cas que cette hausse a plus que compensé l'augmentation enregistrée dans le coût de la vie, qui avait doublé. Lorsque les prix ont baissé, les salaires ont aussi commencé à fléchir. Puis encore, la chute des prix fut suivie de chômage. Cette fois-ci, nous avons cherché à éviter la même difficulté. Nous l'avons évitée jusqu'ici. Si la chose est humainement possible, nous sommes déterminés à l'éviter jusqu'à la fin de la guerre et durant la période de l'après-guerre. L'idée que je désire faire pénétrer ce soir dans vos esprits est la suivante: Si nous voulons gagner la bataille contre le chômage durant les années de l'après-guerre, il nous faut tout d'abord gagner la bataille contre l'inflation.

L'inflation affaiblit le front intérieur

Je tiens, en attendant, à souliquer avec autant de force qu'en temps de

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Il se peut fort bien — et nous le souhaitons ardemment — que nous soyons témoins en 1944 de la capitulation de l'Allemagne nazie. Il est possible qu'une fois l'Allemagne vaincue, le Japon se rende compte que son destin est pareillement décidé. Il est peu probable que la clarification qui a été faite de l'expression "capitulation sans condition" puisse porter le Japon ou l'Allemagne à céder plus facilement. Nous pouvons être sûrs que les dirigeants nazis en Allemagne et les chefs militaires au Japon, se rendant compte de ce que sera certainement leur propre sort, chercheront à contraindre leurs peuples à faire une lutte de plus en plus violente.

Le seul espoir de l'ennemi, c'est de tenir jusqu'à ce que les Nations unies donnent des signes de fléchissement sous le poids de la guerre. Tout indice de faiblesse ou d'indifférence chez l'un quelconque des pays libres encouragera l'ennemi à tenir plus longtemps. C'est l'endurance qui compte le plus dans une longue lutte. Le présent conflit est devenu une épreuve d'endurance et c'est la dernière reprise qui assurera la victoire ou la défaite.

La guerre ne prendra fin que lorsque l'une ou l'autre des forces en présence aura la certitude absolue de sa défaite. Tout ce qui pourra laisser croire à l'ennemi que la défaite n'est pas certaine, prolongera le conflit

Dans le plus fort de la lutte

Ce que nous devons le plus nous rappeler à l'heure actuelle c'est que nous sommes encore au plus fort de la lutte, dans toutes les régions du globe, contre l'agression sans merci et le crime monstrueux auxquels se livrent des ennemis terriblement puissants. Nous devrons surtout maintenir et même, dans la mesure où nous le pourrons, accroître notre immense effort de guerre des quatre dernières années. Nous ne saurions risquer de perdre aucun des gains que nous avons déjà réalisés au prix de tant de vies humaines.

Il est une chose dont nous pouvons être sûrs. Si la guerre ne se termine pas d'ici la fin de l'hiver en Europe, les forces canadiennes, britanniques et américaines seront, le printemps et l'été prochains, engagées dans une bataille qui sera plus violente et plus coûteuse en vies humaines que toutes celles qu'elles ont livrées jusqu'ici. Les chefs des états-majors combinés sont tous d'accord sur ce point. Cela devrait assurément engager chacun de nous à faire tout son possible pour abréger la guerre. Nous devrions aussi y voir un motif d'éviter tout ce qui pourrait être de nature à encourager l'ennemi et, partant, à prolonger le conflit et à causer un plus grand nombre de pertes de vie.

Le front domestique

Et j'en arrive aux remarques que je tiens à formuler ce soir au sujet d'une autre lutte, la lutte contre l'inflation. Sur le front civil, cette bataille est maintenant la plus critique de toutes. D'ici la fin du conflit, la perte de cette bataille, à un moment quelconque, nuirait énormément à notre effort de guerre général. Si nous la gagnons, nous contribuerons beaucoup à la victoire. Après le conflit, les succès que nous remporterons dans cette bataille contre l'inflation aideront plus que tous autre facteur à la solution des problèmes de l'après-guerre.

L'effort national essentiel qu'exige la guerre moderne est de deux espèces. D'une part l'armée, la marine et l'aviation doivent combattre effectivement l'ennemi.

Interdépendance de l'ouvrier et du soldat

D'autre part, toute la nation a le devoir d'appuyer les forces armées jusqu'à l'extrême limite de sa capacité. Un côté est symbolisé par le combattant; l'autre, par l'ouvrier. La clef de la victoire se trouve dans l'association stable et durable du combattant et de l'ouvrier. Le combattant ne s'aurait se battre sans les armes que fabriquent les ouvriers. La liberté de l'ouvrier dépend des succès que remporte le combattant sur le champ de bataille.

Les ouvriers ne sont pas seulement les salariés; ce sont tous ceux qui, directement ou indirectement, travaillent pour que le Canada puisse déployer un effort de guerre vigoureux. Ils comprennent les mères de famille, les ouvriers des mines et des forêts, ceux qui travaillent dans les usines, dans les ateliers et les bureaux; les cultivateurs et les pêcheurs; les hommes et les femmes d'affaires et les membres des professions libérales.

Production et inflation

Sur le front intérieur, nous avons eu deux batailles à livrer : la bataille de la production et la lutte contre l'inflation. Dans la bataille de la production, le Canada a remporté des succès magnifiques. Depuis le début des hostilités, il a doublé sa production, dont la moitié sert maintenant à des fins de guerre. Ses navires, ses avions, ses chars d'assaut, ses canons, ses munitions, ses vivres sont autant d'armes puissantes qui aideront à assurer la défaite de l'ennemi.

Cependant, si étrange que cela puisse paraître, les succès que nous avons connus dans la bataille de la production ont augmenté les difficultés que nous rencontrons dans la bataille contre l'inflation.

En doublant notre production, nous avons doublé les revenus de la population canadienne. Toutefois, comme nous employons plus de la moitié de notre production à des oeuvres de guerre, nous n'avons pas pu accroître les biens de consommation que la population pourrait se procurer avec ses revenus plus considérables.

Si maintenant nous dépensions deux fois plus qu'en 1939, les prix monteraient, et la valeur de chaque dollar tomberait. Le produit qui coûtait 50 cents en 1939, coûterait plus d'un dollar aujourd'hui. Nous passerions par ce que les économistes appellent l'"inflation".

Conséquences de l'inflation

L'inflation n'est pas chose nouvelle dans le monde. Plusieurs pays en ont fait l'essai, et toujours à leur détriment. Les mauvais effets de l'inflation se font sentir le plus souvent et le plus fortement aux époques de guerre. Voici à peu près comment le phénomène se produit: D'abord, les prix montent. Les salaires peuvent ensuite monter, mais ils ne montent jamais aussi vite que les prix. L'argent additionnel payé en salaires tend à provoquer de nouvelles hausses dans les prix. Quelques personnes rusées et peu scrupuleuses peuvent, par spéculation et mercantilisme, tirer avantage de l'inflation, mais tôt ou tard c'est la grande majorité qui en souffre.

Au cours de la dernière guerre et des années qui la suivirent immédiatement, les salaires se sont élevés rapidement, mais ce n'est que dans quelques cas que cette hausse a plus que compensé l'augmentation enregistrée dans le coût de la vie, qui avait doublé. Lorsque les prix ont baissé, les salaires ont aussi commencé à fléchir. Puis encore, la chute des prix fut suivie de chômage. Cette fois-ci, nous avons cherché à éviter la même difficulté. Nous l'avons évitée jusqu'ici. Si la chose est humainement possible, nous sommes déterminés à l'éviter jusqu'à la fin de la guerre et durant la période de l'après-guerre. L'idée que je désire faire pénétrer ce soir dans vos esprits est la suivante: Si nous voulons gagner la bataille contre le chômage durant les années de l'après-guerre, il nous faut tout d'abord gagner la bataille contre l'inflation.

L'inflation affaiblit le front intérieur

Je tiens, en attendant, à souligner avec autant de force qu'en temps de

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guerre l'inflation est l'un des moyens les plus efficaces et les plus sûrs d'affaiblir le front intérieur. C'est pourquoi, dès le début même de la guerre, nous avons, au Canada, pris la résolution de prévenir l'inflation. Afin d'aider à défrayer les dépenses de guerre, le trésor national a prélevé une portion considérable du revenu additionnel provenant de l'accroissement de la production, au moyen de mesures comme l'impôt de 100 p. 100 sur les surplus de bénéfices; l'impôt sur le revenu, qui pèse d'une façon particulièrement lourde sur les revenus moyens et supérieurs; les emprunts de la victoire et l'épargne en temps de guerre. Les impôts et les emprunts, nous le savons tous, ont considérablement réduit le montant d'argent que nous gardons dans nos goussets. En dépit de la répugnance qu'ils peuvent nous inspirer les impôts de guerre ont contribué à conserver leur pouvoir d'achat à tous les dollars qui restent à chacun de nous.

L'établissement du plafond des prix

Nous avons constaté cependant, il y a deux ans, que les impôts et les emprunts seuls ne pourraient nous faire gagner la bataille engagée contre l'inflation. Les prix montaient trop rapdement. La valeur d'achat du dollar fléchissait sans cesse. Le moment était venu de recourir à une mesure plus énergique. Nous avons alors décidé de combattre l'inflation par la règlementation directe des prix. Sur tous les prix, nous avons virtuellement établi un "plafond". Chacun a fait bon accueil au "plafond" des prix pour les articles qu'il devait acheter. Mais pour chaque acheteur il faut un vendeur, et l'on ne saurait règlementer le prix d'achat sans règlementer aussi le prix de vente.

C'est là que la lutte contre l'inflation demande de l'abnégation et de la force de caractère. Chacun voit l'avantage immédiat d'une augmentation de revenus, qu'il s'agisse d'obtenir des prix plus élevés pour ce que l'on vend, ou un meilleur salaire pour son travail. Il n'est pas aussi facile de comprendre qu'un plus fort revenu monétaire ne sera d'aucun avantage si, à cause de la hausse des prix, l'argent achète de moins en moins de marchandises. Il faut féliciter la grande majorité des Canadiens d'avoir compris que l'inflation leur ferait du mal; leur patriotisme leur fait aussi comprendre que l'effort de guerre souffrirait de l'inflation.

Importance du contrôle des prix

La lutte dans le domaine de la production a commencé il y a quatre ans. Elle a été particulièrement ardue pendant les deux premières années. Cependant, le succès qui a couronné les efforts du Canada a émerveillé tous nos alliés. Nous avons aussi commencé à organiser la lutte contre l'inflation il y a quatre ans, mais nous n'avons effectivement engagé la bataille qu'il y a deux ans, lorsque nous avons établi le plafond des prix. Dans ce domaine, également, le Canada a obtenu de beaux résultats. Depuis la déclaration de la guerre, le coût de la vie au Canada n'a augmenté qu'un peu plus de 18 p: 100 camparativement à 53 p. 100 au cours de la période correspondante de l'autre guerre. De 1939 jusqu'à l'établissement du plafond des prix. il y a eu une hausse de 15 p. 100. Nous avons si bien réussi à maintenir le plafond des prix que, depuis l'inauguration de ce régime, la progression ascendane n'a guère dépassé 3 p. 100. Au cours des deux années correspondantes de la dernière guerre, les prix avaient monté de 33 p. 100, ce qui est exactement dix fois plus.

Aide du gouvernement

Le peuple canadien lutte contre l'inflation avec l'aide du gouvernement du Canada. Le plafond des prix est à la première ligne de ce front de bataille. Si nous ne réussissons pas à tenir cette ligne, toute la structure de notre effort de guerre en sera ébranlée. Nous compromettrons la production soutenue et ininterrompue des munitions de guerre et des denrées alimentaires. Nous amoindrirons la valeur des épargnes de guerre et, de fait, de toutes les épargnes tant obligatoires que facultatives. Nous réduirons la valeur des allocations aux familles des soldats eux-mêmes. Ce qu'il y a de plus grave, c'est qu'en diminuant la production nous exposerons à de plus grands risques la vie de nos combattants. Si le front de bataille commence à s'effondrer, si le plafond des prix s'écroule, tout le monde, à la longue, y sera perdant.

La nécessité de limiter le coût

Quand le gouvernement a entrepris de limiter la hausse du coût de la vie en 1941, il a clairement expliqué que le plafond des prix ne saurait être maintenu que par la limitation du coût de la production des denrées. Cela impliquait le contrôle du prix des produits agricoles et des salaires. Nous savons que le prix des produits de la ferme ne saurait être contrôlé sans le concours du cultivateur, de même que les salaires ne peuvent l'être sans l'appui de la classe ouvrière. En d'autres termes, nous avons demandé aux cultivateurs et aux ouvriers de se mettre en front de bataille et de tenir tête à l'inflation, tout comme ils avaient été sur la première ligne dans la lutte pour la production.

Mais le fardeau de la lutte contre l'inflation n'a pas été placé sur les seules épaules de l'agriculteur ou du salarié. La charge a été répartie entre ceux qui étaient le mieux en mesure de la supporter. Pendant le conflit actuel, le Canada a entrepris et dirige, sur une échelle inconnue jusqu'ici dans les pays démocratiques, un nivellement par le haut et par le bas des revenus dépensables. Le nivellement par le haut a atteint les personnes qui jouissent de revenus moyens ou élevés. Leurs bénéfices et leurs revenus sont frappés de lourds impôts et leurs salaires sont assujettis à des règles rigides. Le nivellement par le bas favorise surtout l'agriculteur et l'ouvrier. Sauf dans quelques cas exceptionnels, les cultivateurs admettront que leurs recettes agricoles sont aussi élevées maintenant qu'elles ne l'ont jamais été. De même, je suis certain que la plupart des ouvriers conviendront que leur salaire annuel est meilleur qu'en 1939.

Maintien du niveau normal d'existence

Maintenant que nous en sommes rendus au point où la moitié de notre production globale sert à combattre l'Allemagne et le Japon, aucune classe de la société ne doit s'attendre à améliorer sans cesse ses conditions d'existence d'ici la fin de la guerre.

Ce n'est pas dire qu'il n'y a pas lieu de remédier aux injustices et aux écarts les plus criants; cependant, si nous voulons tenir ferme sur le front intérieur jusqu'à la victoire finale, chacun doit être résolu à faire toute sa part dans la lutte contre l'inflation.

L'objet de la règlementation des prix n'est pas de relever le niveau de l'existence, mais plutôt d'assurer et de maintenir un niveau normal, qu'il faut défendre contre tous les assauts de l'ennemi, l'inflation.

Prix minimum pour les produits agricoles

Lorsque fut institué le régime du plafond des prix, le gouvernement admettait l'insuffisance de certains cours agricoles. Les cultivateurs savent que beaucoup a été accompli dans le but d'aider un plus juste équilibre entre leurs revenus et ceux des autres classes de la société. Ce soir, je veux les remercier de leur magnifique contribution à la guerre dans le domaine de la production. Pas ailleurs, je les invite instamment à tenir ferme aux avant-postes dans la lutte contre l'inflation en maintenant leur appui au régime du plafond des prx.

De son côté, le gouvernement comprend que les cultivateurs songent à l'après-guerre. Ils ne veulent pas se voir acculés à une chute désastreuse des cours moins d'un an ou deux après la fin du conflit. Puisque, pour assurer la victoire, nous leur demandons d'accepter une fixation du maximum des prix, nous estimons qu'en retour ils ont droit à une fixation du minimum. les garantissant

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contre une crise d'après-guerre, le gouvernement entend inviter le parlement, au cours de la prochaine session, à fixer un prix minimum pour les principaux produits de la ferme.

Stabilisation des salaires

Le contrôle des salaires s'imposa pour le maintien du plafond des prix. Mais s'il stabilisa presque tous les prix, le gouvernement ne stabilisa pas tous les salaires. Nous savons que le régime des salaires comportait des inégalités et injustices auxquelles il fallait remédier. Lors de la stabilisation des salaires, il y a deux ans, nous avons institué un conseil national du travail en temps de guerre ainsi que des conseils régionaux. Nous avons conféré à ces organismes le pouvoir de relever les salaires jugés trop bas par comparaison avec la rémunération d'un travail analogue dans des conditions comparables. Depuis deux ans, les conseils du travail en temps de guerre ont statué sur 40,000 demandes de relèvement de salaire intéressant deux millions et demi de travailleurs. Ils ont remédié aux inégalités dans 90 p. 100 des cas. Ces remaniements maintenant en vigueur ont valu aux salariés canadiens un supplément de salaire de plus de 150 millions de dollars. C'est là une preuve concluante que les salaires n'ont pas été stabilisés.

Mais si on tolérait une hausse générale des salaires, il serait tout à fait impossible de maintenir le plafond des prix. Les salaires constituent un élément considérable, sinon le plus considérable, du prix de tout ce que nous achetons. C'est pourquoi, s'il y avait lieu de règlementer les prix, la réglementation des salaires était également nécessaire.

Lors de l'institution du plafond des prix, il y a deux ans, nul ne pouvait prévoir jusqu'à quel point il serait possible d'empêcher la hausse du coût de la vie. En vue de protéger le salarié contre cette hausse on a en même temps rendu obligatoire le versement d'une indemnité de vie chère.

Le but de cette indemnité était de contreblancer en partie tout accroissement du coût de la vie.

La classe ouvrière a généralement reconnu que le contrôle des salaires doit nécessairement s'exercer en vue de protéger la norme fondamentale d'existence et elle a loyalement appuyé ce principe.

Le conseil national du travail

L'histoire des relations industrielles du Canada pendant la guerre mérite les plus grands éloges. Depuis un an toutefois, la situation donne des signes de tension et d'un besoin de mesures nouvelles susceptibles de promouvoir l'harmonie industrielle. La première a consisté à reconstituer le conseil national du travail en temps de guerre pour lui donner un caractère plus judiciaire. Le conseil a depuis mené une enquête dans tout le domaine des relations industrielles.

Il y a quelque semaines, le conseil présentait ses conclusions sous la forme d'un rapport majoritaire et d'un rapport minoritaire. Le gouvernement a étudié soigneusement ces rapports lorsqu'il s'est agi pour lui de modifier sa politique ouvrière.

Je suis maintenant en mesure de dire que le gouvernement est prêt à accepter, comme fondement d'une revision de la politique du travail, les propositions principales sur lesquelles le rapport majoritaire et le rapport minoritaire sont d'accord.

Modifications de la règlementation des salaires.

Dans la bataille contre l'inflation, encore une fois, le plafond des prix constitue la ligne de front. Cette ligne, le gouvernement est résolu de la tenir. En abandonnant la réglementation des salaires, — je l'ai déjà démontré, — il deviendra impossible de tenir cette ligne. La politique de stabilisation des salaires ne subira donc pas de changement fondamental.

Toutefois, deux modifications importantes seront apportées dans le mode de réglementation des salaires.

Inégalités et injustices à faire disparaître

Dans l'examen des demandes d'ajustement de salaires, les conseils du travail en temps de guerre ne seront plus liés par le système de comparaisons entre les salaires payés dans une industrie ou un établissement donné avec ceux des autres établissements ou industries. Les ajustements apportés aux salaires devront plutôt faire disparaître les inégalités et injustices flagrantes.

Le second changement a trait à l'indemenité de vie chère. L'octroi d'indemnités de vie chère à des taux divers a donné au Canada une structure complexe de salaires et d'indemnités. Cette complexité a été une source constante de malentendus et de conflits. Le gouvernement entend prendre toutes les mesures possibles pour maintenir le coût de la vie à son niveau actuel. S'il contient ce résultat, il n'y aura pas lieu d'accorder d'autres indemnités de vie chère. On ne paiera plus d'indemnité de ce genre. Les indemnités actuelles de vie chère seront ajoutées aux salaires de base dont elles feront dorénavant partie.

Le gouvernement croit qu'en maintenant le coût de la vie au niveau actuel, les normes d'existence fondamentales des travailleurs se trouveront mieux protégées qu'elles ne l'étaient par le système des indemnités de vie chère. Si le coût de la vie augmente de plus de 3 p. 100 et reste à ce niveau pendant deux mois consécutifs, le gouvernement revisera le programme intégral du contrôle des prix et des salaires et prendra les mesures voulues.

La nouvelle ordonnance relative à la réglementation des salaires sera rendue publique au début de la semaine prochaine.

Un code des relations ouvrières

J'ai fait allusion aux voeux que renfermaient les deux rapports soumis par le Conseil national du travail en temps de guerre et auxquels le gouvernement est prêt à donner suite. Le plus important de ses voeux vise l'adoption d'un code des relations ouvrières pour les industries de guerre. On est déjà à mettre la dernière main à sa rédaction. Le code ouvrier définira et interdira les pratiques injustes et, en conformité du programme de la stabilisation des salaires, il s'établira un régime obligatoire de conventions collectives. L'application du code sera confiée à un conseil national des relations ouvrières en temps de guerre, organisme qui sera distinct et indépendant du Conseil national du travail en temps de guerre, lequel continuera à exercer son autorité sur les salaires.

Le pouvoir d'édicter des lois tendant à rendre obligatoire les conventions collectives appartient en temps de paix, aux provinces. Des conférences récentes tenues avec les autorités provinciales ont donné lieu à une entente sur le principe de coopération dans l'institution et l'exécution d'un régime obligatoire de conventions collectives.

Remerciements aux ouvriers

Le code des relations ouvrières sera promulgué dans un avenir très rapproché. Lorsque le code aura paru, le rapport majoritaire et le rapport minoritaire du Conseil national du travail en temps de guerre seront également publiés.

Je désire, en terminant, remercier la classe ouvrière, comme je l'ai fait pour la classe agricole, de son apport magnifique à la bataille de la production. Je veux aussi faire aux ouvriers le même appel que j'ai lancé aux agriculteurs, celui de continuer d'aider à tenir la ligne de front contre l'inflation, en maintenant leur appui au régime du plafond des prix.

J'exposerai une autre fois, je l'espère, les projets du gouvernement en vue de la réalisation, après la victoire, d'un programme dont j'ai déjà parlé comme d'un minimum national de sécurité sociale et de bien-être humain, non seulement pour la classe ouvrière mais pour toute la population. Ce minimum national doit comporter du travail utile pour tous ceux qui veulent travailler; les

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normes d'alimentation et de logement propres à assurer la santé de toute la population; et l'assurance sociale contre les privations découlant du chômage, des accidents, du décès du chef de famille, de la maladie, et de la vieillesse. Telles sont nos visées d'après-guerre.

Ce soir, j'ai borné mes remarques à la bataille contre l'inflation. Il faut gagner cette bataille pour assurer la victoire; il faut aussi la gagner pour établir les assises solides sur lesquelles on pourra, après la guerre, édifier un Canada plus grand et plus heureux.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Subject

Danger on the Home Front

Prime Minister King broadcast a stern warning on Saturday that the danger of inflation in Canada is real and growing. He outlined measures which the Government is taking and will take to check the menace, and to lay the basis for an enduring system of social security. But he emphasized that these or any stabilizing measures could only succeed if the public co-operate by refraining from action which strengthens the spiral already pressing heavily against the price ceiling.

And should the ceiling give way? Control would be gone. The balance between personal income and cost of living would be destroyed. Prices would surge upward, here, there, and yonder. We should be precipitated into a mad scramble, each trying to get enough more income to match his growing expenses—and failing as people always fail in such circumstances. Every person must suffer hardship if this occurs—possibly excepting a crafty few who may be foresighted enough to plunder their neighbors in the general confusion.

And at the end must come of course the crash—slackened buying, paralyzed industry, unemployment, depression.

We in Canada have now the chance to pursue a steady course and to emerge from the war with our economic structure in sound condition. We can, no less certainly, plunge the country into economic disorder bound to end in calamity. One sure way to do this is to stage an epidemic of clamors for larger wages, or incomes of any kind—for the cumulative effect of higher pay on a broad scale is to force prices upward.

The public will await with interest the particulars of the stabilization and security measures to which Mr. King referred. Immediately the important thing is that we avoid sowing the wind of price-inflation, else we must reap the whirlwind of deflation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Subject

New Wage Policy

Not Election Talk

By TORCHY ANDERSON

OTTAWA—Reaction of the country to the Saturday night broadcast of Prime Minister Mackenzie King is awaited with more interest—maybe anxiety—than that to any major economic decision of the government since the inception of wage and price control two years ago.

The politician, with his ear fairly glued to the ground, was anxious to assess the value of the government's policy on the thermometer of popular favor. However, it would be unwise to jump to the conclusion that the prime minister's speech brought the inevitable general election any nearer.

With no political interest, another group waits for the national reaction. They are the men who implement the government's measure in the fight against inflation. These men are almost fanatically convinced that victory against inflation is second only as an objective to victory in the war.

The speech left no doubt about the groups that the government is trying to persuade to line up with them in making the fight against inflation. Mr. King made his bid to the farmers with a promise of a floor for their prices as well as the ceiling they have had to accept. The policy toward labor had all been forecast with certainty during the past few weeks.

Putting a floor under farm prices, something that has been demanded in Parliament over and over again during the war sessions, is not so simple as it sounds. In United States they have been arguing for three years about the parity basis on which farm products should be controlled. Whatever basis the government may suggest when it comes to Parliament next year you can be sure there will be a lively fight. The farmer members are going to fight for a floor within reasonable distance of the ceiling.

In Mr. King's speech there is plain warning that the government at this moment at least does not propose to hurry its postwar program. He has promised to deal with these matters in later speeches.

It is probable that the cabinet, pressed with immediate war problems, has not had much time to give to the tremendous postwar problems of reconstruction and social security. The fact is that these men are tired. The work of keeping abreast of current problems leaves them little energy or time to go into the complications of postwar programs.

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Are Deserving Of Protection

AN EDITORIAL

AS a contribution to "a national minimum of human welfare" for all Canadians which the Government is planning for the post-war years, the Prime Minister of Canada, in his weekend address, revealed that, at the next session of Parliament, legislation will be introduced to place a "floor" under farm prices.

By "farm prices" is meant, presumably, returns to the producers for the whole range of the products of the land.

Since the farmers of Canada were producing and selling without protest under a wartime "price-ceiling," the Prime Minister added, they had the right to protection against disastrously low prices when the war is ended.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

FOR our own part, as a newspaper that has advocated minimum prices for primary products, we welcome this announcement. In the pre-war period of economic depression and collapse, this newspaper urged unceasingly that the primary producers of the country should have this protection, not farmers alone, but all primary producers.

And among these, and by no means the least, the fishermen.

The mind does not have to go back very far to find examples of ruinously low prices received by the primary producers, the farmers and fishermen perhaps suffering most. Farm products and the products of the fisheries brought starvation prices to the producers in the years leading up to this war. While there was some action, in some parts of the country, to assist the farmers, there was little or none for the fishermen. And among the greatest sufferers were the shore fishermen of this Province.

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NOT that the consumers didn't pay enough. In most cases the consumers paid plenty for these products. But, somewhere along the line, spreads were so great as to be scandalous.

What the primary producer got of the consumer's dollar was a mere pittance.

There will, of course, be those whose voices will be raised against measures of this kind—people who will talk of "export markets" and similar "obstacles" to such plans. But, where there is a will there is a way; and when the Prime Minister of this Dominion pledges a "floor" under farm prices, the precedent has been established, and there can be no sound argument against similar "floors" under prices of primary products such as fish.

It is a start in the right direction. If any citizens are entitled to economic protection, it is the people who produce the food.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Dec.6/43

D 47089

Subject

Text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Address

OTTAWA, Dec. 6 — (C. P.) — Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Saturday night radio address on "The Battle Against Inflation":

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Threatening Note

Our eyes have been focused upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we now should be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we now can foresee.

However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily.

We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

Help to Enemy

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer.

Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we must need to remember is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime, waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Grim Picture

Of one thing we may be sure: if the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the combined chiefs of staff are all agreed.

Here, surely, is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle—the battle against inflation.

On the home front, this now is the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The beginning of this battle will contribute much toward victory.

After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster.

Key To Victory

One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are laboring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

On the home front there have been two battles to fight; the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce, now is being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions our food—are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

Doubled Income

By our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

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If we now were spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost 50 cents in 1939 would cost $1 today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:—

First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war ,and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worst still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment.

Avoid Experience

We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible. we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period.

What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation.

To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through Victory Loan and war savings campaigns.

As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon.

Welcomed By All

We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work.

It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less.

The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted.

Praises Record

In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent as compared with 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent, so successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent, which is just 10 times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves.

Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of labor.

In other words, the farmers and labor were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them.

We have had in Canada, during this war a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country.

The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners.

Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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D 47091

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The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

Thanks Farmers

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war.

If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war.

As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were unequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied.

When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labor Board and regional war labor boards were established. To these boards was given the power to adjust wages which parison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions.

Notes Adjustments

In the past two years, the war labor boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting 2,500,000 workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent of the cases.

The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canada wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why, if prices were to be controlled, it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, none could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost-of-living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Generally speaking, labor has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy.

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labor Board was reconstructed to give it a more judicial character. The board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the board produced its findings in the form of a majority and a minority report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labor policy.

Accept Proposals

I am now in a position to say that the Government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labor policy, the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports agree.

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the Government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The war labor boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost-of-living bonus. The payment of cost-of-living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complication structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction.

Bonuses Finished

The policy of the Government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels If were found to be low by comthat is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost-of-living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost-of-living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of labor than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus.

If the cost of living rises more than three per cent, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole program of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised wage control order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labor Board which the government is prepared to carry out.

Preparing Code

The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labor relations to apply to war industries. A code of labor relations is already in the final stages of preparation.

The labor code will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labor Relations Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace-time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The code of labor relations will be enacted in the near future. When the code is published, the majority and minority reports of the National War Labor Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank labor, as I have thanked the

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farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labor, as I have appealed to the farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the Government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for labor only, but for all the people.

Cites Objectives

That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date DEC 6 1943

Subject D 47093

Labor Sees Victory In Mr. King's Pledge

MONTREAL, Dec. 5—(C.P.)—Robert Haddow, Grand Lodge representative of the International Machinists Union, declared at a mass meeting of aircraft workers here tonight that Prime Minister King's promise of compulsory bargaining constituted one of the biggest victories of the Labor movement in Canada.

Mr. Haddow added: "It is now our duty to put pressure on the government to see that these promises are kept."

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Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date DEC 6 1945

Subject

D47084

Living Bonus Will Be Added To Basic Wage Says Prime Minister

Mackenzie King Also Announces Govt. Accepting Main Proposals in Which There Is Agreement in Majority and Minority Labor Reports. Compulsory Collective Bargaining, Labor Relations Board and Post-war Floor on Farm Prices Among Plans.

Existing cost-of-living bonus will be added to basic wage rates and there will be no occasion for further bonuses, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced Saturday night.

He said a revised wage-control order will be made public early this week.

Other Announcements.

His half-hour address over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting corporation on "The Battle Against Inflation" contained these other announcements:

1. The government is prepared to accept the main proposals on which there was agreement in majority and minority reports of the National War Labor Board's public inquiry as a "basis for a revised labor policy;"

*(The reports have not yet been published.)

2. A new labor code providing for compulsory collective bargaining will be established, including formation of a new National War Labor Relations Board, separate from existing War Labor Boards.

3. The government believes it can hold the cost of living at its present level but if the cost rises more than three per cent and remains at that level for two consecutive months the government will review the whole program of price and wage control and take "appropriate action";

4. Legislation will be proposed at the coming session of Parliament to provide a floor for farm prices after the war;

5. Plans for "a national minimum of human welfare" for all the people after the war will be outlined on another occasion. He said they should embrace useful employment for all willing to work, standards of nutrition and housing, and social insurance against unemployment, accident, death of the breadwinner, ill health and old age.

Mr. King appealed to farmers and labor especially to hold the line in the battle against inflation. If the price ceiling were not held the war effort would suffer and the solution of post-war problems would be more difficult.

The Prime Minister said at the start of his address that recent conferences among leaders of the great powers focussed attention anew on the world-wide scale of the war and revealed more clearly the immensity of the task to be accomplished.

"Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes," he said. "These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close.

"This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort."

Winning of the war was still the major problem and until the war was won no amount of planning would solve post-war problems. Canada, however, was giving attention to such problems as could be foreseen.

It was possible 1944 would see the end of the struggle against Germany and that Japan might see then that her fate was sealed. It was hardly probable, however, that terms of unconditional surrender which had been laid down so clearly would induce either Germany or Japan to yield readily.

"The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold out longer.

"Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become war of endurance and it is the last round that will spell defeat or victory."

If the war against Germany did not end before the end of winter the next summer would see British, American, and Canadian forces engaged in the most severe and life-costly campaigns yet fought. The combined chiefs of staff were agreed on this.

Two Battles.

The effort of the worker who produced weapons was as essential as that of the warrior on the battlefield. There were two battles on the home front, the battle of production and the battle against inflation.

In production Canada had done well: doubled production since the start of the war and used half of all that was produced to wage war. This success had increased difficulties in the battle against inflation. It had doubled incomes when there was no increase in the quantity of goods available.

In the inflationary process, prices went up first; then wages and salaries might go up—but never as fast. Then prices went up further, sendinig wages and salaries up again. A few people benefited by profiteering but the mass of the people suffered in the end.

Canada had avoided that process so far, profiting by experience in the last war when the cost of living had doubled, outstripping increases in wages.

Inflation was "one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front." To help pay for the war large part of extra income was garnered into the treasury through excess profits tax, incomes, and borrowing.

D47095

Ceiling Applied.

Two years ago, said Mr. King, it was found that taxes and borrowing alone would not win the battle against inflation. The more drastic weapon of a celing was applied to practically all prices. This called for self-denial and self-discipline. Most Canadians realized that inflation would hurt them and co-ordinated.

"The battle of inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired.

"We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war saviings and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary.

"We would be cutting down the value of allowances of soldiers' dependents and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves.

"Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risk to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose."

The ceiling could be maintained only by controlling costs of goods —and costs meant control of wages and of the selling price to producers. But the burdens were placed on those best able to bear them.

Levelling Process.

"We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country," Mr. King said.

The levelling down had been on large and medium incomes and the levelling up had benefited farmers and wage earners. Apart from exceptional cases farm incomes are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed and most workers had higher yearly incomes than in 1939.

"Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living," Mr. King said.

Gross inequalities and injustices might be corrected but the purposes of price control was not to raise living standards.

Farm prices out of line with other prices at the start of the war had been adjusted upwards so that farm income was in a better balance with income of other groups. Farmers were reasonably anxious about their post-war prospects.

Floor Under Prices.

"If to help win the war the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war," said Mr. King.

"As an essential part of its post-war policy the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities."

When wages were stabilized, Mr. King said, it was realized there were inequalities and injustices which needed remedy. War Labor Boards were set up and given power to adjust wages. In two years the boards had dealt with 40,000 applications for adjustments affecting 2,500,000 workers and adjustments were made in 90 per cent of the cases. As a result there was a total increase in wage payments of more than $150,000,000.

"This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen," he said.

Wages, however, were a large—and often the largest—element in the cost of everything bought. The ceiling could not be held if wages generally were allowed to rise. When the ceiling was established it was not known how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living and hence the cost-of-living bonus was established to meet a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Canada's war record in industrial relations had been good but recently there had been signs of strain and a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony.

The reconstituted National War Labor Board had made an inquiry earlier this year into the whole field of industrial relations, presenting majority and minority reports which had been studied carefully.

"I now am in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labor policy, the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports agree."

The majority report was signed by Mr. Justice C. P. McTague, chairman, and Leon Lalande; the minority report by J. L. Cohen, member of the board at the time who subsequently was removed from the board by order-in-council.)

Changes in Method.

The government was determined to maintain wage control but was making two changes in the method of control. Under the first, War Labor Boards will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries in making wage adjustments. The standard now was to be removal of "gross inequalities and injustices."

The other change was that "the existing cost-of-living bonus is to be added to and become part of basic wages."

Mr. King said all practicable measures would be taken to keep living costs at present levels. Complications arising from the cost-of-living bonus had been a source of misunderstanding and friction.

"The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the living basic standard of labor than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus.

"If the cost of living rises more than three per cent and remains at that level for two consecutive months the government will review the whole program of price control and wage control and take appropriate action."

The most important recommendation of the National War Labor Board on industrial relations was that there should be a code for labor relations for war industries.

"A code of labor relations is already in the final stages of preparation," said Mr. King.

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"If to help win the war the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war," said Mr. King.

"As an essential part of its post-war policy the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities."

When wages were stabilized, Mr. King said, it was realized there were inequalities and injustices which needed remedy. War Labor Boards were set up and given power to adjust wages. In two years the boards had dealt with 40,000 applications for adjustments affecting 2,500,000 workers and adjustments were made in 90 per cent of the cases. As a result there was a total increase in wage payments of more than $150,000,000.

"This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen," he said.

Wages, however, were a large—and often the largest—element in the cost of everything bought. The ceiling could not be held if wages generally were allowed to rise. When the ceiling was established it was not known how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living and hence the cost-of-living bonus was established to meet a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Canada's war record in industrial relations had been good but recently there had been signs of strain and a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony.

The reconstituted National War Labor Board had made an inquiry earlier this year into the whole field of industrial relations, presenting majority and minority reports which had been studied carefully.

"I now am in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labor policy, the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports agree."

The majority report was signed by Mr. Justice C. P. McTague, chairman, and Leon Lalande; the minority report by J. L. Cohen, member of the board at the time who subsequently was removed from the board by order-in-council.)

Changes in Method.

The government was determined to maintain wage control but was making two changes in the method of control. Under the first, War Labor Boards will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries in making wage adjustments. The standard now was to be removal of "gross inequalities and injustices."

The other change was that "the existing cost-of-living bonus is to be added to and become part of basic wages."

Mr. King said all practicable measures would be taken to keep living costs at present levels. Complications arising from the cost-of-living bonus had been a source of misunderstanding and friction.

"The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the living basic standard of labor than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus.

"If the cost of living rises more than three per cent and remains at that level for two consecutive months the government will review the whole program of price control and wage control and take appropriate action."

The most important recommendation of the National War Labor Board on industrial relations was that there should be a code for labor relations for war industries.

"A code of labor relations is already in the final stages of preparation," said Mr. King.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 47096

Collective Bargaining.

"The labor code will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labor Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labor Board which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages."

Mr. King said in peacetime the right to legislate on collective bargaining belongs to the provinces but, at the recent conference with provincial authorities, agreement was reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

"On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not only for labor but for all the people," Mr. King concluded.

"That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age.

"Those are our post-war objectives.

"I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication The Evening Telegram Toronto

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

D 47097

NEW WAGE POLICY LOOKS LIKE GOVERNMENT RETREAT ON CONTROL.

Prime Minister King stated in convincing fashion on Saturday night the evil consequences uncontrolled inflation would inflict on the war effort and the nation, and there will be general approval of the decision to maintain present stabilization policies.

At the same time it is necessary to point out that the mere declaration of intention will not suffice. It must be backed up by firm action to hold the line everywhere. Unfortunately, a close examination of the Prime Minister's outline of the new procedure in handling wage demands, taken in conjunction with some recent wage awards, gives reason for fearing the government is already retreating.

Two important changes are being made in the wage policy. The first proposes altering the rule which has guided the National War Labor Board in granting wage increases. Up to the present the board has authorized increased rates where it has found them out of line with the scale prevailing in the whole industry or in a locality. The new regulation rescinds this rule and directs the Board to base its decisions in the future on the removal of "gross inequalities and injustices" in wage rates.

The plain meaning of this is that the door is being opened wider for upward revisions of wages. It is for the Board to determine what constitutes "injustices." This is an elastic word which can be interpreted narrowly or broadly as the Board members see fit. Recently a Royal Commission in Western Canada granted $1 a day increase to miners who were receiving a basic wage of $5.78, plus a substantial weekly cost-of-living bonus. If this was a case of "injustice" calling for correction a very large percentage of the Canadian people are likely to consider themselves laboring under a similar "injustice." The Labor Board has now granted the Nova Scotian miners $1 a day additional pay because the western miners had wrung a similar concession from the O'Connor Commission. The railwaymen are now demanding a wage increase, presumably to correct an "injustice." In view of the awards to the miners can the railway brotherhoods' request be refused? It is not likely.

No doubt there are real injustices in wage rates that call for correction. But if "injustices" such as those of the western miners are to be rectified by a $1 a day increase what is to become of the wage control policy which Mr. King announces must be maintained? What will the effect be on price control? The answer to this question is ready made. It is to be found in the increases of from 10 cents to 65 cents a ton in the price of western coal necessitated by the $1 a day wage increase to the miners.

On the other hand, if the War Labor Board places a narrow construction on "injustices" and turns down demands for wage increases, it will bear the brunt of Labor's criticism. The government will be in a position to sidestep the blame.

The second important change in policy relates to the cost-of-living bonus. As such it is being dropped, but the present bonuses now being paid are to be absorbed into the basic wage rates. This means that an employe's wage will be permanently increased by the amount of the bonus. In making this change the government is admitting that the bonus, intended to rise and fall with the cost of living, has been a failure. If living costs fall, wages will not fall with them. The change is a concession to Labor.

There is one other significant feature in Mr. King's new wage policy. If the cost of living rises three points above its present level and holds the increase for two months the government will review its entire wage and price control policy. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that notwithstanding his emphatic declaration that living costs must be held at present levels, Mr. King is not at all sure they will be. He seems to have little faith in the new procedure.

Judged by the performance to date on wage control the prospects are not bright for the future of the stabilization policy. The comments of the National War Labor Board on the miners' wage increases set out the position in blunt fashion. The government has not stood firm in the past and the changes in procedure now announced by Mr. King are likely to make it even more difficult to hold the line in the future.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Halifax Chronicle

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

D 47098

With Eyes On The Present And The Future

While public expectation concerning the results of the conferences which have taken place at Cairo and Teheran was somewhat let down last week through inexcusably bad handling of news releases, one may be sure that it was not for nothing that the leaders of Great Britain, the United States and China travelled long distances under perilous circumstances at a time when their presence in their own countries was sorely needed.

Meanwhile, as Mr. King remarked in his radio speech of Saturday night, whether victory comes in the Spring, or whether it be deferred until the fall or later, it is high time we took stock of affairs nearer home. The fact appears to be that both in Canada and the United States we have at last reached the peak of needed war production in a number of types of equipment. We have, apparently, sufficient guns to finish the war. United States plane production is so far ahead of anything the battered Axis can achieve that attention must now be turned towards the problem of turning industry into the paths of peace-time production.

But this means far more than merely transforming factories and re-tooling machinery. For a long time now production, as between Canada and the United States, has been conducted under what practically has amounted to a unified control. Tariffs, as far as war equipment has been concerned, have to all intents and purposes vanished. Government controls have been in force in every department of production. The task now is to consider how many of these aspects of common function can or should be preserved in the days that follow the war.

Combined with this task is the ever-present job of combating inflation now and in the future. It was especially on this last topic that Mr. King was so emphatic on Saturday night. There is no escaping the fact that inflation, up to a limited degree, has already taken hold of our economy, though Canada has escaped the evil to a greater extent than the United States.

That is admitted in the statement that the cost-of-living bonus has now been incorporated into wage levels. If the new wage levels gained in this way are now to become the bases for further demands for increases, or for new bonuses, the merry spiral is well on its way up.

Obviously, Mr. King has thought of that contingency, and he promises that a new wage control order will be promulgated during the week and that a more severe campaign against inflation is on its way.

What new methods of combating this financial evil are in contemplation are not yet revealed, though the declaration that there are to be minimum as well as maximum prices for agricultural products may be an indication of one principle in the mind of Government.

But, in order to make any policy concerning inflation work efficiently, two things are needed: the government must take a firmer stand on economic and industrial affairs than has been the case in the past; and we must have a more understanding and less self-seeking attitude on the part of the general public. Nothing less than complete unanimity of objective on the part of Government and governed can produce the efficiency that is needed to face the difficult problems before us on all sides. Such unanimity appears to have been reached in Britain and Russia. It should be possible also in Canada and the United States.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication N. Y. Times,

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

D 72099

CANADA PROMISES LIVING COST CURBS

Prime Minister King Says No More Bonuses Will Be Paid Under New System

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, Ont., Dec. 5 — New measures in the war against inflation in Canada were outlined last night in a radio talk to his countrymen by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King.

Stressing that the battle against inflation on the home front was just as important as any other battle in the task of winning the war and helping to a solution of postwar problems, the Prime Minister declared that the Government was resolved to hold the price ceiling line and safeguard wage-earners against any quick rise in the cost of living.

To do so, he stressed, it must continue to control farm prices and wages. Neither, he said, could be controlled without the support of farmers and labor, and he thanked both for the support they had given. That support had been the more willingly given, he said, because both knew that profits and incomes had been rigidly controlled and heavily taxed.

Price Floor for Farmers

To the farmers he promised that in return for their support of the price ceiling policy he would ask Parliament at the next session to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities so as to insure against agricultural depression after the war.

He reminded labor that while prices had been frozen the Government had not frozen all wages. During the past two years, he said, War Labor Boards had dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting 2,500,000 workers, and had granted an increase in payment to wage earners of more than $150,000,000.

He warned wages could not be allowed to rise without danger to prices for they were the largest element in the cost of everything. To meet the need for new measures to promote industrial harmony he said the Government recently reconstituted the National War Labor Board, which had conducted an inquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

The Government, he went on, is now ready to accept as a basis for a revised labor policy the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports of the board agree.

Two Important Changes

This would entail, the Prime Minister said, two important changes in the method of controlling wages. The War Labor Boards would no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with those in other plants or industries, but would have as their standard the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The second change would be that the cost of living bonus, which had been granted as an adjustment, would be added to and become part of basic wage rates and no further bonuses would be paid.

"The government believes," said Mr. King, "that by holding the cost of living at the present level it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of labor than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3 per cent and remains at that level for two consecutive months the government will review the whole program of price control and take appropriate action."

The revised wage control order will be made public this week and a code of labor relations to apply to war industries is in final stages of preparation. The labor code will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining.

It will be enforced by the National Labor Relations Board, which will be set up in agreement with the provincial governments, which have agreed in principle to cooperate in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

King on Way to Washington

OTTAWA, Dec. 5 (Canadian Press)—Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King left late today for Washington, accompanied by Walter Turnbull, his principal secretary. Mr. King probably will remain two or three days in Washington and may later take a short holiday farther south before returning to Ottawa.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Evening Telegraph

Date Dec. 6/43

D 7100

Subject

Floor Under Farm Prices To Outlast War Period

Prime Minister Forecasts Legislation to Give Permanency to Present Technique

Ottawa, Dec. 6 (Special)—The particularly new feature of Prime Minister King's broadcast on Saturday night, dealing with the stabilization program, was the reference to intended legislation at the next session of Parliament establishing a floor beneath farm prices.

The floor is not new in itself, because under nearly all farm products it exists already. This, however, is by Order-in-Council, whose operation may be for the duration and six months after the war ends but not for longer.

The legislation which is proposed would "legalize" this process and make the principle more lasting. It would have to be subject, however to the revision, from time to time, which new marketing conditions might necessitate.

Under most of the farm production what are akin to floors are already in position and have been for some time. There are the market prices and in many lines subsidies and premiums additional to them.

EXISTING PRICE FLOORS

Pork prices are fixed by the agreement with the United Kingdom. Heretofore there has been a difference between the ceiling price and the guaranteed price. Now, the floor and the ceiling are up against each other.

On cheese, the floor is placed at 21 cents a pound. There is no selling at less than that. Subsidies and provincial premiums, however, bring it up to 24 cents.

With regard to beef, the price fluctuates somewhat seasonally but for the larger part of the year the difference between the floor and the ceiling is a quarter of a cent a pound.

What for some time has been the floor under butter is 32 cents a pound, with subsidies added.

To the market price for oats ten cents a bushel premium is added, and to barley, fifteen cents. At present this sets up floors of 45 and 60 cents a bushel, respectively, for oats and barley—the market price plus the bonus. The price of these grains has never gone below the ceiling.

The guaranteed initial price of wheat is $1.25 a bushel which is a floor in itself. If the market goes higher, the grain grower participates in whatever the market brings above the minimum.

WILL PROVOKE DEBATE

So when reference is made to legislation on the subject next session, it will be to legalize a system already operating in effect, rather than to introduce some new principle. What has been done heretofore, however, has been done by war measure order. A general bill on the subject will open discussion on the whole subject, including the contentious question of "parity prices."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Daily Star

Date Dec. 6/43

D 47101

Subject

SMASHING INFLATION BLOW AT NAZIS, SAYS MR. KING

Following is the text of a speech on the battle against inflation broadcast by Prime Minister Mackenzie King over a national network Saturday night:

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

Post-War Problems

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer.

Must Increase Effort

Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we must need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the combined chiefs of staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to everyone to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

Income Is Doubled

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are laboring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in

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1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

Not Something New

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up; then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent. excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowing through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

Prices Increased

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A sso-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The battle of production began four years ago For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent. as compared with 53 per cent. in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent., which is just 10 times as much.

Ceiling Is Battle Line

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary.

We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependants, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of labor. In other words, the farmers and labor were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and

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wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Now that we have reached the stage where half of our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied. but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

Floor Under Farm Prices

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Control of Wages

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago a National War Labor board and regional labor boards were established. To these boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the war labor boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent. of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage-earners of more than $150.-000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why, if prices were to be controlled, it was necessary to control wages.

Will Accept Report

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, none could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage-earners against increase in the cost of living there was established, at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to effect a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Generally speaking, labor has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy.

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labor board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The board has since conducted an inquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the board produced its findings in the form of a majority and minority report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labor policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labor policy, the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports agree.

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will, therefore, be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The war labor boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

Change Bonus Systems

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of labor than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3 per cent., and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole program of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

New Labor Code

The revised wage control order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the national war labor board which the government is prepared to carry out.

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The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labor relations to apply to war industries. A code of labor relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labor code will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The code will be enforced by a national wartime labor relations board, distinct and separate from the national war labor board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The code of labor relations will be enacted in the near future. When the code is published, the majority and minority reports of the national war labor board will also be made public.

Thanks Labor

In concluding, I wish to thank labor, as I have thanked the farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to labor, as I have appealed to the farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for labor only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

5166/43

Date DEC 6 1943

Subject

KING STATES INFLATION IS DANGER

By KENNETH C. CRAGG

Ottawa, Dec. 5.—A last-ditch stand against the forces of inflation, backed by amendments to the wage control policy, a new code of labor relations, and a pledge to build a floor under the prices of main farm commodities, was announced last night by Prime Minister King in a broadcast of policy statement to the Dominion.

On the definite assumption that inflation can be checked, the Prime Minister declared the present level of cost-of-living bonuses shall be incorporated in the basic wage rates. No further bonuses are to be paid.

Finance Department officials said employers, under the new plan, simply would incorporate into current wage payments the amount of cost-of-living bonus they have been paying.

The Government, said Mr. King, believed that by holding the cost of living at the present level it will afford a "more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of labor than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus."

In the event the cost of living rises more than 3 per cent, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the Government, he said, will review the whole program of price control and wage control and take "appropriate action."

Mr. King's speech, in general, offered no surprises. As has been forecast, there is to be no fundamental change in the policy of wage stabilization. But the guiding rule, by which the War Labor Boards determine applications for wage increases, will be directed toward the removal of gross inequalities rather than by comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries.

Early release of the amended wartime wages control order was pledged by the Prime Minister. Later, when the terms of the labor relations code are announced, the McTague and Cohen reports on the National War Labor Board's inquiry into labor relations will also be released.

"I am now in a position to say that the Government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labor policy, the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports agree," said the Prime Minister.

He declared the most important of the reports' recommendations was that there should be a code of labor relations to apply to war industries. This now is in the final stages of preparation.

(J. L. Cohen's minority report is said to contain a recommendation that all industry come within the scope of a proposed national code. The majority report is understood to differ on this phase of the problem.)

Scope of Labor Code.

"The labor code," said Mr. King, "will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining."

In that connection, he announced that a National Wartime Labor Relations Board will be appointed to enforce the code, with functions "distinct and separate from the National War Labor Board," of which Mr. Justice McTague is chairman. The latter will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In part, at least, the policy follows that in practice in the United States—with the exception that its Labor Relations Board was appointed in 1935 and its War Labor Board in 1940. In operation it will go beyond the powers of the United States board, it is stated, in that in addition to having the function of certifying the bargaining agency it will have certain powers of adjudication.

The Labor Relations Code will not become effective for some time. The draft order will likely go before the Cabinet on Tuesday, and, after it has been reviewed and passed, it will be sent out to the Provinces for comment. The Provinces, it will be recalled, sat in on a three-days' session with the Federal Department of Labor when the principles of the code were shaped according to the various views of the delegates.

After that, representatives of labor and employers will be called into conference by Labor Minister Mitchell for a further analysis of the proposed code, and not until then will it be made law.

Mr. King made his appeal on behalf of the stabilization policy, on the blunt premise that the war is not yet won. "The winning of this battle against inflation will contribute much toward victory," he said.

"After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else toward solution of postwar problems."

"Of one thing we may be sure," he said, "if the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, Canadian and American forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought."

Appeals to Farmers, Labor.

Mr. King appealed to farmers and labor especially to hold the line in the battle of inflation. If the price ceiling were not held the war effort would suffer and the solution of postwar problems would be more difficult.

The Prime Minister said at the start of his address that recent conferences among leaders of the great powers focussed attention anew on the world-wide scale of the war and revealed more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished.

"Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes," he said. "These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close.

"This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort."

Winning of the war was still the major problem and until the war was won no amount of planning would solve postwar problems. Canada, however, was giving attention to such problems as could be foreseen.

It was possible 1944 would see the end of the struggle against Germany and that Japan might see then that her fate was sealed. It was hardly probable, however, that terms of unconditional surrender which had been laid down so clearly would induce either Germany or Japan to yield readily.

"The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold out longer.

"Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance and it is the last round that will spell defeat or victory."

War Production Effects.

The effort of the worker who produced weapons was as essential as that of the warrior on the battlefield. There were two battles on the

Name of Publication.....

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Subject.....

home front, the battle of production and the battle against inflation.

In production Canada had done well: doubled production since the start of the war and used half of all that was produced to wage war. This success had increased difficulties in the battle against inflation. It had doubled incomes when there was no increase in the quantity of goods available.

In the inflationary process, prices went up first; then wages and salaries might go up—but never as fast. Then prices went up further, sending wages and salaries up again. A few people benefited by profiteering, but the mass of the people suffered in the end.

Canada had avoided that process so far, profiting by experience in the last war when the cost of living had doubled, outstripping increases in wages.

Inflation was "one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front." To help pay for the war a large part of extra income was garnered into the Treasury through excess profits tax, income tax (which was particularly heavy on large and medium incomes) and borrowing.

Two years ago, said Mr. King, it was found that taxes and borrowing alone would not win the battle against inflation. The more drastic weapon of a ceiling was applied to practically all prices. This called for self-denial and self-discipline. Most Canadians realized that inflation would hurt them and co-operated.

"The battle of inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their Government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired.

Would Endanger Production.

"We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary.

"We would be cutting down the value of allowances of soldiers' dependents and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves.

"Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risk to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose."

The ceiling could be maintained only by controlling costs of goods—and costs meant control of wages, and of the selling price to producers. But the burdens were placed on those best able to bear them.

"We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country," Mr. King said.

The levelling down had been on large and medium incomes and the levelling up had benefited farmers and wage-earners. Apart from exceptional cases farm incomes are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed and most workers had higher yearly incomes than in 1939.

"Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living," Mr. King said.

Gross inequalities and injustices might be corrected, but the purposes of price control was not to raise living standards.

Protection for Farmers.

Farm prices, out of line with other prices at the start of the war, had been adjusted upward so that farm income was in a better balance with income of other groups. Farmers were reasonably anxious about their postwar prospects.

"If to help win the war the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war," said Mr. King.

"As an essential part of its postwar policy the Government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities."

When wages were stabilized, Mr. King said, it was realized there were inequalities and injustices which needed remedy. War labor boards were set up and given power to adjust wages. In two years the boards had dealt with 40,000 applications for adjustments affecting 2,500,000 workers and adjustments were made in 90 per cent of the cases. As a result there was a total increase in wage payments of more than $150,000,000.

"This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen," he said.

Wages, however, were a large—and often the largest—element in the cost of everything bought. The ceiling could not be held if wages generally were allowed to rise. When the ceiling was established it was not known how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living and hence the cost-of-living bonus was established to meet a part of any increase in the cost of living.

"I now am in a position to say that the Government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labor policy, the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports agree."

(The majority report was signed by Mr. Justice C. P. McTague, chairman, and Leon Lalande; the minority report by J. L. Cohen, member of the board at the time, who subsequently was removed from the board by Order-in-Council.)

The Government was determined to maintain wage control, but was making two changes in the method of control. Under the first, war labor boards will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries in making adjustments. The standard now was to be removal of "gross inequalities and injustices."

The other change was that "the existing cost-of-living bonus is to be added to and become part of basic wages."

Mr. King said all practicable measures would be taken to keep living costs at present levels. Complications arising from the cost-of-living bonus had been a source of misunderstanding and friction.

"The Government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the living basic standard of labor than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus.

"If the cost of living rises more than three per cent and remains at that level for two consecutive months the Government will review the whole program of price control and wage control and take appropriate action."

The most important recommendation of the National War Labor Board on industrial relations was that there should be a code for labor relations for war industries.

"A code of labor relations is already in the final stages of preparation," said Mr. King.

"The labor code will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labor Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labor Board which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages."

Mr. King said in peacetime the right to legislate on collective bargaining belongs to the Provinces, but, at the recent conference with Provincial authorities, agreement was reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Charlottetown Patriot

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS

Announcements made by Prime Minister Mackenzie King during the week-end are of tremendous importance to most Canadians.

Here in this Province his statement regarding post-war prices for farm products will probably be most interesting to the greatest percentage of people.

In a predominantly agricultural province such as this, the announcement that the Government will put a floor under farm prices is bound to make a tremendous impact because it deals with a subject that is closer to the hearts of the majority of the people than anything else.

But other announcements are also of interest to many people here.

Of interest to every Canadian is the promise that on another occasion the Prime Minister will outline plans for a "national minimum of human welfare" embracing useful employment for all willing and able to work, standards of nutrition and housing, and social insurance against unemployment, accident, death of the bread-winner, ill-health and old age.

That just about covers most of the things which often make us dread the future because of the uncertainty involved. If Canada can work out a practical scheme to answer "Mr Average Man's" questions regarding such future problems it will be leading the way, and setting the pace, for all progressive nations everywhere.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

D 7108

CONTROLE ESSENTIEL

Le premier ministre du Canada, le très honorable Mackenzie King, a exposé dans un discours à la radio en fin de semaine les raisons qui doivent engager le peuple canadien à redoubler d'efforts pour conjurer le fléau de l'inflation et les nouvelles mesures que le gouvernement fédéral se propose d'adopter lui-même pour le combattre. Les remarques de M. King ouvriront les yeux de bien des gens qui s'imaginaient que la guerre tire à sa fin et qu'il est maintenant possible de relâcher les restrictions appliquées jusqu'ici.

Non, la guerre n'est pas finie et le moyen de remporter une victoire prompte et décisive reste le principal problème à résoudre. Or, rappelle le premier ministre du Dominion, cette guerre est devenue une guerre d'endurance et il importe de ne donner aucun signe de faiblesse capable d'encourager l'ennemi à résister davantage. Personne ne voudrait prolonger le conflit au-delà de ce qui est strictement nécessaire. Que tous les Canadiens secondent par conséquent les efforts d'Ottawa pour empêcher la hausse des prix, dont nos entreprises de guerre auraient à souffrir tout comme les entreprises de restauration après la paix.

Nous avons déjà gagné une grande bataille sur le front domestique, ajoute M. King. C'est celle de la production, tant industrielle qu'agricole. Mais il arrive malheureusement que, en obtenant cet avantage, nous avons accru les difficultés de la lutte contre l'inflation, parce que nous avons doublé le revenu du peuple canadien sans augmenter proportionnellement les marchandises destinées aux civils.

Pour faire face à ces difficultés, Ottawa recourra à toutes les mesures pratiques pour maintenir le coût de la vie au niveau actuel, de façon à n'avoir pas besoin d'accorder de nouveaux boni à l'avenir. Le bonus actuel s'ajoutera au salaire de base dont il deviendra partie intégrante, et l'Office du commerce et des prix verra à régler les cas particuliers d'inégalité outrée ou d'injustice. Enfin, M. King annonce pour un jour prochain toute une législation ouvrière et sociale qui devrait améliorer le sort de la masse du peuple canadien.

Toutes les classes de la société auront sans doute à coeur de participer avec leur bonne volonté à la mise en vigueur du nouveau plan esquissé par le chef du gouvernement fédéral. Le contrôle du coût de la vie et des salaires est essentiel au succès de nos armées dans la présente guerre comme au succès de la lutte contre le chômage au retour de la paix. Il faut tenir jusqu'à la fin.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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Date Dec. 6/43

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication St. John Telegraph-Journal

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

To Fight Inflation

ON Saturday the prime minister broadcast to Canada what was a combination of reminder, thanks, appeal and explanation in general terms of measures soon to be put in force. Two battles are being fought on the home front: that of production and that against inflation. If we fail in the second, we may lose the first; and ironically, as we succeed in the first, it makes the second harder, because employment and wages mean released spending power pressing in price ceilings.

We all must know the vicious spiral in which wages follow prices upwards and never catch up. Inflation destroys savings values—almost all have savings today—and devaluates fixed incomes and compassionate allowances. At the top of the spiral comes ruin and a plunge into deflation and mass unemployment. Thus far Canada has done well by taxation, borrowing and ceilings on prices and wages. The last is, however, far from absolute, and of late pressure on it has been severe. That cannot go on if we are to control inflation, as we must.

Mr. King thanked the farmers for what they have done and, to give them confidence to continue production, promised them a floor under their prices. He also thanked labor and sketched what he proposes for its future. High and medium incomes have been drastically scaled down, and low incomes leveled up. Now he considers the time ripe to merge the cost of living bonus into the basic wage rate and hold that stable. Inequalities still existing will be dealt with according to the main recommendations of the majority and minority reports of the war labor board, which will be released from binding comparisons and exercise a more judicial role. The labor code, almost drafted, will, with co-operation from the provinces, include compulsory collective bargaining and a labor relations board to administer it. On this he appealed to labor to hold the front line against inflation and so both to win the war and to defeat those conditions which would inevitably kill all hope of post-war prosperity and security.

Mr. King revealed only the general idea. When the details are disclosed will be time enough for critical examination and discussion.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Free Press

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

Mr. King Fights Inflation

ON Saturday night, in one of the most notable speeches in his long political career, Prime Minister King set forth the issues in the battle against inflation and the measures by which he intends to supplement present policies. Inflation is to many people a word which has lost its meaning by constant repetition until it has become a mere bogey to scare the thoughtless. But Mr. King showed how success in winning the present war and dealing with the problems of the post-war period is bound up with the struggle against inflation.

He pointed out that the greatest dangers in the way of inflation come from demands for higher prices to meet higher wages and higher wages to meet higher prices in a familiar spiral. He thanked farmers and workers for the support they have given price control measures in the past and asked for a continuance of this support.

In return he proposed to secure for the farmers a floor to protect their price structure against economic disaster in the post-war years, to counterbalance for the ceilings now imposed to prevent soaring prices. For labor he promised adjustment of gross injustices in wage scales, consolidation of cost of living bonus with the general wage structure, and a national code of labor relations.

None of these concessions involves any general increase either in wages or prices, and Mr. King courageously affirmed the determination of his Government to hold the line against any such developments, which would pave the way to inflation.

Mr. King stressed a point which has been much neglected by those most vociferous in their talk of post-war plans. It is that the aims of social security and other improvements after the war, which have won such a broad measure of support, will be gravely imperilled if we have inflation now.

It is strange that this aspect of the struggle has not received due attention earlier. There can be little doubt that a world which adds to the destruction of war the paralysis of inflation will find the greatest difficulty in maintaining anything like existing standards of living, let alone new objectives of social security and progress.

If the speech is establishing a keynote for the approaching session and the next campaign both should be interesting. Mr. King has again demonstrated his ingenuity by presenting an answer to what happens when the irresistible force of inflation meets the immovable body of price control.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 77111

Name of Publication Le Droit

Date Dec. 6/43

Subj

La déclaration du premier ministre

Le gouvernement canadien va reviser sa politique du travail: c'est ce que M. King annonça samedi dans une causerie faite à la radio. Cette semaine, on connaîtra la teneur du nouveau décret ministériel sur lequel cette politique se basera. Dans l'entretemps, le premier ministre a révélé, en partie, ses desseins. On compte cinq mesures principales; les unes concernent la guerre et les autres, l'après-guerre.

1.—Les autorités canadiennes sont prêtes à accepter les plus importantes recommandations sur lesquelles le Comité d'enquête sur les relations ouvrières s'est entendu à l'unanimité pour servir de base à la revision de la politique ouvrière du gouvernement.

2.—On élaborera un nouveau code du travail, lequel comportera le contrat collectif obligatoire et la formation d'un nouvel office des relations ouvrières en temps de guerre, distinct du présent Office du travail en temps de guerre.

3.—Le gouvernement croit qu'il peut maintenir le coût de la vie à son niveau actuel, mais si celui-ci augmente de plus de 3 p. 100 et reste à ce niveau pendant deux mois consécutifs, toute la politique des prix et des salaires sera revisée et les autorités canadiennes prendront les mesures qui s'imposent.

4.—A la prochaine session, le cabinet King soumettra à l'approbation du parlement un projet de loi visant à établir des prix minima pour les produits agricoles après la guerre.

5.—Plus tard, le premier ministre exposera les moyens auxquels il entend recourir afin d'établir un minimum de bien-être humain pour toute la population canadienne après la guerre.

Il est bien difficile de se prononcer sur les diverses mesures que le premier ministre annonce, tant qu'on ne les connaîtra pas d'une façon plus explicite. Pour commencer, le rapport du Comité d'enquête sur les relations ouvrières n'a pas été publié. Nous ignorons donc, officiellement du moins, quoi qu'il ait été écrit à leur sujet, quelles sont les principales recommandations sur lesquelles les membres de ce comité se sont entendus à l'unanimité. De plus, on doit en dire autant du nouveau code ouvrier, de cette politique de prix minima pour les produits agricoles et de niveau minimum de bien-être humain pour l'après-guerre. Avant de juger ce que vaut la politique que le gouvernement nous annonce, il va donc falloir attendre de la mieux connaître.

La manière de procéder du premier ministre respire l'hésitation. Au lieu de nous annoncer en bloc et en détail quels sont ses projets pour régler le problème des relations industrielles, M. King ne nous en a fait connaître, samedi, qu'une partie. Encore s'est-il tenu dans les généralités. D'où provient cette hésitation? Vient-elle du fait que le gouvernement ne sait pas lui-même comment exactement procéder? Les divergences d'opinion entre les membres du cabinet ou les fonctionnaires supérieurs du gouvernement sur les méthodes à employer pour régler le problème ouvrier en sont-elles la cause? Nous l'ignorons. Mais, en relisant la causerie radiophonique de M. King, on ne reconnaît pas l'attitude de l'homme qui a des plans mûris.

C'est bien l'impression que nous laisse en particulier l'annonce que, si le coût de la vie augmente de plus de 3 p. 100 pendant deux mois consécutifs, le gouvernement revisera alors toute sa politique des prix et des salaires et prendra alors les mesures qu'il croit nécessaires.

Avant de recourir aux grands moyens, le gouvernement tergiverse. Il tient absolument à combattre l'inflation. Celle-ci nous menace encore. Les ministres du cabinet King, pourtant, sont indécis. S'opposant à accorder à l'avenir des bonis plus élevés que les présents, ils tentent une expérience. Si, durant les prochains mois, ils réussissent à maintenir le niveau de la vie de manière qu'il ne soit pas nécessaire d'accorder de bonis, ils continueront à pratiquer la même politique à peu près que par le passé quant aux salaires, mais, si le coût de la vie augmente encore de trois points et qu'il se maintienne à ce nouveau niveau pendant deux mois consécutifs il tentera de l'enrayer par d'autres moyens.

Voilà, certes, de l'hésitation. Le gouvernement attend, pour voir, si les choses se raccorderont d'elles-mêmes sous l'effet des événements.

Camille L'HEUREUX.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 47112

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Hamilton Spectator

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

Inflation Could Wreck All

Prime Minister King, in his appeal to the Canadian people to help safeguard the price ceilings and other economic controls, warns them that the penalty of non-observance would be inflation. That condition, should it become rampant, would be ruinous to Canada's war effort, to her plans for reconstruction and the welfare of every person in the country. Conversely, the winning of this monetary battle on the home front would contribute much to victory over the aggressors and likewise do more than any other factor to solve post-war problems in Canada. While viewing inflation as the gravest menace to Canada's economy, Mr. King is confident that it can be successfully resisted once the people appreciate how vital their co-operation is to the Government and also to their own best interests. Canadian labour and farmers are especially urged to hold the line, and steps are being planned to aid them in doing so.

The Prime Minister fears that Canada, in common with other Allied countries, has succumbed to a state of mind which believes that the worst of the global war has now passed. Nothing could be further from the actualities, for, while victory does appear to be assured, it is still far from won and the grimmest battles have yet to be fought before the armed might of Germany is overcome on the field. The all-important task which demands the supreme exertions of those nations still free is the winning of this war; it overshadows everything else, and until it is won the solution of post-war problems must remain largely in abeyance. Solutions to these problems can be planned for, however, and the Government is availing itself of every opportunity afforded by a favourable turn in the conflict. But the struggle against the Axis demands first consideration, and no one needs to be reminded that those requirements are almost insatiable. Endurance is the element that is needed until the forces of tyranny have been crushed, for this war has now become virtually a contest of stamina; the side which can hold out the longest will eventually triumph.

Canada has made a creditable showing in producing the equipment of war, but this very achievement has served to increase the strains which are conducive to inflation. Commodity prices begin to rise, despite the controls; wages and salaries inevitably creep up the same spiral, but always a poor second. The process becomes a vicious circle unless firmly checked. Canada has succeeded fairly well, so far, in arresting inflationary trends by siphoning off excess profits through taxation, by heavy imposts on income in the high and medium brackets, and by borrowing. Large sums have been obtained from the people through Victory Loans. The ceilings are also an effective curb, as they determine the price levels at which commodities are sold. But equally important are the costs which enter into the production of goods, and these directly concern wages. If ceilings at the top are to function efficiently, it goes without saying that the floors can not be penetrated either, otherwise the whole structure of price controls becomes impaired. Self-discipline and co-operation are therefore imperative if the economic fabric is to remain sound and the battle against inflation is to be won.

Mr. King is satisfied that it can be won in Canada, if every one will only do his part by co-operating and refusing, from selfish motives, to add to the strains which threaten the ceilings. By resolving to help win the war first; by striving to hold the dyke against a tidal wave of wild money, the Canadian people can make their best contribution to this war for freedom and also ensure the future prosperity of their country when the peace has been won.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 47113

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject

Inflation Fight

Important principles affecting the wartime economic life of Canada were laid down by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in his statement on the Dominion's anti-inflation activities. The changes he announced are indicative of the experience that has been gained through the operation of admittedly experimental legislation dealing with price and wage controls.

There was little of surprise in anything he announced. Most of the measures had been accurately forecast. Nor was there much in the way of detail. This is to be worked out and made public later. What the Prime Minister did was lay down broad general principles, and these are of great interest.

The fundamental fact behind his utterance was the determination displayed to continue the fight against inflation. There is to be no let-up in the unremitting campaign to protect this country in wartime from the economic chaos which results from lack of control when markets are subjected to extraordinary influences and strains.

Some of the changes announced by Mr. King are tacit admissions that mistakes have been made. This was patent to all, but it is no reason to lose confidence in those administering the control measures. Everything that has been done has been experimental in nature, and the only possible course was to follow the trial and error method. Condemnation would be justified only if the mistakes were perpetuated, or if their discovery led to a hopeless attitude and the abandonment of all attempts at control.

Neither of these things is happening. Instead, when the weaknesses come to light, the underlying reasons for them are sought, and corrective measures taken. This is what is happening now.

The abandonment of the principle of cost of living bonuses could be foreseen. This has not worked out as well as was hoped, and a change in the method of adjusting wages was obviously necessary.

The chief weakness of the bonus system was that it did not achieve the objective of preventing inflation. It was too easy, when it was known that bonuses would operate, to bring pressure to bear for price increases, using the argument that they would not lie too heavily on the consuming public, because pay rates would automatically adjust themselves in compensation. Actually, of course, this is simply the operation of the too-familiar system of inflation, the race upward between prices and wages, and there was always the danger that it would get out of hand.

Labor may view with some apprehension the abandonment of the bonuses, but giving the National War Labor Board wider powers to adjust wage rates on principles of fairness will compensate. The Government also leaves the way open to grant increases in line with any spectacular increase in the cost of living.

One of the most important phases of the announcement is the acceptance by the Government of the principle of compulsory collective bargaining. This is a major triumph for Labor, which for a long time has been demanding the establishment in law of this principle.

There was, however, a tacit admission that the recent Dominion-provincial conference on labor matters did not achieve all that was hoped for in the way of agreement. Compulsory collective bargaining, as established by the Dominion, applies only to war industry, and all Mr. King could do was express the hope that the provinces would follow suit in respect to firms not in this category. This plainly shows that this point, known to be one of the major causes of controversy, was not settled at the meeting.

On the whole, however, the Prime Minister's statement shows that advances have been made. It reflects a progressive attitude on the part of the Government to adjust its policy to the manifest needs of the situation, and to adhere to its determination to maintain economic stability during this crisis. It will not be satisfactory to everyone, but it admits of no major criticism.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 47114

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date DEC 6 1943

Subject

Await Reaction To Broadcast By Mackenzie King

By Torchy Anderson.

Reaction of the country to the Saturday night broadcast of Prime Minister Mackenzie King is awaited with more interest — maybe anxiety—than that to any major economic decision of the government since the inception of wage and price control two years ago.

The politician, with his ear fairly glued to the ground, was anxious to assess the value of the government's policy on the thermometer of popular favor. However, it would be unwise to jump to the conclusion that the Prime Minister's speech brought the inevitable general election any nearer.

With no political interest, another group waits the national reaction. They are the men who implement the government's measures in the fight against inflation. These men are almost fanatically convinced that victory against inflation is second only as an objective to victory in the war.

Labor Policy All Forecast.

The speech left no doubt about the groups that the government is trying to persuade to line up with them in making the fight against inflation an economic Stalingrad. Mr. King made his bid to the farmers with a promise of a floor for their prices as well as the ceiling they have had to accept. The policy toward labor had all been forecast with certainty during the past few weeks.

Putting a floor under farm prices, something that has been demanded in Parliament over and over again during the war sessions, is not so simple as it sounds. In United States they have been arguing for three years about the parity basis on which farm products should be controlled. Whatever basis the government may suggest when it comes to Parliament next year you can be sur there will be a lively fight. The farmer members are going to fight for a floor within reasonable distance of the ceiling.

In Mr. King's speech there is plain warning that the government, at this moment at least, does not propose to hurry its post-war program. He has promised to deal with these matters in later speeches.

It is probable that the cabinet, pressed with immediate war problems, has not had much time to give to the tremendous post-war problems of reconstruction and social security. The fact is that these men are tired. The work of keeping abreast of current problems leaves them little energy or time to go into the complications of post-war programs.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 47115

Name of Publication New York Times

Date December 6, 1943

Subject

CANADA PROMISES LIVING COST CURBS

Prime Minister King Says No More Bonuses Will Be Paid Under New System

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, Ont., Dec. 5 — New measures in the war against inflation in Canada were outlined last night in a radio talk to his countrymen by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King.

Stressing that the battle against inflation on the home front was just as important as any other battle in the task of winning the war and helping to a solution of postwar problems, the Prime Minister declared that the Government was resolved to hold the price ceiling line and safeguard wage-earners against any quick rise in the cost of living.

To do so, he stressed, it must continue to control farm prices and wages. Neither, he said, could be controlled without the support of farmers and labor, and he thanked both for the support they had given. That support had been the more willingly given, he said, because both knew that profits and incomes had been rigidly controlled and heavily taxed.

Price Floor for Farmers

To the farmers he promised that in return for their support of the price ceiling policy he would ask Parliament at the next session to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities so as to insure against agricultural depression after the war.

He reminded labor that while prices had been frozen the Government had not frozen all wages. During the past two years, he said, War Labor Boards had dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting 2,500,000 workers, and had granted an increase in payment to wage earners of more than $150,000,000.

He warned wages could not be allowed to rise without danger to prices for they were the largest element in the cost of everything. To meet the need for new measures to promote industrial harmony he said the Government recently reconstituted the National War Labor Board, which had conducted an inquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

The Government, he went on, is now ready to accept as a basis for a revised labor policy the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports of the board agree.

Two Important Changes

This would entail, the Prime Minister said, two important changes in the method of controlling wages. The War Labor Boards would no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with those in other plants or industries, but would have as their standard the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The second change would be that the cost of living bonus, which had been granted as an adjustment, would be added to and become part of basic wage rates and no further bonuses would be paid.

"The government believes," said Mr. King, "that by holding the cost of living at the present level it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of labor than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3 per cent and remains at that level for two consecutive months the government will review the whole program of price control and take appropriate action."

The revised wage control order will be made public this week and a code of labor relations to apply to war industries is in final stages of preparation. The labor code will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining.

It will be enforced by the National Labor Relations Board, which will be set up in agreement with the provincial governments, which have agreed in principle to cooperate in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication New York Times

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Lethbridge Herald

The P.M. to see

Date Dec.7/43

Subject

Mr. King's Pledges

Probably for the first time in the history of Canada the average citizen is getting an education on the inter-relation between wages and prices and especially between wages and the prices of farm commodities. Prime Minister King's Saturday night pronouncement dealt with both, and their relationship to the cost of living in which every one of us is interested. He made it very plain that, if chaos is to be averted, there must be control of both prices and wages, and that the two must bear a fair relation one to the other. The farmer cannot expect to get high prices for his products, and be able to buy his requirements at low prices, because low-priced goods can only be made with low-priced labor. Neither can labor expect to buy low-priced food products while labor itself is enjoying a high standard of wages.

So the Ottawa Government has set itself the task of seeking a parity between the two and maintaining that parity while, at the same time, preventing the spiral that leads to inflation and chaos.

Speaking to farmers and labor, Prime Minister King said that, first, there would be a price floor placed under farm products to prevent a debacle after the war, and second, that labor would be assured the right of collective bargaining together with a base wage during the war comprising the present wage plus the cost of living bonus.

For both farmers and labor, and for citizens generally, there is given an assurance that a "national minimum of human welfare" would be established and a social security plan established thereon, and that legislation to provide this will be forthcoming.

It may be expected, therefore, that at the next session of Parliament there will be legislation of a far-reaching nature which will provide a chart for Canada of the post-war years. Whether or not the chart and the plan will work will depend upon the citizens of Canada. If they are convinced that a fair price and wage relationship is the right course to follow, then the plans proposed by the Prime Minister will work. But if the various components of the national community each goes out to seek its own selfish ends and if, as a result, the present wage and price controls are forced to give way to inflation, then the plan will not work and a chaotic post-war condition may be looked for. It will all depend upon whether public opinion is strong enough and willing enough to stand out against pressure groups which have no thought but to get all they can get in the emergency.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Financial Post

Date Dec. 11/43

Subject

The P.M. to see

D 47117

King Speech Hints Baby Bonus Near

May Limit Payments to Five Children, Grade Rates by Ages Under 14 Years Old

By STAFF WRITER

OTTAWA. — Analysis of Prime Minister King's anti-inflation speech seems to lead inevitably to the conclusion that family allowances for all Canada are not far away.

The plan that it is expected Mr. King will announce in his forthcoming speech on social security and welfare is believed to be the modified $135 millions proposal which limits payment of the allowance to five children and pays on a graded scale depending on the age of each child 14 years of age or under.

In his speech last week Mr. King announced unequivocally that "the Government is prepared to accept as a basis for a revised labor policy the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports agree." Yet the one basic proposal which Mr. King did not announce, and which is well known to run through both reports, was some relief for wage-earners getting less than 50 cents an hour. The McTague majority report urges relief for heads of families under this wage bracket. The Cohen minority report wants a 50-cent floor under all wages.

Likely To Adopt Alternative

Since there is no mention of any such relief to low-paid workers in the King proposals, it is taken for granted that the Prime Minister has decided to adopt the alternative suggested by Judge McTague, namely, the payment of family allowances if the 50-cent floor was thought to be inconsistent with the Government's wage and price stabilization policy.

It was known some time ago that the Cabinet had definitely rejected the 50-cent floor idea so that presumably, if Mr. King has accepted the main proposals of the two reports, his next move will be to give relief to low-paid workers through the family allowance plan.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Dec. 6/43

D 47118

Subject

Audience Lacking For Mr. King

PRIME MINISTER W. L. MACKENZIE KING'S practice of making important pronouncements of policy over the radio on Saturday night doesn't appear to click insofar as Windsor people are concerned.

Out of curiosity, and to find what percentage of citizens of this community actually listen to such Saturday night messages, The Windsor Star conducted a test poll.

Out of 120 people asked whether they had listened to Mr. King's address, only one was found who had listened to it all. Two others had heard a part of it. The remaining 117 chose to ignore the whole thing, and were depending on their newspaper to tell them what the prime minister said.

This is in spite of the fact Mr. King was speaking on inflation, a subject of interest to everybody, and had special messages of interest to workers and to those engaged in agriculture. He announced such important steps as making cost of living bonuses a part of the basic wage scale, with no additional bonuses to be paid, and the placing of a floor under prices of farm products.

Even this could not compel more than a negligible proportion of people in Windsor to listen to him, according to the survey made.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 8 1943

D 47119

Subject

WILL APPEASEMENT BLOCK INFLATION?

The long-heralded declaration by the Prime Minister of the Government's new plans to fight the battle of inflation, delivered over the radio Saturday night, was sound and good as far as it went. But it bred a disquieting doubt as to whether it went far enough.

Ottawa has made the price ceiling stick by enforcement and firm insistence. But Mr. King and his colleagues have allowed the parallel wage ceiling to be seriously breached—thus threatening the price ceiling, too—through repeated "exceptions" conceded to labor groups in industries such as steel and coal mining. It is questionable whether the government can, with the relatively moderate and appeasement-sweetened measures now proposed, hold back the bull of its own breeding that it now has by the tail.

Mr. King gave an academic homily on the dangers of inflation and the need for all classes to cooperate in combating it. But it was hard to avoid the suspicion that he was seeking to wage the war on inflation with a combination of compromise and appeasement, similar to his basic plan for getting Canada behind the war effort itself.

However, it will be easier to judge just how far he is prepared to go, both to rally and to rule Canadians into the firm stand needed against inflation, when his promised legislation and official orders are made public.

Mr. King bore down most heavily on an appeal to both farmers and labor to help win the inflation battle, both now and after the war, by holding the line against any further general rise in prices and wages. Dependence on voluntary cooperation of both classes has been fundamental to the government's efforts to date to hold prices and wages. It has fallen far short of complete success, especially in the past year and among the more vocal, better organized minorities of both farmers and workers. Therefore, the government now faces the need to take firmer action.

For the farmers, Mr. King foreshadowed little in the way of specific restriction on prices apart from the government's determination to hold prices in line and a plea for support from farmers themselves. For labor, the Prime Minister committed himself to two definite curbs on further wage increases—an end to the cost of living bonus, with its incorporation into the general wage structure; and a real freezing of wages apart from adjustments to meet "gross inequalities and injustices."

Mr. King himself furnished the evidence which, he said, showed wages had in fact not been frozen despite the government's declared policy to do so. Out of 40,000 applications in behalf of 2,500,000 workers dealt with by the national and regional labor boards, 90 per cent. had been favorably decided to the tune of wage increases totalling $150,000,000 a year. Time will tell whether the tightened policy of Ottawa will put a stop to this extra swelling of wage payments, especially in the light of the present demands for wage boosts from railway workers and coal miners.

The Prime Minister's ideas of "softening up" both farmers and labor for acceptance of his anti-inflation proposals is to sweeten the pill of wage-price curbs by concessions and material benefits. To the farmers he holds out a promise that legislation at the next session will assure them a floor under prices, especially to protect them in the post-war deflationary period. One may be pardoned for recalling that a price floor was a major plank in the farm platform outlined by John Bracken, Progressive-Conservative leader, in the west a few weeks ago.

To labor Mr. King held out a two-sided appeasement sweetener. A code of labor relations is to be introduced, built around labor's long demanded advantage of compulsory bargaining. And the Government undertakes to try and hold further rises in living costs to within three points of the index. Should it exceed three points and stay at such a level for two months or more, the government will review its whole wage and price policy.

While labor would doubtless prefer a more definite guarantee than this, it is a fairly definite buffer against higher living costs in future. In fact, it is definite enough to justify, along with compulsory bargaining and the price floor for farmers, a belief that Mr. King's pronouncement was framed at least partly with an eye on prospects for the election now generally expected next year.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date DEC 6 1943

D 47120

Subject

New Attack on Inflation

The public, on the whole, accepted as sound the principle of freezing prices and wages and stabilizing them by means of a cost-of-living bonus. According to the Prime Minister's Saturday night broadcast, it has not been a failure. He contrasted living cost increases favorably with those of the last war, although it should be said the attending circumstances were very different then. The amount of money sent into circulation in this country was much smaller, and the effects of nations bidding against one another for equipment and commodities were tremendous.

Now the Government is abandoning an essential of the original policy. No more bonuses will be paid. Instead existing bonuses will be incorporated in the basic wage rates, in effect an overall increase in wages.

This is a concession long demanded by labor organizations, and it will place them in a more favorable postwar position. Accompanying is an undertaking to seek legislation to ensure a floor under main farm commodities to safeguard the farmer, as Mr. King explained, against the danger of low prices in the postwar period.

The floor for farmers had its origin in the policy laid down by the Progressive Conservative Leader in his Lethbridge speech. "There should not be price ceilings on farm prices to prevent inflation in wartime," said Mr. Bracken, "without price floors to prevent deflation in peacetime."

Insuring basic wages and farm prices against deflation shows that the possibility of lower levels in general is not ruled out of consideration, Mr. King's concern for these two important elements has, therefore, a strong political flavor. He has been under great pressure from both, and particularly from those wanting the bonus made a wage increase.

Nor has he carried conviction that the latest step in fighting inflation will reach its aim. In the event the cost of living rises more than 3 per cent, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, he said, the Government is to review the program of prices and wages control and take "appropriate action." But, "if humanly possible," the vicious circle of inflation is to be avoided "to the end of the war and in the postwar period."

The speech was reaffirmation of policy to this extent, and accordingly may end the fear and expressions of fear that the price ceiling was to go down amid the avalanche of demands. The Prime Minister has made promises to farmers and labor which, in effect, are an invitation to accept a truce and let up on pressure. With the raised base a new policy is to be introduced by the War Labor Board, by which wages will no longer be adjusted in relation to those like districts or comparable industries.

With compulsory collective bargaining to be introduced in war industries and administered by a separate board labor organizations will have achieved another gain which should set at rest many uncertainties about equitable treatment. The machinery will be available for settling grievances, and if only gross wage inequities are considered disturbances in the ceiling should be few. Adding the bonus to wages to begin with, will settle many complaints that less than 50 cents per hour is being paid.

Mr. King's theme was "The Battle of Inflation," a battle which is not won by a statement of policy. The Government itself is responsible for most of the conflict by failing to hew to the line with the firmness it promised, and by its laxity is not recognizing labor's position It will not be won now without firmness and an understanding point of view which will bring public co-operation. The work of the Wartime Prices and Wages Board is not lessened. The most that can be said is that the Government has learned late by experience, and is making a change which has yet to prove itself a remedy for glaring defects.

There has not been inflation in prices of goods, only in earning powers, and this has been due to a weak-kneed policy. If Mr. King and his colleagues had adhered without reservation to the program they started with it would not have been necessary for him to come forward now and make promises in order to win goodwill and throw himself on the mercy of the people. The speech is a humiliating admission. The one redeeming feature is the assurance that an anti-inflation policy is being adhered to.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

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With compulsory collective bargaining to be introduced in war industries and administered by a separate board labor organizations will have achieved another gain which should set at rest many uncertainties about equitable treatment. The machinery will be available for settling grievances, and if only gross wage inequities are considered disturbances in the ceiling should be few. Adding the bonus to wages to begin with, will settle many complaints that less than 50 cents per hour is being paid.

Mr. King's theme was "The Battle of Inflation," a battle which is not won by a statement of policy. The Government itself is responsible for most of the conflict by failing to hew to the line with the firmness it promised, and by its laxity is not recognizing labor's position It will not be won now without firmness and an understanding point of view which will bring public co-operation. The work of the Wartime Prices and Wages Board is not lessened. The most that can be said is that the Government has learned late by experience, and is making a change which has yet to prove itself a remedy for glaring defects.

There has not been inflation in prices of goods, only in earning powers, and this has been due to a weak-kneed policy. If Mr. King and his colleagues had adhered without reservation to the program they started with it would not have been necessary for him to come forward now and make promises in order to win goodwill and throw himself on the mercy of the people. The speech is a humiliating admission. The one redeeming feature is the assurance that an anti-inflation policy is being adhered to.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saskatoon Star-Poenix

Date Dec.6/43

Subject

D 47121

Mr. King's Speech

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's talk to the people of Canada on Saturday was characterized by a good deal of vigor. There was no doubt as to his feeling that in the matter of inflation a crucial point is at hand and the appeal to all sections of the community to withhold any further advance in its direction was timely and put forward with all the emphasis that the Prime Minister can, when he wants to, command.

There were other points, however, in the speech which will be of no less interest to the people of Canada. The sum total of these would seem to indicate that the gathering of Liberal leaders held in Ottawa recently must have impressed upon the Government the need of moving forward in the directions where public thinking is apparently ahead of Government policy. These will therefore be welcomed by all those who feel that under present war conditions and in the circumstances which may be expected to prevail immediately after the war the Government is doing the right thing in unfolding as much of its policy as is practicable at the present time.

For example, the decision to place by way of legislation a floor under farm prices is one which should make an immediate appeal to farmers everywhere in the Dominion and nowhere more definitely than in the West. The period immediately following the brief postwar boom of 25 years ago and the experience in the last decade are too fresh in the minds of the people not to have caused misgivings as to the future of prices once the immediate postwar demand stops.

The general policy, however, to halt inflation will perhaps be more generally welcomed at this time. Combining the cost-of-living bonus with wages seems an obviously correct step. The determination to hold the cost-of-living index at its present level, which presumably may involve certain increases in subsidies, is another equally sound decision. It will be possible to say more about the labor code and its relation to the majority and minority reports of the McTague inquiry when the details are brought down. The legislation which will have to do with "a national minimum of human welfare" cannot equally be discussed at this time. This too will come under review when Parliament has had an opportunity to examine it.

Mr. King's reference to the possible duration of the war will arouse no little interest. While admitting that the road ahead might well be long and hard, at least he did suggest the possibility of the collapse of Germany by the end of the present winter. But it was only a hint and one would say his emphasis on the need for maintaining the war momentum was an answer to those who are looking for any speedy collapse. By the time these lines are being read, moreover, some hint of the views of the three leaders who met in Teheran will be available. Mr. King's speech generally, therefore, was timely and the plans proposed by the Government will, one would say, be generally welcome as a part of an immediate and postwar policy which is in line with general feeling in the country.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Dec. 6/43

D 47122

Subject

Mr. King on Inflation

Of the two great battles on the home front, that for war production has been virtually won but that against inflation is still in progress, and it must be won, as Prime Minister King said on Saturday night, if Canada's war effort is not to be seriously weakened and if the difficulties of the post-war period are not to be greatly increased. The danger of losing the battle is seen in the strong pressures still exerted against the price and wage controls.

The Prime Minister's national appeal for support for the fight against inflation was fully justified by the reality of the peril. The cost of living has been rising gradually and it will be hard to keep it from rising until the war is over. If the line against inflation is seriously broken in one place, it will be extremely difficult to hold other parts of the line.

The benefit of the stabilization policy is clearly shown by the contrast between conditions in this war and the last. The danger of inflation is far greater now because of the enormous expenditure and the greater use of economic resources, but living costs have risen only a little over 18 per cent to date, as against 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. Since the controls were adopted two years ago, the increase has been only about 3 per cent. All classes have benefited from this protection. The farmers were never more prosperous, as Mr. King said, and the workers are better off than in 1939. After the wage ceiling was set up two years ago, necessary wage adjustments were made upon application to the war labor boards, and the aggregate amount of wage increases has been $150,000,000.

Victory in the fight against inflation is more important now than plans for reconstruction, Mr. King said. That is true because the winning of the war comes first, and inflation would seriously interfere with Canada's contribution to victory. He agrees that consideration should be given to reconstruction, but putting first things first, he rightly held that Canadians must make sure that the battle against inflation will not be lost.

It was well to hear his declaration that the government was resolved to hold the price ceiling and that this required the stabilization of wages. These are vitally important policies and everything depends on how well they are enforced. There may be some questioning of Mr. King's proposal to add the present cost of living bonus to the basic wages and grant no more bonuses. That is an entire change from the original bonus policy, which was simply to guarantee the "real wages" of the workers, and under which the bonus would fall again with the cost of living after the war. What would be the general effect of the change of policy? Stabilization, as he previously stated, has to do not only with wartime conditions but also with the ability to meet the problems of the reconstruction period.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Soleil

Date Dec. 6/43

D 47123

Subject

Message réconfortant de M. King

La grande armée des travailleurs qui livre combat sur le front domestique peut maintenant poursuivre sa lutte en toute confiance, cer elle est assurée que ses meilleurs intérêts sont sauvegardés. M. King s'en est de nouveau porté garant au cours de sa déclaration radiophonique de samedi soir. Le premier ministre leur accorde d'abord un relèvement substantiel du salaire de base en y incorporant le boni de vie chère qui devient de la sorte permanent; puis il propose un nouveau code du travail qui est destiné à améliorer leur condition sur la base des conventions collectives et des conseils revisés du travail. De plus, M. King les invite à mener avec lui une guerre de tous les instants contre l'inflation.

Son message ne manque point de réconfort. La politique du plafonnement des prix a déjà remporté les premières batailles et ses succès laissent entrevoir une victoire définitive; encore faut-il que la grande masse des combattants qui sont les ouvriers et les cultivateurs exécute de bonne grâce les manoeuvres qui leur sont commandées. M. King a misé sur son endurance et sur sa persévérance; elle doit tenir le coup, coûte que coûte. Jusqu'ici son travail a réussi à doubler la production des armes essentielles à la guerre, son effort ne peut ralentir dans la guerre à l'inflation qui, selon le mot de M. King, est l'un des moyens les plus sûrs d'affaiblir le front domestique.

Enfin, le premier ministre presse les cultivateurs d'accepter le plafonnement des principales denrées agricoles comme une mesure nécessaire pour parer au désarroi des prix après la guerre ; la leçon de 1914-1918 les éclaire sur ce point ; avec un niveau fermement établi, les prix des produits de la ferme soutiendront le choc des fluctuations que la période immédiate d'après-guerre entraînera et permettront à l'agriculture comme à l'industrie d'éviter des crises fâcheuses.

Name of Publication Le Canada

Date Dec. 6/43

D 17124

Subject

Gardons-nous de l'inflation

Les mesures que préconise le premier ministre du Canada pour maintenir le coût de la vie à son niveau actuel et qu'il vient de révéler dans son discours radiophonique de la fin de semaine, démontrent une fois de plus la ténacité avec laquelle le gouvernement lutte contre l'inflation.

Dans les deux années qui se sont écoulées depuis l'institution des Prix de Guerre, cette ténacité de la part de nos dirigeants, nous a valu de continuer à jouir d'un standard de vie très appréciable. Il n'y a presque pas de pays au monde, neutre ou belligérant, qui n'envie pas aujourd'hui le sort du Canada et la stabilité de son économie de guerre.

Mais M. Mackenzie King a raison de donner à ses inlassables avertissements contre les dangers de l'inflation et de la lassitude de la guerre, la persistance d'un plaidoyer éloquent en faveur de notre effort de guerre sur le front intérieur. Car malgré les prodiges de ministres et de fonctionnaires consciencieux et diligents, ce front reste très mobile et il menace fréquemmnet de se rompre à certains endroits.

Pour assouplir davantage ce que ce front peut avoir de rigide à l'heure actuelle, notamment dans les relations ouvrières, le chef du gouvernement vient d'annoncer la préparation d'un code du travail qui établira le régime obligatoire des conventions collectives et dont l'application sera confiée à un nouveau conseil national des relations ouvrières.

Cet effort que tente le gouvernement pour ramener l'harmonie dans les conflits ouvriers dont quelques-uns étaient de nature à compromettre sérieusement notre activité militaire, prend, dans les circonstances, la valeur d'une très heureuse initiative.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Halifax Herald

Date Dec. 6/43

Subject



NEW PLAN—Plans for "a national minimum of human welfare" are proposed, Prime Minister King (above) announced in a radio address Saturday night. He spoke on the battle against inflation and told of changes in anti-inflation plans.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

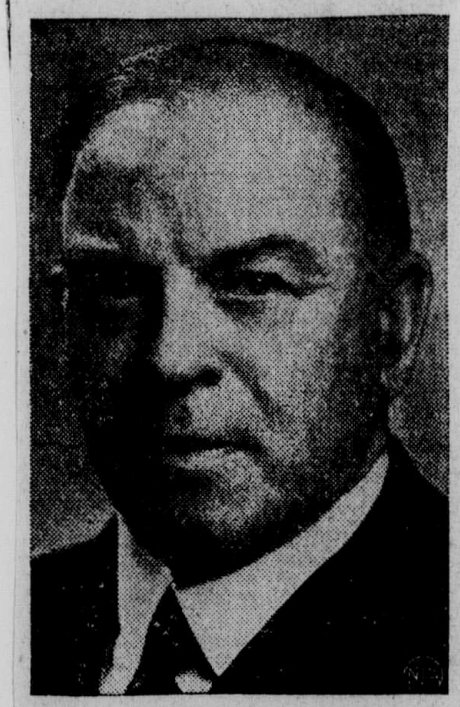
Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

Date Dec.6/43

D 47126

Subject

Combats Inflation



Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, who in an address to the Canadian people Saturday night, outlined the government's plans to combat inflation. Mr. King said the cost of living bonus will be added to basic wage rates and that there will be no occasion for further bonuses. He also said a new labor code for Canada will be established.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date DEC 7 - 1943

D 47177

Subject

Inflation Can't Be Fought With Words Alone.

The proof of Prime Minister KING'S new anti-inflation pudding is going to be in the eating. Inflation can't be fought with words alone. Mr. KING may nail an anti-inflation flag to his masthead, but unless there be troops and weapons beneath the flag to meet the inflation attack the battle will be lost. That is as certain as anything can be.

What Mr. KING has done in anti-inflation action, apart from his exhortations to the public, is to alter the principle upon which applications for wage increases have been granted. Up to now, wage advances have been given in the light of (1) wage schedules in 1939 and (2) of comparable wages in like industries in the same areas. Now, under Mr. KING'S new dispensation, they are to be considered and granted on the basis of current conditions, with the standard of measurement what Mr. KING calls "inequalities or injustices". The 1939 anchorage is abandoned.

Obviously, under this new standard or principle, there is room for very wide interpretation, with a great deal depending on two things: (1) The wisdom and reasonableness of labor in submitting demands for wage increases, and (2) the judgment and responsibility of regional labor boards in dealing with such demands. If labor leaders, by a procession of wage-increase demands, are willing to cut their own throats by inviting inflation, and if war regional boards, by weakness or lack of wisdom, are unprepared to hold the line, then the fight will be lost, with the continuing battle little more than a rear-guard action. Wages cannot continue to rise without prices rising faster.

As for the incorporation of the cost-of-living bonus into the basic wage rate, that in itself is not important; not for the present, at any rate. Employers will not be called upon to pay more, and there will be no more money to spend. The only actual difference will be in the fact that labor will have a higher basic rate with which to face the post-war. Of that we need not complain.

Mr. KING in his speech said:

> "I am now in a position to say that the Government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labor policy, the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports (the McTague and Cohen reports of the War Labor Board's inquiry into labor relations) agree."

As the McTague and Cohen reports have not been made public, it is impossible to know what Mr. KING is accepting; we shall have to wait until the full plan is before us. What is fairly clear in the meantime is that fairly wide concessions are being made to labor, with the concessions looking like anything but a fresh offensive against inflation. We can but hope.

* * *

Meanwhile, there were words in Mr. KING'S peroration which, having no bearing on inflation, are none the less worth noting. He spoke of a "floor" for the prices of farm products (a policy which Progressive Conservative Leader BRACKEN enunciated some months ago) and then said this:

> "I hope to speak, on another occasion, about the plan of the Government to achieve, once the war is over, a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for labor only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from death of the breadwinner, from ill-health, and from old age.
>
> "These are all our post-war objectives."

We shall hear more about these things; and the wise must know what they herald. We are approaching a general election.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Dec. 7 /43

Subject

D 47128

Changes in the Wage Laws

Three important announcements with respect to wages have been made by Prime Minister King: 1. No more additions will be made to the cost-of-living bonus, and bonuses now in effect will be incorporated in regular wage scales. 2. A new labor code for war industries will be promulgated. 3. The war labor boards will no longer be restricted as heretofore in arriving at the reasonableness of wages which are in dispute before them.

The first of these announcements means that an increase of a full point in the cost-of-living index in any quarter over the index when the bonus was last adjusted will no longer mean an added bonus. On the other hand, the provision for a downward adjustment of the bonus in the event of a full point fall in the index also goes by the boards. The arrangement is now to be that "if the cost of living rises more than three per cent., and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole program of price control and wage control and take appropriate action." As a matter of record, the index has risen only a little over three per cent. in the two years that price control has been in operation.

The announcement of a new labor code was made in the following words: "I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the national war labor board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labor relations to apply to war industries. A code of labor relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labor code will define and prohibit unfair labor practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The code will be enforced by a national wartime labor relations board, distinct and separate from the national war labor board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages." The code itself is yet to be published, but it is evidently to apply to war industries only. That is disappointing not only because "war industry" is difficult to define, but because labor in general is entitled to the advantages of such a code. Mr. King said that "as a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining." But it is well known that all provinces except Quebec wanted the basis broad enough to include industry in general.

The prime minister's decision to amend the order-in-council which has so long been an obstacle in arriving at what is a fair wage in any industry will be—or at any rate should be—a source of satisfaction to industrial workers. He said: "The war labor boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices." The unfairness of comparisons, and in some cases the impossibility of making a comparison, have been a barrier to the settlement of wage disputes. The old order-in-council whose provisions are now to be replaced by a more sensible arrangement was passed at a time when wage control was in an experimental stage. Events have indicated that this was one of the inevitable mistakes involved in inaugurating the wage-control experiment.

Another difficulty has arisen with regard to "national" industries, such as steel production, in which plants located at one point may be unionized and in receipt of increased wages, while at another point they may not. The claim of labor to have these national industries recognized as such and treated as such is a reasonable one, and provision should be made to meet it.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 7 1943

D 47129

Subject

Letter to Prime Minister

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister,
Parliament Bldg.,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir,—I listened with a great deal of interest tonight to your radio address wherein you showed how the various freezing orders saved industry, prevented inflation and protected the farmer. I waited, but in vain, to hear what you were going to do about Order No. 294 of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, whereby thousands of war workers and other loyal Canadians face eviction from their homes this coming May.

I happen to be one of those workers engaged in a vital war industry, who, after living in my immediate vicinity for over 25 years, faces eviction from his home this May without any hope of finding lodging for himself and his family.

It seems that Order No. 294 does not protect the war worker but those who made money because of the war and are now in a position to buy property and evict those who have given of their best to save democracy. In the face of these facts, how can we support this government and its representatives in time of election? May I suggest that this order be rescinded and all leases frozen for the duration of the war.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the press, so that the many thousands in the same predicament as myself would write similar letters to the head of the government, with the hope that the government might rectify a serious mistake before it is too late.

Very respectfully yours,
LYON P. STREAN,
M.Sc., Ph.D., D.D.S.

P.S.: My contribution to the war effort apart from enlistment in the Canadian Army Medical Corps and the purchase of bonds, certificates, etc., is the manufacture of penicillin and a variety of vaccines for the armed forces.—L.P.S.

Montreal, December 4.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir

Date Dec.7/43

D 47130

Subject

Lettre d'Ottawa

M. Mackenzie King et la lutte contre l'inflation

Les grandes lignes de sa politique ouvrière — Le contrôle des prix et des salaires — Nouvelles mesures et programme à venir — Le premier ministre prononcera d'autres causeries radiophoniques

(par Léopold Richer)

Ottawa, -XII-43 — Avant de partir pour Washington, où il passera quelques jours — on croit qu'il fera ensuite un bref séjour de repos au sud des Etats-Unis — M. Mackenzie King a prononcé un discours radiophonique pour exposer les mesures ministérielles destinées à combattre l'inflation. Le premier ministre et chef du parti libéral n'est probablement qu'au début d'une série de causeries radiophoniques, qu'il reprendra à la première occasion, dont le but est de faire connaitre les oeuvres du gouvernement. Samedi soir il s'est efforcé de parler en chef d'Etat, alors que ses collègues vont un peu partout chanter les gloires et les hauts faits du parti. Situation délicate pour le gouvernement. Il ne faut pas que l'effort de guerre exigé de la population serve avant tout à fortifier les positions du parti au pouvoir. On a vu que M. Ilsley avait demandé de relever les remparts du parti libéral, peu de temps après le cinquième emprunt de la victoire. On mêle trop, de ce temps-ci, appels à l'esprit de parti et invitations à de plus grands sacrifices pour la guerre.

Samedi soir M. King a parlé de la guerre. Il a énoncé à ce propos les truismes suivants. Si la guerre ne finit pas bientôt, elle se prolongera. Et si elle se prolonge, nos soldats seront au plus fort de la mêlée dans quelques mois. On doit, par conséquent, poursuivre l'effort de guerre, s'imposer autant, sinon plus de sacrifices que dans le passé. Le soldat doit combattre l'ennemi sur le champ de bataille; l'ouvrier doit fournir des armes au soldat. La guerre totale, c'est précisément la conjonction de l'effort du soldat et de celui de l'ouvrier. L'un et l'autre sont nécessaires à la victoire. Tout relâchement sur le front intérieur serait dangereux. Si l'on veut hâter la victoire, que nos volontés s'affermissent et notre effort grandisse. Cela, évidemment, n'est pas bien nouveau. C'est le thème habituel des discours officiels depuis le début de la guerre. A cela s'ajoutent quelques considérations d'ordre général sur l'après-guerre. On lie les problèmes de l'après-guerre à ceux de la guerre.

Double guerre

Le premier ministre a consacré la plus grande partie de ses remarques à la lutte contre l'inflation. "Sur le front intérieur, a-t-il dit, nous avons eu deux batailles à livrer: la bataille de la production et la lutte contre l'inflation. Dans la bataille de la production le Canada a remporté des succès magnifiques. Depuis le début des hostilités, il a doublé sa production, dont la moitié sert maintenant à des fins de guerre". M. C. D. Howe, dans ses discours de Moncton et du club de Réforme de Montréal (18 et 27 novembre), a traité longuement cet aspect de la guerre. Il a fourni de nombreuses statistiques. Qu'il suffise de rappeler que la bataille de la production ne cause plus de soucis au gouvernement. Il estime qu'il contrôle parfaitement la situation et qu'il est en mesure de faire face à toutes les éventualités. Aucune crainte de ce côté, du moins à croire M. Howe sur parole.

Il n'en va pas ainsi de la lutte contre l'inflation. Le danger existe toujours. On peut même dire qu'il est plus menaçant que jamais. M. Mackenzie King a décrit en quelques lignes le phénomène de l'inflation: "Elle n'est pas chose nouvelle dans le monde. Plusieurs pays en ont fait l'essai, et toujours à leur détriment. Les mauvais effets de l'inflation se font sentir le plus souvent et le plus fortement aux époques de guerre. Voici à peu près comment le phénomène se produit. D'abord des prix montent. Les salaires peuvent ensuite monter, mais ils ne montent jamais aussi vite que les prix. L'argent additionnel payé en salaires tend à provoquer de nouvelles hausses des prix. Quelques personnes rusées et peu scrupuleuses peuvent, par spéculation et mercantilisme, tirer avantage de la spéculation, mais tôt ou tard c'est la grande majorité qui en souffre". Tout le monde se souvient de la guerre de 1914-1918 et du niveau exorbitant atteint par les prix des articles essentiels.

Ce qu'a fait le présent gouvernement

Cette fois, et on se plaît à en rendre témoignage à la présente administration, les choses ne se sont point passées comme de 1914-1918. Le gouvernement a voulu prévenir le danger. Il a taxé lourdement le surplus des bénéfices provenant de l'accroissement de la production, imposé le revenu, lancé des emprunts de la victoire. En quelques mois, il a raflé et canalisé vers l'effort de guerre le surplus d'argent mis en circulation. Ces mesures, partiellement efficaces, n'étaient pas suffisantes. Il y a deux ans le gouvernement a établi le plafond des prix. Depuis l'inauguration de ce régime l'augmentation du coût de la vie n'a été que de 3%, mais depuis le début de la guerre, les prix ont monté de 18%. Pendant la période correspondante de la guerre de 1914-1918 les prix avaient monté de 53%. L'expérience de la guerre précédente a donc été profitable.

Pour contrôler les prix il fallait stabiliser les salaires. Le gouvernement admettait qu'il existait alors de nombreuses inégalités. Il a institué un Conseil national de travail en temps de guerre pour relever les salaires jugés trop bas. Le Conseil central et les conseils régionaux ont étudié des milliers et des milliers de demandes et redressé plusieurs injustices. Il n'était pas question toutefois de permettre une hausse générale des salaires. On a accordé une indemnité de vie chère afin de contre-balancer tout accroissement du coût de la vie. *(Cela a donné des résultats assez médiocres, dans bien des cas; les ouvriers ont souvent exprimé le grief que l'indemnité de vie chère n'était pas proportionnée à l'augmentation réelle du coût de la vie, aug-*

D 7131

mentation calculée par le Bureau fédéral de la statistique). Le gouvernement n'abandonnera pas sa politique de stabilisation des salaires. Il se contentera de la modifier.

Deux modifications

Voici les deux modifications proposées: "Dans l'examen des demandes d'ajustement de salaires, les Conseils de travail ne seront plus liés par le régime de comparaisons entre les salaires payés dans une industrie et ceux payés dans d'autres industries. Les ajustements apportés aux salaires devront plutôt faire disparaître les inégalités et injustices flagrantes. *(Directive trop large qui nécessitera des précisions).* Le second changement a trait à l'indemnité de vie chère. L'octroi d'indemnités à des taux divers a donné lieu à une structure complexe de salaires et d'indemnités, qui a donné lieu à son tour à des malentendus et à des conflits. Le gouvernement entend prendre toutes les mesures possibles pour maintenir le coût de la vie à son niveau actuel. *S'il obtient ce résultat, il n'y aura pas lieu d'accorder d'autres indemnités de vie chère. On ne paiera plus d'indemnité de ce genre. Les indemnités de vie chère seront ajoutées aux salaires de base dont elle feront dorénavant partie".*

Si le coût de la vie augmente de plus de 3 p. 100 et reste à ce niveau pendant deux mois consécutifs, le gouvernement revisera le programme intégral du contrôle des prix et des salaires, et prendra les mesures voulues. Telle est la nouvelle politique du gouvernement. Il se peut qu'elle ne donne pas plus satisfaction à la classe ouvrière que les mesures précédentes. Les ouvriers seront portés à croire que l'on joue avec l'index du coût de la vie. On verra ce que cela donnera dans la pratique. Le gouvernement prépare un code des relations ouvrières. Il le promulguera prochainement, en même temps qu'il publiera le rapport majoritaire et minoritaire du Conseil du travail en temps de guerre, rapports dont on a beaucoup parlé dans la presse. Plus tard, le premier ministre annoncera son programme de sécurité collective d'après-guerre, afin d'assurer un minimum de bien-être à la population. M. Mackenzie en a tracé les grandes lignes samedi soir.

"Le minimum national, a dit le premier ministre, doit comporter du travail utile pour tous ceux qui veulent travailler; les normes d'alimentation et de logements propres à assurer la santé de toute la population; et l'assurance sociale contre les privations découlant du chômage, des accidents, du décès du chef de famille, de la maladie et de la vieillesse. Telles sont nos visées d'après-guerre". Pour avoir une idée complète du programme ministériel, disons que les provinces se sont entendues "sur le principe de coopération dans l'institution et l'exécution d'un régime obligatoire de conventions collectives". Enfin, le gouvernement annoncera au cours de la prochaine session une politique de prix minimum pour les principaux produits agricoles, afin de garantir les agriculteurs contre les mauvais effets d'une crise agricole après le conflit.

Voilà, dans ses grandes lignes le programme ministériel. Il ne comporte rien de révolutionnaire. D'autre part, il n'est pas assez précis pour permettre un jugement sûr.

Léopold RICHER

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Dec. 7/43

Subject

D 47182

Needs a Gag Man

Surveys show that hardly anyone heard Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Saturday evening broadcast. If he wants to get anywhere in that field of entertainment, he had better work up a snappy quiz program, with an occasional sailor to commit an amusing *faux pas.*

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

Date Dec.7/43

Subject

A Lord Woolton Needed

IN his radio address, Saturday evening, Mr. Mackenzie King intimated that the government had under consideration a far-reaching program of social amelioration. The Prime Minister did not say much about this program but in terms as general and vague, almost, as the Atlantic Charter, suggested that he was looking forward to a plan which would guarantee a national minimum of human welfare, the said minimum embracing useful employment for all willing to work, and insurance against unemployment, accidents, death of the breadwinner, sickness and old age.

The program is a comprehensive one and one which will not only involve the expenditure of a large share of Canada's revenue but will require a tremendous amount of detailed planning. Yet, in his speech, Mr. King let it be known that no great amount of planning had been done. It was difficult, he suggested, to devote time and attention to post-war problems while the war was still to be won. At the same time, attention was being given to such problems as could be foreseen.

It was an appreciation of the government's difficulties in this respect that prompted the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, some weeks ago, to advise Mr. King that he should appoint a minister of reconstruction who would have no war problems to worry him, but could devote all his time and energies to making and perfecting post-war plans.

Mr. Churchill has recently relieved the most resourceful and one of the most able of his ministers of all his war anxieties and has set him at work on the post-war job. Canada has as many post-war problems as Great Britain has. We, too, should have a Lord Woolton.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Journal

Date Dec.7/43

Subj

Anti-Inflation Policy Revised

The announcements that Mr. King made on Saturday evening are a result of a lengthy enquiry—first by the National War Labor board and then, on the basis of its majority and minority recommendations, by the government itself. All that they involve cannot be determined until the revised wage control order and the code of labor relations, promised by the prime minister, are published. But in any case there can be no question about how imperative it is that the objectives which he set forth be attained.

In no way has the government displayed better judgment or foresight than in the effort it has made to check inflation. Mr. King explained clearly why it had become so serious a threat under war-time conditions and he did not exaggerate the evils that would follow if it could not be controlled. To lose the fight to avoid it would, as he insisted, impair greatly our contribution to an Allied victory and make much more difficult the solution of the problems with which we shall be confronted when peace returns.

> What I wish to impress upon you tonight, he said, is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

It should be obvious to everyone that the price ceiling can be maintained only by control of wages and of farm prices. That has been recognized by the government from the first. But evidently it is now convinced that the measures to that end adopted hitherto will no longer suffice and that a more determined stand will have to be made against increases in the returns secured by different economic groups, which have had the effect of putting up general living costs.

* * *

The prime minister declared:

> Now that we have reached the stage where half of our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean, he stated, that "gross injustices should not be remedied." No one will question the need of ending them where they are shown to exist. But the general principle that Mr. King laid down must be adhered to strictly and the necessary public support for this is not too much to count upon, in view of what he described in the following passage of his address:

> We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners.

That is in accordance with the facts. As a result of adjustments made by the War Labor Board in the past two years, the payments to wage earners have increased by $150,000,000. That the returns of farmers from their operations have all along been out of line with those of many in other occupations is apparent. But their position has improved greatly of late, even though Mr. King's claim that, apart from exceptional cases, their incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed is certain to be disputed. In any event, it is not asking too much of them to accept willingly the present ceilings on the prices of their products, particularly as the prime minister announced that legislation would be introduced at the next session for the purpose of placing a floor on the prices of the main farm commodities. This would insure them against a severe agricultural depression after the war.

* * *

The existing cost-of-living bonus is to be added to the basic wage rates and no further bonuses are to be paid. They have resulted, Mr. King said, in "a complicated structure of wages and bonuses," which have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. There is plenty of evidence of this. But more light will doubtless be thrown on the way in which the system has worked out, when the two National War Labor Board reports are issued.

The chairman of that body, Mr. Justice McTague, held in a recent address that the prevailing system of wage controls was "not doing an adequate job," adding that "another and more simple anchorage has to be found and we must start all over again." That new start is to be made by undertaking to maintain basic wages at their present level, with the bonuses already in effect included.

If, nevertheless, the cost of living goes up more than three percent and it remains there for two consecutive months, the whole program will be reviewed anew and appropriate action taken. But that revision should not be necessary. It will not be, if the new policy, when it is wholly revealed, is found to be soundly based, if it is

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

properly enforced and if the mass of Canadians do their part in ensuring its success, thus avoiding the grave consequences to the country as a whole and to their individual interests that must ensue if inflation is carried further.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Free Press

Date Dec. 7/43

Subject

D 47138

Floor for Farm Prices

IN announcing a floor for farm prices in the post-war period Mr. King has rather belatedly taken action along the lines which most students of the farm situation have advised. It is obviously only fair if farmers forego the prospect of present profits through higher prices that they should be protected against future losses to the same extent.

The Free Press has long held this policy. It has stated it many times. For example on July 9, 1943, The Free Press said:

> "The farmers feel that if they are prevented by a ceiling from profiting by the scarcity of cattle when such a condition exists, they are entitled to protection when there is a surplus. Otherwise they are taking part in a gamble with the dice loaded against them. It might be pointed out that in the United States the farmers are assured a minimum price for the duration of the war and at least two years thereafter. Surely it should be possible for something of the sort to be worked out in Canada."

On September 20, The Free Press said:

> "If Canada wants beef not only now, but for some years to come, the obvious thing is to protect producers against loss. If the only Government action is to impose ceilings when scarcity comes, the prospect is for more and bigger shortages in the future. Ceilings surely imply corresponding floors."

Similarly Hon. John Bracken, Progressive Conservative leader, has called for floors on farm prices to supplement ceilings, and the Federation of Agriculture has made similar recommendations. Mr. King's gesture is one of simple justice. It should be supplemented with assurances of adequate manpower if farm objectives now being studied in Ottawa are to be attained.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Regina Leader-Post

Date Dec. 7/43

Subject

Mr. King's Announcement

Prime Minister King's new warning against the inflation danger is timely because with successes in the war there has been a lessening of public singleness of purpose and an increased diverting of determination to the serving of self-interest. This change in public outlook has been evident in many ways: in the concentrated demand for increased money incomes even though they bring no material benefit, in the tendency to take things easy, in a noticeable move towards speculation, a trend to buy commodities whether needed or not and in a general quest to raise individual living standards.

Mr. King's announcements respecting the amalgamating of the cost-of-living bonus into the basic wage rate, the establishing of a floor price for farm products and the promise that a new labor code and reorganization of labor boards would be made public within a few days, should create a feeling of confidence and set back those who have been playing upon the natural instinct to serve self, for political purposes.

The merging of the cost-of-living bonus into the basic wage rate should end the argument about the bonus being all taken away by income tax. When the recent bonus increase was announced objection arose at once that only a small portion of it came to the worker, that the government took most of it and consequently it did not serve the purpose of meeting increases in the cost of living. The objection was valid of course but it arose chiefly out of the fact that the increase was called a cost-of-living bonus and because that was the purpose for which it was given.

Few persons object to a raise in their wages because it will put them in a higher income bracket. But when the raise is given as a bonus separate from pay and is then taken away there is a natural feeling of frustration and futility. Presumably from now on the basic wage rate will be adjusted according to the cost of living index.

The change should be acceptable to labor as well as to the multitude of unorganized workers.

Nevertheless, making the bonus payments part of the basic wage does not alter the fact that income tax does take most of it. The net result should be only an easing of the feeling of frustration and a concealing of the basis for protest.

The establishing of a floor under farm prices has long been urged by The Leader-Post because it is obviously unfair to curtail the advance in farm prices now and not curtail the decline when they drop.

Farm prices have always moved in a series of peaks and valleys. The peaks have coincided with wars and the valleys with the periods between wars. The peak periods have enabled agriculture to get past the depression periods up until the recent one. In this war the peak has been cut off by price control; it would be disastrous to agriculture to take the full blow after the war.

Mr. Gardiner promised this floor some months ago. Now Mr. King adds his assurance. It can be considered a settled policy.

Without knowing exactly what was in the reports of the national war labor board after its enquiry, Mr. King's statement as to a new labor code is hardly more than a notice that action is to be taken. However the reorganization of the system of boards, which will separate the national war labor relations board from existing war labor boards seems a move in the right direction and should be an improvement inasmuch as it is based on the experience gained in the past year.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

Finally Mr. King's preliminary announcement of plans for post-war Canada envisaging a "national minimum of human welfare" gives form to the rather vague outlines of a policy that has been in process of emerging for some time. Mr. King promised a full statement on this point.

However, Mr. King's statement indicated aims of achieving full employment at useful and productive work as well as the establishing of better minimum standards of living together with insurance against the economic and natural misfortunes that beset mankind.

This, of course, is the aim of all parties and groups seeking office. Their differences are as to the method of attaining the objective. Mr. King has in the past given some indication that the method in the mind of the government is through a system of security legislation to guard against misfortune coupled with a building of the nation's economy to a position of full employment through trade based on a greater use of Canada's resources.

The further announcement to which he referred will be, presumably, an elaboration of the method by which the common objective will be sought by the government.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 77139

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Dec. 7/43

Subject

One In 10 Dozen Heard Premier Saturday Night

Windsor, Ont., Dec. 7—Only one person out of 120 representative citizens canvassed by the Windsor Star heard Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King's broadcast on the fight against inflation Saturday night. The Star set out to discover how effective was the Prime Minister's policy of reserving important announcements for radio broadcast at the week-end.

Aside from the one person who heard the whole speech, two others said they had listened to part of it. The other 117 had ignored the broadcast completely.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 7140

Name of Publication Moncton Transcript

Date Dec. 7/43

Subject

A HOME FRONT BATTLE

Since the early days of the war a battle has been waging on the home front—the battle against inflation. There have been gains and losses, the effects of which have made themselves felt in the cost of living. One of the principal weapons used by the Dominion government to protect the people against the evils of inflation has been the cost of living bonus, but it was a weapon to be used sparingly for it cut both ways and helped the forces of inflation while protecting consumers against its effects. The flexible bonus is to be abolished, Prime Minister King now announces. The bonuses being paid will be regarded as part of the basic wage, "with government action to hold living costs at their present levels, obviating any need for further bonuses." This declaration appears to be based on the belief that further increases in the cost of living can be prevented, but the way is left open to "appropriate action" if there should be an increase of more than three per cent. The battle is not yet won and co-operation of the people and the government still is required to avert this grave menace to our economic structure.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Dec. 8/43

Subject

MR. "ME TOO" KING ADOPTS A BRACKEN PLANK.

Six weeks after John Bracken announced at Lethbridge that he favors placing a permanent floor price under farm products to prevent them falling to uneconomic levels Prime Minister King has come thundering down the stretch with the announcement that he, too, favors a price floor for the main farm commodities, and promises action at the next session of Parliament.

In no boastful spirit, but as a simple statement of fact, Mr. Bracken can claim to have blazed the trail on a policy which will be of the utmost importance to Canadian agriculture in future years. The government control policies have had the effect of placing ceilings on farm products. At any time in the last two years Mr. King might have said what he said on Saturday night:—"If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after this war." But no one in the administration said this. It was not until the Progressive Conservative leader proposed this protection after the war against abnormally depressed prices that Mr. King said "Me, too."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 47142

Name of Publication St. Catharines Standard

Date Dec. 8/43

Subject

Radio Coverage

Radio coverage for a dry speech, is the subject of some aciduous comment by W. L. Clark, in The Windsor Star. The reference is to the Saturday night national broadcast by Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King:

> Of 120 persons tackled at random by a Star representative yesterday morning, only one confessed to hearing the Prime Minister all the way through. Two others heard part of the speech. The other 117 were content to wait for Monday's paper. Constant repetitions of this situation should cure Mr. King of microphonic narcissus-ism. He should know by now that it takes a Churchill or a Roosevelt to induce the: public to deafen its ears to all else, and he's no Churchill or Roosevelt. But the head of the party in power is evidently snake-charmed by the rumble and reverberation of his own rolling and platitudinous periods which, in recorded form, he can play back to, at least himself, all day Sunday. And wild horses couldn't drag him away from the mesmeric—but otherwise practically useless—mike.

There is only one s i m i l e the Windsor writer missed in the foregoing. He should have delved into Disraeli's speeches of reference to Gladstone: "A sophistical rhetorician, inebriated by the exuberance of his own verbosity." It is probable, however, that Gladstone would never have inflicted his rhetoric on a national hook-up.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 7143

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune

Date Dec. 8/43

Subject

Mr. King Tries To Tell The People

THE Windsor *Star*, a paper by no means unfriendly to Mr. Mackenzie King and his government, set out early in the week to find out what impact the Prime Minister's speech on wage and price control had made on the public mind.

For more than a week beforehand, it will be remembered, the people of Canada were kept informed of the fact that an important announcement by Mr. King was coming. There was ample advance notice, and the broadcast was timed to reach the greatest possible number of listeners, one of the most popular broadcasting periods being set aside for it.

Despite all these advantages of priority and promotion, the message seems to have reached comparatively few persons. After patient and careful questioning the Windsor *Star* has reached the conclusion that only one person in 120 heard the speech—considerably less than one percent.

In the best of circumstances, it must be admitted, to dramatize for the radio audience the fight against inflation would be an undertaking of no small difficulty. The people of Canada possibly do not wish to devote their evenings to listening to official pronouncements.

Mr. King's earnest desire to encourage the widest possible understanding of the government's policies does him credit, but he is not always happy in his choice of medium. The radio is primarily and inescapably a medium of entertainment, and is wholly unsuited for the transmission of complicated official announcements. Even persons with a direct interest in the subject, who listened to Mr. King with close attention, found themselves in disagreement shortly afterward as to what he had in mind.

This is only the latest in a number of instances in which the government has used the radio for important announcements which cannot be effectively grasped in a single hearing. The same material if put into black and white across the country, as it would be if it were timed for newspaper publication, would have definite shape instead of being only a foggy outline.

The entertainment field is highly competitive, and it is not wholly consonant with Canadian ideas of fitness for the right honorable the first minister to enter into airwave competition with the weekly barn dance.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 47144

Name of Publication Regina Leader-Post

Date Dec.8/43

Subject

Not many listened to inflation speech

WINDSOR, Ont., Dec. 8. — The Windsor Star says that one person of 120 canvassed by the newspaper heard in full Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Saturday night broadcast on the fight against inflation. Two others heard part of the broadcast, while 117 of those questioned said they had not listened.

The Star said the survey sought to learn the effectiveness of government radio announcements at the weekend.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 87145

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Calgary Herald

Date Dec.8/43

Subject

Support Assured for Post-War Farm Prices

The assurance given by Prime Minister King that floor prices will be established for farm products when the war ends will relieve farmers of a degree of apprehension as to what might happen in the peace years ahead. After the last war ended, a year or two of inflationary prices was succeeded by a drastic drop and prices of hogs, cattle, sheep, wool, dairy and poultry products and grains tumbled precipitously. Many farmers never did recover from the effects of this deflation. The economy of Western Canada was so undermined that when the depression hit in the autumn of 1929 the result was widespread disaster.

The fact is that the economy of Western Canada is still based mainly on agriculture. Most sizeable industries that are operating here are mainly those engaged in processing agricultural products. When the collapse of farm prices occurs, the whole arrangement suffers severely.

There has been a substantial enlargement of agricultural production in the west because of the war. The number of hogs has doubled, the cattle population is at a peak, dairy and poultry production has spread to a marked degree, and very large quantities of oats, barley and flax have been produced. This expansion has been brought about by war needs. The farmers, having met the urgent need of the United Nations should not be penalized when peace comes for so doing.

Some degree of security is offered by the assurance that wool prices will be maintained for a year after the end of the war and that a two-year contract with Britain provides an outlet for 900 million pounds of pork. The present wheat price is guaranteed until July 31, 1945, but the whole system should be consolidated and extended.

Advantages gained by labor in the form of shorter hours and higher pay are seldom relinquished even during depressions. Sometimes workers consent to a decrease of 10 or 15 per cent in wages but only with the greatest reluctance. Farmers on the other hand had to see the prices of their products cut down by half or even worse. The unfairness of such a situation is obvious.

When the war ends the need of large quantities of food throughout the world will continue, but the farmers of this country should not be asked to supply such needs at a loss to themselves.

While politicians of certain stripes quibble over the supposed wrongfulness of gaining profits, very few will deny the fact that in order to live and continue in business farmers must make a reasonable revenue in excess of their costs. The establishment of floor prices for farm products will give a fair assurance that the efficient farmers will be able to continue on the land.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 47146

Name of Publication Halifax Herald

Date Dec.8/43

Subject

Their Right

IN his address delivered over the past weekend, the Prime Minister of Canada recognized that farmers in this country were "reasonably anxious about their post-war prospects". He announced that "as an essential part of its post-war policy, the Government intends to ask Parliament at the next session to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities" — and he added:

> "If to help win the war the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war."

But the farmers of Canada are not the only workers and producers who are "anxious about their post-war prospects". All workers and producers are anxious about the post-war years, the fishermen among the rest. And if it is good and desirable to place a "floor" under farm prices, then it is equally good and desirable to place a "floor" under prices received by working fishermen for their catches. Moreover, the occupation of the fishermen, always hazardous and arduous, is one involving real peril in wartime . . . and we must never forget this fact. The fish being consumed today by the Canadian people is taken at the risk of fishermen's lives and gear, and it gives the fishermen in this country additional hold upon our gratitude and consideration.

If these primary producers are to be spared what they experienced in "starvation" prices in the years between this war and the last, the policy now being adopted at Ottawa in relation to farm prices will have to be extended to fish prices. The fishermen are among the primary producers who have first call upon the protection of adequate public regulation and control.

Name of Publication Halifax Herald

Date Dec.8/43

Subject

What Kind Of Freedom?

AN EDITORIAL

THERE are the few to whom that overworked term "free enterprise" connotes not freedom to live and let live, but licence to exploit everyone and everything to their own advantage, for their own aggrandizement.

"Listening to some of them," as The Ottawa Journal very well remarks, "with their chant against 'controls', the impression gained by the average person is that what they want is complete freedom—including freedom to exploit. Thus they distort their own creed."

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

LET us take one example of what "completely free enterprise" has done in this country.

Before this war came, armies of Canadian primary producers were working for practically nothing, receiving returns tragically below the subsistence level. Many were receiving "ruinous, starvation" prices for their products.

Constantly it was urged that the State, their country, owed these citizens fair and adequate protection from the effects of these disastrous conditions.

This newspaper was among the people and agencies that were calling for minimum prices for these products — for a "floor" beneath the prices received by these primary producers. But, "free enterprise" shouted "No!" That would be "uneconomical": it "just couldn't be done".

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

WELL, it IS being done now. We have it on the word of the Prime Minister of Canada that it is to be done. Here is Mr. Mackenzie King's pledge, just uttered:

"As an essential part of its post war policy, the Government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities."

And if a "floor" should be placed "under the prices of the main farm commodities"— and it should be,— then, it is but fair and reasonable to ask that the policy be extended to cover other products, such as fish.

It is just here, of course, that justice comes into collision with "completely free enterprise" . . . where commonsense and reason collide with exploitation.

Give the "completely free enterprise" few their way and there will be no "floor" under anything upon which they desire to lay their hands. They will get what they want at "starvation" prices if they can. Make no mistake about that.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 7148

Name of Publication Halifax Herald

Date Dec.9/43

Subject

Minimum Levels

PRIME MINISTER KING announces a forthcoming outline "of plans for a national minimum of human welfare" in Canada.

In war-time, the principle of a national minimum for all citizens, in terms both of money and goods, is accepted and applied.

This principle should not be discarded in peace.

And if it can be afforded in war-time, when the stock of goods and services for civilian use and consumption are stringently restricted by the needs of war, how much more can it be afforded in the greater abundance of peace-time when the lion's share of the nation's resources have no longer to be dissipated in shot and shell.

The principle, we repeat, is sound, and is evidently so regarded by the Government, as the statement of the Prime Minister, with regard to a forthcoming announcement of plans, indicates.

A definite policy, plus preparedness to implement the policy, is an urgent essential.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 47149

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune

Date Dec.9/43

Subject

Inflation Front

Doubt Dilutes Hope

By TORCHY ANDERSON

OTTAWA—Hope diluted with doubt marked editorial reaction in Eastern Canada to the recent anti-inflation appeal of Prime Minister King.

In Toronto the government's champion, the *Star,* let Monday go by without any editorial reference to Mr. King's speech. To the *Telegram,* strongly anti-government, the new policy looked like "a government retreat."

Said the *Telegram*: "The government has not stood firm in the past and the changes in procedure announced by Mr. King are likely to make it even more difficult to hold the line (against inflation) in the future."

La Presse in Montreal took a friendly, factual attitude, hopeful that all would co-operate.

On the other side the *Montreal Gazette* was doubtful if appeasement would block inflation and continued:

"Ottawa has made the price ceiling stick by enforcement and firm insistence. But Mr. King and his colleagues have allowed the parallel wage ceiling to be seriously breached—thus threatening the price ceiling, too—through repeated 'exceptions' conceded to labor groups in industries such as steel and coal mining.

"It is questionable whether the government can, with the relatively moderate and appeasement - sweetened measures now proposed, hold back the bull of its own breeding that it now has by the tail."

The Toronto *Globe and Mail* found the speech "a humiliating admission." It said in part:

"There has not been inflation in prices of goods, only in earning powers, and this has been due to a weak-kneed policy. If Mr. King and his colleagues had adhered without reservation to the program they started with it would not have been necessary for him to come forward now and make promises in order to win goodwill and throw himself on the mercy of the people. The speech is a humiliating admission. The one redeeming feature is the assurance that an anti-inflation policy is being adhered to."

Grim warning that much depended on interests outside the government was found in the remarks of the Ottawa *Journal,* which said in part:

"If Labor leaders, by a procession of wage-increase demands, are willing to cut their own throats by inviting inflation, and if war regional boards, by weakness or lack of wisdom, are unprepared to hold the line, then the fight will be lost, with the continuing battle little more than a rearguard action. Wages cannot continue to rise without prices rising faster."

In a more friendly vein the Windsor *Star* concluded:

"On the whole, however, the Prime Minister's statement shows that advances have been made. It reflects a progressive attitude on the part of the government to adjust its policy to the manifest needs of the situation, and to adhere to its determination to maintain economic stability during this crisis. It will not be satisfactory to everyone, but it admits of no major criticism."

[From The Tribune Ottawa Bureau—
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 47150

Name of Publication Moncton Transcript

Date Dec.9/43

Subject

ONE IN 120

Nobody disputes the value of radio in its own field, but its value as a medium for making important public statements cannot be upheld so readily. The Transcript has commented before on the inadvisability of this procedure, as a result of observation of the results attained. Further evidence on the subject is presented by The Windsor Star. It canvassed 120 persons and found that only one in that number had heard in full Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Saturday night address on the Fight Against Inflation. Two others had heard part of it. The remainder had not listened. It is probable that a similar canvass taken in any part of the Dominion would have shown approximately the same lack of listeners. When a public statement is made over the radio, the people must wait for newspapers to furnish the news, and, since it comes to them second-hand, the newspapers cannot be expected to give it the prominence and space they would otherwise. Meanwhile there are misunderstandings of what had been said, and in a matter of importance garbled versions can gain considerable currency in the time that elapses between a Saturday night broadcast and the first opportunity most people have to read the newspaper reports.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D47151

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Dec. 9/43

Subject

Survey by the Windsor Star following Premier King's broadcast reveals the unseen audience wasn't listening either.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date DEC 9 - 1943

D 47152

Subject

Prime Minister King may now meditate: "You can put radio in ALL the homes of the people, but you can't make 'em listen to it when they don't want to."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune

Date Dec.10/43

D 47153

Subject

Ottawa's New Wage Control Policy

AS forecast in Mr. King's speech last Saturday, the Dominion government has now promulgated a new wage-control order designed to stabilize wages at present levels. Beginning on Feb. 15 next, employers are required to have their rates of pay adjusted, the basic rate thenceforth being the present wage plus the amount of the existing authorized cost-of-living bonus.

To ensure observance of the order more rigid penalties for both employers and employes for violation or evasion of its provisions have been set up. An employe who strikes to obtain an increase in the wage rates established under this order may be fined as much as $1,000 or imprisoned for as long as one year.

This is not the first time the government has provided severe penalties with the object of preventing strikes and securing wage stabilization. It remains to be seen whether when the test comes the government will enforce these penalties. The test of any policy designed to make work stoppages illegal and to stabilize wage levels lies in the degree of observance. Repeatedly in the past two years the government has waved the big stick and "talked tough," but it has been notably lacking in backbone at showdown time. If the government had used its undoubted powers at any time in the beginning, it could long ago have secured the objectives which are once more set forth in this order.

The new phases of policy embodied in the order are abandonment of the cost-of-living bonus, an increase in the ratio of neutral or impartial members of the National War Labor board (in relation to the "members representative of, though not officially representing" employers and employes), and finally increased authority over regional boards by the national board.

This latter provision is designed to secure greater uniformity of practice across Canada. Apparently, however, it is not the intention to level out minor differences in rates of pay as between different regions. For, while the national board has overriding powers, it is empowered to increase wage rates only in cases of "gross inequality or gross injustice."

There is provision for general review of the government's stabilization policy "if there is an appreciable and continued change in the cost of living." From the economic point of view it is evident that the new policy is meant to discourage whipsaw tactics producing a creeping advance in wage levels. Its success in this direction will depend very largely upon the ability of the national and regional boards to win the confidence of labor and labor organizations.

The new order should not be confused with the national labor code which is now being formulated. Evidently Mr. King and his government are going to great lengths to win the support of labor for a stabilization policy. It remains to be seen whether they can now accomplish what they set out to do in the fall of 1941, but muffed through appeasement tactics.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune

Date Dec.10/43

Subject

Ottawa's New Wage Control Policy

AS forecast in Mr. King's speech last Saturday, the Dominion government has now promulgated a new wage-control order designed to stabilize wages at present levels. Beginning on Feb. 15 next, employers are required to have their rates of pay adjusted, the basic rate thenceforth being the present wage plus the amount of the existing authorized cost-of-living bonus.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication L'Action Catholique

Date Dec.10/43

Subject

D 47154

par Roger Vézina

La clause d'échelle mobile

M. King vient d'annoncer l'intention du gouvernement canadien de supprimer les indemnités de vie chère, ou plutôt, de les ajouter aux salaires de base dont elles feront dorénavant partie. "Et si le coût de la vie vient à augmenter de plus de 3 p. 100 et reste à ce niveau pendant deux mois consécutifs, dit-on, le gouvernement revisera le programme de contrôle des prix et des salaires et adoptera les mesures voulues".

Cette idée de supprimer les bonis de vie chère en les incorporant tout simplement dans les salaires n'est certes pas mauvaise et part de l'intention du gouvernement de mettre fin à de nombreuses et ennuyeuses discussions, mais on aurait tort de croire que les causes de conflits, de mécontentement et de mésentente disparaîtront automatiquement avec la suppression des bonis. D'ailleurs, M. King ne semble pas se faire d'illusion puisqu'il nous parle de l'adoption de mesures "voulues", sans en spécifier la nature, si le coût de la vie venait à augmenter de plus de 3 p. 100. La survivance d'un tel phénomène, toujours possible dans les circonstances actuelles, remettrait en discussion, non plus les bonis, mais les salaires de base eux-mêmes. Et puisque c'est au coût de la vie que l'on semble s'en prendre de plus en plus, on nous permettra de dire où est le mal, à notre point de vue, et de suggérer le ou les remèdes appropriés.

Tout d'aobrd l'indice du coût de la vie est établi d'une façon scientifique et les bonis de vie chère le sont rarement : b) l'indice du coût de la vie est établi sur un plan national et les salaires et bonis ne le sont pas toujours. Il y aurait donc lieu d'établir (si c'est possible) des indices du coût de la vie provinciaux ou régionaux et d'y adapter automatiquement et scientifiquement les salaires en introduisant la clause dite "d'échelle mobile" dans les conventions collectives de travail.

En quoi consistent les clauses d'échelle mobile ? Ces clauses consistent dans l'adoption, comme étalon ou mesure des valeurs dans les échanges de services ou de marchandises, d'une ou de plusieurs marchandises, ou des nombres indices : niveau général des prix, indice du coût de la vie, indice des prix de gros, indice des matières premières, etc. Ainsi, une convention collective de travail dans laquelle on introduirait l'échelle mobile qu'est l'indice du coût de la vie pourrait se lire ainsi : "Le salaire hebdomadaire (salaire de base) de . . . sera de $00.00, somme que l'on devra majorer ou diminuer d'un montant proportionnel au changement survenu dans l'indice officiel du coût de la vie entre le moment de la signature de la convention et. . . tel autre moment . . . "

Une semblable clause offrirait le grand avantage de maintenir d'une façon à peu près constante la correspondance entre le salaire nominal et le salaire réel de l'employé. De plus. les salaires de base établis, ou revisés s'il y a lieu, elle éliminerait toute discussion ou mésentente ultérieure sur le désac-

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cord entre les salaires et le coût de la vie. En effet, la clause mobile permettrait d'ajouter scientifiquement et automatiquement les salaires au coût de la vie. Des syndicalistes objecteront peut-être qu'une diminution du coût de la vie impliquerait une réduction parallèle des salaires ? Pourquoi pas ? Au surplus, dans l'intérêt bien compris, sinon des chefs ouvriers, mais des ouvriers eux-mêmes, ce qui importe avant tout, c'est de maintenir d'une façon aussi constante que possible la correspondance entre salaires réels et salaires nominaux. Ce qui n'empêche nullement les intéressés d'ailleurs de modifier les conventions collectives ou les salaires de base de telle ou telle catégorie d'employés lorsqu'une telle modification s'impose ou est devenue justifiable.

Encore une fois, au nom de la justice et de l'ordre social nous ne saurions trop recommander l'usage de l'échelle mobile dans les conventions collectives de travail.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 10 1943

Subject

D 47166

WERE YOU LISTENING?

It is unfortunate that Prime Minister Mackenzie King should have chosen a Saturday night for the announcement of important matters of Government policy over the radio. By so doing he seriously decreased the number of Canadian citizens obtaining knowledge of his policy through this channel.

The Windsor Star has made an interesting test. It canvassed at random 120 persons with regard to the Prime Minister's speech last Saturday. Of these, 117 did not listen at all. Two heard part of the speech. Only one stayed up with the Prime Minister to the protracted end.

To complete its test, the Windsor Star ought to have asked this lone listener how much of the speech he remembered.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication L'Action Catholique

Date Dec.10/43

Subject

D17157

Le régime des conventions collectives obligatoires

Dans son discours de samedi dernier, le Premier Ministre du Canada a annoncé l'établissement prochain d'un régime de conventions collectives obligatoires dans les industries de guerre. Autant il faut se réjouir de l'évolution de notre législation en ce sens, autant il faut en surveiller, nous de la province de Québec, l'application de près.

* * *

Les unions ouvrières réclament cette mesure depuis assez longtemps déjà. Leurs délégations y faisaient presque toujours allusion quand elles rencontraient le gouvernement fédéral. Lors de l'enquête du Conseil National du Travail, en mai dernier, elles insistèrent sur la nécessité de cette mesure soutenant que ce serait là la façon la plus efficace d'enrayer les conflits industriels. Par contre, — et c'était très naturel — un des groupements patronaux les plus puissants du pays, l'Association des Manufacturiers canadiens, s'y opposa avec une grande fermeté, faisant valoir que la plupart des grèves, depuis le commencement de la guerre, s'étaient déclarées précisément dans des entreprises où il existait des unions ouvrières. *"L'analyse des grèves récentes*, lit-on dans son mémoire, *démontrent que les plus graves d'entre elles se sont déclarées dans des industries où il y avait des unions, pendant que, d'autre part, les industries où on ne trouvait d'unions jouissaient de relations industrielles plus harmonieuses que les précédentes. Prétendre que l'usine "libre" favorise le désordre et les grèves, et que l'usine "syndiquée" favorise la paix, l'harmonie et une production maximum est contraire aux faits tant aux Etats-Unis qu'au Canada.*

Aussi la question se pose-t-elle dans les milieux ouvriers et patronaux : Quelle sera donc ce régime de conventions collectives obligatoires ? Le code des relations industrielles dont le Premier Ministre a annoncé la publication très prochaine nous l'apprendra sans aucun doute. Ce régime différera-t-il sensiblement de notre loi des conventions collectives avec extension juridique ? Aura-t-elle une certaine extension juridique ou obligera-telle simplement tel patron à négocier un accord avec ses employés quand ceux-ci lui en feront la demande? Autant de questions que se posent depuis dimanche les gens qui s'intéressent aux questions ouvrières.

En tout état de cause, on peut affirmer dès maintenant, à la lumière des expressions d'opinions opposées auxquelles nous avons fait allusion il y a un instant, que ce régime nouveau donnera de bons résultats dans la mesure où on définira clairement les droits du Capital et du Travail, où on jugera de façon prompte et impartiale tous

les conflits; où on exécutera à la lettre ses jugements. Sinon, cette législation sera vaine. Loin d'améliorer les relations industrielles, elle les rendra plus tendues, en creusant en quelque sorte la tranchée qui existe déjà entre les deux groupes.

* * *

Pour nous de la province de Québec, la question se pose sous un autre aspect; cette loi ne portera-t-elle pas un nouveau coup à notre autonomie en entravant le fonctionnement de notre loi des conventions collectives avec extension juridique et en détournant nos travailleurs des services du ministère provincial du Travail ? N'est-ce pas très plausible ?

Le Premier Ministre a bien déclaré dans son discours: *Le pouvoir d'édicter des lois tendant à rendre obligatoires les conventions collectives appartient aux provinces. Des conférences récentes tenues avec les autorités provinciales ont donné lieu à une entente sur le principe de coopération dans l'institution et l'exécution d'un régime obligatoire de conventions collectives.*

Ce pouvoir appartient aux provinces, le premier ministre le reconnait. Nous nous plaisons même à monter en épingle cette déclaration. De la conférence interprovinciale, on a tiré un principe de collaboration. Nous en sommes. Mais nos craintes demeurent. Nous n'oublions pas que les décrets de guerre ont souvent rogné nos droits. Nous n'oublions pas que le vent est à la centralisation à outrance. Nous nous souvenons des remarques contenues dans un récent mémoire présenté au gouvernement provincial par la Confédération des Travailleurs catholiques du Canada dans lequel on lisait textuellement : *Sur le plan constitutionnel, on a l'impression, à certains moments, et surtout dans le monde du travail que les provinces font parti non d'une Confédération, mais d'une Union législative.*

Il importe d'y songer. Les positions doivent être clairement définies, les frontières bien délimitées. Il faut savoir ce qu'on entend par industrie de guerre. Ce terme d'une certaine façon et dans un certain sens peut désigner la plupart des industries du pays, car toutes participent de quelque manière à l'effort de guerre.

L'expression de cette crainte nous amène à une suggestion. Dans les circonstances actuelles, afin de contrebalancer auprès des employés et des patrons l'influence de cette législation fédérale, ne conviendrait-il pas que la Province rende de son côté obligatoires les contrats collectifs ? La prochaine session comportera probablement une révision de nos lois ouvrières. C'est le temps d'agir. D'ailleurs, le rapport Prévost ne dit-il pas : *"Pour le cas où il existerait encore quelque patron qui soit opposé au principe du contrat collectif de travail, nous suggérons*

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D 47159

que la loi décrète que, dans tout établissement visé par la loi, le patron soit tenu de négocier un contrat de ce genre lorsqu'il en est requis par plus de la moitié de ses ouvriers. C'est encore le meilleur moyen d'empêcher certains groupements de favoriser directement ou indirectement la centralisation.

* * *

Ce régime de conventions collectives obligatoires peut rendre service au pays. Si sa direction est confié à un organisme impartial et d'une autorité reconnue de tous, il peut contribuer à l'amélioration des relations industrielles dans une certaine mesure. Cependant, pour nous du Québec, il contient un danger provenant de la politique centralisatrice de certaines organisations de patrons comme d'ouvriers. C'est pourquoi nous croyons qu'une excellente manière de réduire ce danger à son minimum, ce serait l'adoption par le gouvernement provincial d'une loi rendant les contrats collectifs obligatoires.

André ROY

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Charlottetown Guardian

Date Dec.10/43

D 47160

Subject

ONE IN 120

The Windsor Star canvassed 120 persons and found that only one in that number had heard in full Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Saturday night address on the Fight Against Inflation. Two others had heard part of it. The remainder had not listened. "It is probable," adds the Moncton Transcript (Liberal), "that a similar canvass taken in any part of the Dominion would have shown approximately the same lack of listeners. When a public statement is made over the radio, the people must wait for newspapers to furnish the news, and, since it comes to them second-hand, the newspapers cannot be expected to give it the prominence and space they would otherwise. Meanwhile there are misunderstandings of what had been said, and in a matter of importance garbled versions can gain considerable currency in the time that elapses between a Saturday night broadcast and the first opportunity most people have to read the newspaper reports."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 10 1943

D 17161

Subject

"Mr. Moderate Means"

Sir,—The Prime Minister, in his radio address of Saturday, told us a "floor" would be placed under farm prices during the war and after the war "so that the income of the farmers would be maintained at current levels."

The Prime Minister also told us that labor would have the present cost of living bonus, some 18.4 per cent. as assessed by Ottawa, added to wages, thus establishing new basic wage rates for all classes of labor in Canada.

We were also told that Canada was to have "compulsory bargaining," but it was not made clear what was the meaning of "compulsory."

The Prime Minister told us how earnestly he and his associates had worked "to level down the incomes of those of moderate and more than moderate means" and to bring up the incomes of those of less than moderate means.

The writer is curious to know, being amongst those obviously unhappy people who, prior to the wartime taxation, did enjoy the flesh pots of moderate means, just why, we are singled out from all classes of the community for tantamount confiscation of resources.

I am not enquiring about my brethren "of more than moderate means" although I am unable to understand why they are any less desirable citizens than those with "moderate" or "less than moderate" means. I am quite selfish in my enquiry because it would appear to me that the Prime Minister in a truly advanced socialistic gesture has shut the door very tightly upon any hopes I may have had that somewhere in the post-war years I could expect a release of some of my pre-1940 available income.

Could anybody tell me where I have gone wrong in my philosophy of life when, approaching the termination of the active portion of it, I find the finger of my Prime Minister pointed at me as a less desirable citizen than the farmers and somebody called labor and I am told that I must be punished for the misdeeds of some 40 active years of what I erroneously considered as "service to the community?"

It is obvious I have gone wrong somewhere so, if I may, I will quite briefly outline the actions which apparently lead not to success but to ultimate destruction of resources.

Let us say 40-45 years ago, as a small boy, finding, like many another small boy, that it was necessary to eat if one continued to wish to live, I got my first job. My wages were, in the currency of another country, one dollar and twenty-five cents per week of 60 hours. It is thus established that I commenced my business career in what the Prime Minister would call the "less than moderate means" class. A hasty survey of the next 10 years, or so, shows an apprenticeship to a trade of sorts that was paid for to the tune of $250, a night school course that cost $15 per year and provided at the end of four years a certificate that told all and sundry I was an engineer of sorts.

Then there was a boat trip of 2,000 miles, or so, and at the beginning of the Year of our Lord 1940, I was, undeniably, a man of "moderate means" who in the course of the years had developed a taste for living in a nice residential suburb and sending his children to schools of higher learning and making some provision for the protection of these assets when my active years of life were over or, should I not continue to grace the scene, to help for a time to protect those obligations of wife and children who might be left behind to battle alone.

❖ ❖ ❖

So it is I find myself when the Prime Minister calls in his financial experts to show him how and where he may raise the billions necessary to run participation in the world conflict and the Prime Minister places an accusing finger on "Mr. Moderate Means," myself, and he orders "level him down" and there follows:

(1) My income is pegged.

(2) I get no cost of living bonus.

(33) My income tax is increased from slightly over $300 to slightly under $2,000 (including refundable portion).

(4) A war tax on my coal, light, gas, telephone and everything else I purchase except part edibles.

(5) An increase in my cost of living which Ottawa says is 18.4 per cent. but which I find is nearer 50 per cent. for foodstuffs which I must buy and where the producer must have a "floor" and labor must have a cost of living bonus added to basic wages.

(6) Demands upon me for Victory loans, Red Cross War Services, Y.M.C.A., and charities, who find it necessary for everybody to give more as it costs more for charity administration, etc.

(7) Bills for higher education go up. Doctors and dentist charges go up, because they tell me their taxes are so much higher.

(8) My insurance premiums remain unchanged and if I try to change them downward I merely transfer the education to my taxes, or refundable after the War, portion thereof. I do not get any of it as permanently usable currency should I so desire to make such use of it.

Therefore, as I cannot change the upward move in the cost of the things I must buy and the Prime Minister says I must be "levelled down" and I am undoubtedly "levelled down," my whose philosophy of life must be in error and as I have no Mr. Lewis, or Mr. Green, or even Mr. Mosher to speak for me, possibly because I contribute nothing to them or being themselves in the "above moderate means" bracket they cannot bother with me. I am wondering if some of your readers, or perhaps, yourself, can offer a solution to my dilemma that I may so instruct those that follow after me and save them from my errors.

"PUZZLED."

Westmount, December 6.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Dec.11/43

D 47162

Subject

The New Wage Policy

The new wage order, P.C. 9384, in order to be understood, must be put in perspective in the development of the government's general ceiling policy which is now more than two years old. With this in mind, it is proper to recall Mr. King's broadcast made a week ago today. In it he said:

> In the battle of inflation . . . the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would . . . make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.
>
> The war labor boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.
>
> The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction.
>
> The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates. The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will provide a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of labor than was provided by the cost of living bonus.
>
> If the cost of living rises more than three per cent. and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

* * *

Obviously the government is taking the sensible line of refusing to bind itself irrevocably to a certain policy. It is prepared to adjust its policy to conditions as they change in the future, and it is making no new commitments now.

But it is also obvious that the new wage order represents a last-ditch stand to hold the line against inflation. The power of the regional boards is being contracted. It is not only going to be more difficult from now on to get wage increases through the War Labor Board; it is going to be impossible to rush them wholesale through the back door, as it were, by using regional war labor boards.

Hitherto the only cases which reached the national board were those which regional boards had not settled to the satisfaction of employees and employers. Hereafter the national board will pass on every award made by the regional boards. Power is given to set awards aside, to reduce as well as to increase wages.

To appreciate the importance of this change, it is necessary to go back to the way the old system operated; in the scramble for skilled workers which developed as our war production pro-

D 47163

gramme got rolling, first one employer and then another went to regional boards and got wage increases through. He had to do it to keep his staff, and of course it cost him nothing because the government was paying the shot.

For example, if an increase was obtained for a group of artisans in Toronto, groups of the same artisans in all other centres used this as a lever to obtain raises. Then the original group would go back and ask for more, because another group had got more.

The government's original scheme was to make Oct. 15, 1941, the anchorage for its wage ceiling. Wages could not be raised above the level of that date. If the cost of living rose, there was to be an increase in the cost of living bonus.

The trouble with this anchorage was that it was ignored by some of the provincial boards and by the government itself in a number of notable cases. Arguments over what the wage of Canadian workers should be went far afield. They even went into what was being paid in United States steel plants and coal mines. The October, 1941, wage level was buried completely under a mass of extraneous information and completely lost to sight.

Where regional boards did hew to the line, the workers in their provinces had to sit back and watch wages rise steadily elsewhere.

* * *

Last summer in an effort to get the regional boards back on track, the government issued an order forbidding its contractors to join employees in asking for wage increases or holidays with pay. Aside from bringing the organized labor movement down on the head of Mr. C. D. Howe, who issued the order, this appeared to accomplish little. The regional boards continued to go their separate ways.

In the meantime, between the wage freezing in 1941 and the new order, more than two million workers have obtained $150 million a year increase in income.

The way in which the order will be interpreted by the enlarged board remains to be seen, but it is against this background that the new policy will operate.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saturday Night

Date Dec.11/43

Subject

D 47164

MR. KING, in his speeh last Saturday, dwelt only on the necessity for fighting inflation, but he seemed to show awareness, even if he did not communicate it to his audience, of the possibility that the post-war trend of prices will actually be downward rather than up. In announcing that payment of the wartime cost-of-living bonus will be stopped and the amount of the bonus incorporated in basic wage rates, Mr. King said this would afford "a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of labor than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus." As inflexible basic wage rates would certainly not be a better safeguard against rising prices than the flexible cost-of-living bonus, his statement could only mean that he envisages the possibility that prices and the cost of living may decline instead of rise, automatically eliminating the cost-of-living bonus and reducing labor's money income. He seeks to guard labor against this eventuality.

If this is a correct interpretation of Mr. King's statement, it may be pointed out that he is not alone in holding this view. The popular belief is that the public, with pockets full of wartime savings, will rush to buy goods immediately the war ends, and that with goods in short supply pending the full-scale resumption of peacetime production, the result may be a runaway rise in prices. Many acute observers, on the other hand, hold that the ending of the war will release such huge governmental stocks of goods for public consumption, and industry will produce so abundantly, that there will be an actual surplus of goods, which will operate to push prices downward.

If this proves to be the case, it will be decidedly hard on industry and on the volume of employment if it is not possible to make wage adjustments accordingly. The effect would be definitely deflationary, as industry's only recourse would be to reduce working staffs. Surely deflation should be recognized as the twin evil of inflation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 23 1943

D 47165

Subject

COHEN AVERS KING NOT CANDID IN TALK

Prime Minister's Speech on Inflation on December 4 Is Criticized

Toronto, December 22.—(CP)—J. L. Cohen, former member of the National War Labor Board, said today Prime Minister Mackenzie King was "not candid or truthful" with the Canadian people in his speech on inflation of December 4.

Addressing a meeting of business and professional men sponsored by the C.C.F., Mr. Cohen said "the Prime Minister stated at that time that the government was prepared to accept the main proposals on which the majority and minority reports of the National War Labor Board agreed as a basis for a revised labor policy."

"But there are gross inequalities between the recommendations in either report and the provisions of the latest order-in-council on wages. . . .

"I do not wish to discuss the former National War Labor Board since I was a member of it, but one of the recommendations of both the chairman and myself is that labor be given adequate representation on all government boards. Instead of following the recommendation, the government will set up a new board of six members, on which labor is to have one representative."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

5766/43

Date Jan. 19/44

D 17166

Subject

Consolidating the Gain

In his recent broadcast on the battle against inflation, Prime Minister King said the Government believes that, with the co-operation of the public, the cost of living can be held down to the present level. Therefore the existing cost-of-living bonuses are to be added to and become part of basic wage rates. No further bonuses are to be paid, the bonus policy being abandoned.

The reasoning is fairly clear. There has been a drastic levelling out of incomes during the war, brought about in two ways. Many low incomes have been supplemented by the cost-of-living bonus. Large incomes have been heavily hit by steeply graded income taxation. As a result there never was a time when the net incomes which earners could spend on themselves have been so near equality. The man with a large income has less of it to spend than formerly; the man of low income has more.

The plan is to "peg" the lower incomes at the level to which they have been raised by the cost-of-living bonus. In other words, to make permanent the higher standard of living thus made possible to people in the poorer paid occupations.

No one imagines of course that all the unjust inequalities have been ironed out of the wage schedule. There still remain classes who should be getting higher pay to put them on a fair footing with others. Provision will have to be made to deal with such cases. But we have gone a long way toward establishing reasonable proportion between incomes, and this measure of equalization is being made to "stick", by raising the basic wage rates.

Canada has had, as Mr. King said, "a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country". That is true. Those who have benefitted by the levelling-up are not to lose what they have gained. That is why basic wage rates are being established at the level of former basic rates plus cost-of-living bonuses.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Jan. 11/44

Subject

5166/43

D 17167

F.D.R.'S NEW 'BILL OF RIGHTS' LIKE PREMIER KING'S SET-UP

Washington, Jan. 11—President Roosevelt's "Second Bill of Rights," presented to Congress today, under which he said a new basis of security and prosperity could be established for all, included these points:

The right to a useful and remunerative job;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food, clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to a return for his products which will provide a decent living for him and his family;

The right of every business man to be free from unfair competition and domination by monopolies;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and an opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from economic fears in old age, illness, accident and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

Follows Premier King

In a broadcast on the battle against inflation, delivered Dec. 6, 1943, Prime Minister King outlined "a national minimum of social security and human welfare" for Canada. The new "Bill of Rights" proposed by President Roosevelt today follows almost exactly the objectives proposed by Mr. King.

Prime Minister King said: "That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill-health and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives."

Earlier in the same address Mr. King announced a "floor" under farm prices "to insure against an agricultural depression after the war." He also announced a revised labor policy in which the standard will be "the removal of gross inequalities and injustices."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date DEC 6 1943

Subject

D 47168

Labor Leaders Silent On King's Proposals

Pending further study of the suggestions, Canadian labor leaders declined last night to comment immediately on Prime Minister King's broadcast address last night outlining proposals for a new labor code and a new wage-control order.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 6 1943

Subject

D 47169

KING RADIO SPEECH HAILED BY HADDOW

Mandatory Collective Bargaining Seen Big Victory for Labor

WARNING IS ISSUED

Union Leader Urges 'Pressure' on Government for Fulfilment of Promises

Labor's first official reaction to Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address on Saturday night, in which he informed Canadians that collective bargainmg will be mandatory, was voiced yesterday afternoon by Robert Haddow, Grand Lodge representative of the International Machinists Union, at a mass meeting of Lodge 712 at Assistance Public Hall. Mr. Haddow said Mr. King's announcement regarding collective bargaining constituted one of the "biggest victories" of the labor movement, if, and as long as the workers put enougn pressure on the Government and on Mr. King to put these promises into effect."

"Only our continued fight for the principles of our labor movement, be it in the shop, before the National and Regional War Labor Boards and Federal Government bodies, which in the past have been favoring the textile and aluminum barons instead of playing ball with labor, can secure the fair wages, decent working conditions and an honest incentive bonus," said Mr. Haddow,

He spoke before a large group of shop committee members who were called into a special conference after the recent ngative reply of the National War Labor Board to the demand of Lodge 712 for the granting of the back-time bonus, which caused a ten-day strike last summer.

Mr. Haddow, in his short comment on Mr. King's statements said "I have no doubt that the Prime Minister will do these things, if you and I, the common workers of this country, who have increased our production of airplanes, who have done all we can to win the war, will compel our Government to apply these policies." He stated that unless the present representatives of the people do realize that labor wants a share in this Government progressive labor legislation enforced by a sufficient number of labor members would show them how this country should be run.

"Not many of our present day politicians have an idea of the important task confronting the great masses now and after the war is won", he said. "They are daydreaming, but always in one direction, away from the problem, into the hands of monopolies and against the best interests of the common man." He proposed some definite political action through the members of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, who, he said, should implement the decision of the Trades and Labor Congress, held at Quebec. The new demand would urge the Congress to consider political action as the only means to "counteract the present anti-labor policy of some existing political parties."

MITTCHELL IS BLAMED.

Jean Pare, business agent of the lodge blamed Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labor, of having cooperated with company unionism in the past and indicated that "Lodge 712 is in for a great fight" against all "evil" forces which appear wherever questions of labor are discussed. He gave a review of the various disputes and asked the Lodge members, after an endorsation of the post-war aims of labor, announced last week by Percy Bengough, "to continue the struggle, in spite of some alarming tactics used by rival unions, companies and governments."

Irvin Burman, finance secretary, outlined the danger of the recently discussed incentive bonus system and its effect upon the income of the workers. He traced what he termed the "pitfalls of a bonus system which can do miracles for the management at the expense of the worker, but which can also be applied in a fair way." He discussed in detail some of the schemes now in experimental application in some local plants and advocated that labor "should have a say" in formulating any company policy dealing with time study, piece work and changes in the basic wage rates.

Several resolutions embodying these demands were accepted by the 300 representatives of the various Montreal plants. During the discussion strong criticism was voiced against the reported recent decision of the Regional War Labor Board to accept the incentive bonus plan proposed by some "company forces" without having consulted the Lodge or labor at large, as required under the regulation governing changes of existing wages and working conditions. There was unanimous approval of a "political action" program and of the decisions made by the executive officers during the past year. The next meeting of the Lodge will be held on Sunday afternoon.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

5172/43

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

Date Dec.7/43

Subject

D 47170

Laborite Says Premier Quoted Wrong Figure

Charge was made Monday at the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council by Carl E. Berg, vice-president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, that the cost of living index figure quoted in a recent speech by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, was not a true figure of the cost of living increase. He said that this figure was a fictitious one, and bore no real relation to the increase in living costs.

He said that any housekeeper, or persons purchasing the commodities of everyday for the home knew full well that this figure was not anywhere near the cost of living increase that has taken place since the beginning of the war.

Mr. Berg said that the only commodity that has been strictly regulated to the ceiling has been wages. Other commodities have been permitted to advance, and the worker has been called upon to pay for these advances although his wages have not been increased to meet the advanced costs.

EARLY DISCUSSION

He said that the cost of living increase and other matters would be discussed at a meeting of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada's executive in the near future.

Ald. Parsons asked that consideration be given at that meeting to the making of presentations to the Dominion government relative to the restoration of the 1929 level of wages, and also to the adoption of a uniform cost of living bonus throughout Canada.

Mr. Berg intimated that considerable organization work would be undertaken by the trades congress during 1944, adding that an objective of 100,000 new members had been set. He said that during 1943 70,000 new members were enrolled.

Petition formulated by the Beverage Dispenseries' Union, and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, asking Premier Ernest Manning and J. A. King, liquor commissioner, to consider the matter of re-issuing of license to the King Edward hotel management to operate during 1944. It was pointed out in the petition that the hotel management had refused to agree to an order of the Regional War Labor Board in respect to certain wage awards.

A resolution also passed by the meeting requested a speed-up of prosecutions pending against the hotel management for refusal to implement the War Labor Board's ruling.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication CREDIT WORLD Magazine
(Canadian number)

Date January 1944

D 47171



The BATTLE Against Inflation

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M. P.
Prime Minister of Canada

THE WORLD'S ATTENTION has recently been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focused upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with postwar problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won.

The Need to Continue an Utmost Effort

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of postwar problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners: they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives; workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the war began, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up, and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

PRESS CLIPPINGS D17172 Office of The Prime Minister

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up. But wages and salaries never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, the fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war, and in the postwar period. What I wish to impress upon you is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the postwar period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy, unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years, it was an up-hill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago, when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent as compared with 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent, which is just ten times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war. We would be lessening the purchasing power of money in our possession, and penalizing all whose incomes are fixed. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run, all stand to lose.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were "frozen," the government did not "freeze" all wages. We knew there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and Regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why if prices were to be controlled it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, no one could be sure how far it would be possible to hold

(Turn to "The Battle," page 31.)

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 47173 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publi

Date

Subject

down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established, at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Basic Living Standards—Basic Wage Rates

In the battle against inflation, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

Postwar Objectives

On another occasion, I hope to outline plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as *a national minimum of social security and human welfare;* not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our postwar objectives.

The battle against inflation must be won to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

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75		The Battle Against Inflation, Radio Broadcast	4 Dec. 1943	D 46923 - D 47173	
75		Radio Broadcast to Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 47174 - D 47175	
75		Canada's New Year's Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 47176 - D 47177	
76		Mr. King's New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Jan. 1944	D 47178	
76		One Hundredth Birthday of Sir William Mulock, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1944	D 47179 - D 47202	
76		Parliament - Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament (closing)	26 Jan. 1944	D 47203 - D 47204	
76		Parliament - Speech from the Throne on Opening the Parliament	27 Jan. 1944	D 47205 - D 47209	
76		Japanese Treatment of Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	28 Jan. 1944	D 47210 - D 47227	
76		Speech on Address. Speeches in Parliament	31 Jan. 1944	D 47228 - D 47232	

D 47174

Christmas Message from Prime Minister Mackenzie King
Broadcast to Canada's Armed Forces
in the Mediterranean Area
December 25, 1943

On this Christmas Day, I am particularly happy to have the opportunity to speak to the men and women who are serving abroad in Canada's forces. I do so on behalf of all Canadians. From all at home, I bring to you the warmest of Christmas greetings.

For some of you, this will be the fifth Christmas away from your homes and your loved ones. Whether your absence has been long or short, you are all, more than ever, in our thoughts.

When the war began in September, 1939, none of us could have foreseen that in 1943, many thousands of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen would be spending Christmas in Italy, North Africa and throughout the Mediterranean area. This year, in the Mediterranean, Canadian sailors have been writing a brilliant chapter in the naval history of our country. In Africa, Italy and the Middle East, Canadian airmen are adding, day by day, to the highest traditions in aerial warfare.

In Sicily, some six months ago, the landing of Canadian troops, along with British and American troops, marked the very beginning of the battle for the liberation of Europe. Within three months, Italy had surrendered unconditionally. Since that hour, we at home have been following your fight against the Nazi enemy, with an interest and pride which have mounted with each succeeding day. All Canada is proud of your achievements in battle.

At this Christmas Season, you have reason to rejoice that you are fighting to preserve the spirit of Christmas itself. You are fighting to save from destruction its contribution to civilization and to extend, throughout the world, its influence for good.

D 47175

Mingled with our Christmas wishes is the remembrance of those of your comrades whose sepulchre is the sounding sea or the soil of distand lands. There could be no more fitting symbol of their sacrifice than the crusaders' cross which you have raised near the battlefield of Agira. Its symbolism holds its place in our hearts, as it does in yours.

To your comrades in arms of the United Nations, I extend, with you, the warmest of fraternal greetings. You are all joined together in a militant brotherhood to uphold in arms the Christian ideal of human brotherhood which is the hope of the world.

With these greetings from Canada, I bring you the assurance that your country is united in support of your efforts. Like you, we are all resolved to exert ourselves to the utmost to ensure victory, and to ensure it as speedily as possible.

As you enter the New Year, remember that every day you will be in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and that the efforts of all in Canada will be joined with yours to hasten your safe return to your native land.

My renewed best of wishes to you all!

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D 47176

CANADA'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

December 31, 1943

As we pass from the Old Year into the New, the thoughts of all Canada are of the men and women who are serving in our armed forces throughout the world, defending, with their lives, our liberties and the world's freedom. Our thoughts are of the wounded, the maimed, and the suffering; and of those who are confined to prison camps. One and all have their place in our hearts tonight.

Our thoughts are of the homes that have been bereaved of their loved ones. Our thoughts are of the great company who have already given their lives that evil forces may be overborne and Christian civilization may survive. We will hold, in reverence, for all time, the memory of their supreme sacrifice. It has given to their names, and to the name of our country, an immortal place.

Our soldiers, sailors and airmen have fought and continue to fight, in order that everything which free men value and cherish may remain our inheritance, and become the heritage of future generations.

Tonight we are resolved, as never before, that their sacrifice shall not be in vain; that their warfare shall be crowned with victory.

For our armed forces, 1944 will bring harder fighting, and heavier losses. For all of us at home, that should mean more of high endeavour, a deeper unity, and the utmost effort we can put forth. Only, if we all do our part, may we hope to witness the defeat and collapse of Nazi Germany in the coming year.

In the arena of world conflict, wherever the sons and daughters of Canada may be, we send to them tonight the word that their lives are more precious to us than all else; that our supreme aim is to ensure their early return to their own homeland. We want them

D 47177

to know that a united country is waiting to greet them with gratitude and pride. It is of that hour we are thinking as we welcome the dawn of a new year, the days of which give promise of victory.

What we wish for our own, we wish also for the fighting forces of all the United Nations.

W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister.

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KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 76, pages D 47178 - D 47969

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram 5/66

Date Jan. 5/44

Subject

D 47178

Premier King is Told That It Will Be Fault of His Government if the Boys Feel Disappointed When They Come Home.

Editor, Telegram:

Sir,—The people of this Dominion, and Ontario in particular, are constantly urged to "face facts" and make greater efforts to win the war. It is with this in view that I take exception to the New Year's message of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. His message claims that all the people of Canada are thinking of our men overseas and of our liberties and the freedom of the world for which they are fighting and dying. He also claims a united country awaits their return, and that, "Only if we all do our part may we hope to witness the defeat and collapse of Nazi Germany in the coming year.

To me, the Prime Minister's message has all the earmarks of one of the famous $9,000-a-year-ghost-writer series. It is superfluous to claim a "united Canada" awaits their return, or that "the thoughts of all Canada are of the men and women of our armed forces." Does Mr. King honestly believe the admitted 100,000 and more draft-evaders care a tinker's hoot about those in our armed forces overseas except for the protection provided for their (draft evaders) own worthless carcasses?

In view of the plebiscite vote, and Mr. King's refusal to recognize the will of the majority, does he really believe our men will return from overseas and regard Canada as a "united country" which backed them 100 per cent. to ensure their return at the earliest moment? Was the disfranchisement of thousands of those overseas the act of a government which had their every interest at heart? Are we to forget that Mr. King fought tooth and nail against the very Empire Air Training Plan which his party has since sought to capitalize?

The people of Canada who have been backing our boys to the limit since 1939 have been facing facts for a long time and will render their decision at the next federal election.

—BERT KNIGHT.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
75		The Battle Against Inflation, Radio Broadcast	4 Dec. 1943	D 46923 - D 47173	
75		Radio Broadcast to Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 47174 - D 47175	
75		Canada's New Year's Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 47176 - D 47177	
76		Mr. King's New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Jan. 1944	D 47178	
76		One Hundredth Birthday of Sir William Mulock, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1944	D 47179 - D 47202	
76		Parliament - Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament (closing)	26 Jan. 1944	D 47203 - D 47204	
76		Parliament - Speech from the Throne on Opening the Parliament	27 Jan. 1944	D 47205 - D 47209	
76		Japanese Treatment of Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	28 Jan. 1944	D 47210 - D 47227	
76		Speech on Address. Speeches in Parliament	31 Jan. 1944	D 47228 - D 47232	

D 47179

Address by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
At the Presentation of a Tree
To
Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock
On His One Hundredth Birthday Anniversary
By
The Men of the Trees.

Toronto - January 19, 1944.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

With your kind permission, I shall address my few remarks to Sir William Mulock. It is to honour Sir William on his One Hundredth birthday anniversary we are assembled at his city residence today.

Sir William:

I am sure you will agree that there is something most appropriate about this little ceremony being held, in part, in the open. God's out-of-doors is the home of the trees; and it is "The Men of the Trees" who have come to do you honour, and to make a presentation to you on your One Hundredth birthday anniversary.

We are a small company, but today we represent the people of Canada. We do more than represent our contemporaries, for we speak also for many of an earlier generation, to whom, like ourselves, your life has been an inspiration, and for many of future generations, to whom it will be a benediction.

The presentation which I now have the honour to make on behalf of the assembled company, is the large walnut tree which, at the moment, has its place on the lawn of this your city residence. It is to be transported immediately to North York, and planted in the Yonge Street public park. It will thus have a lasting association with the constituency in which you were born, and which, for almost a quarter of a century, you represented in the Parliament of Canada. It will also be associated with the city whose most honoured citizen you have been for an even greater length of time.

May I say, Sir William, that I can think of no more fitting symbol of your own life than that which is suggested by the gift being made to you today by "The Men of the Trees". You have lived from the forties of one century to the forties of another. A tree, a century old, to endure so long, would have had to have its roots planted in the right kind of soil, and its early years properly nurtured. No soil could be better than that of North York. North York was your place of birth. It was the cradle of free government in this old province of Ontario. You have told us that the most precious possession of your life is the remembrance of the lavish devotion of your own dear mother, and the kindness and affection of relatives and friends. In this you have revealed to us hidden sources of your strength. In words, with which Dr. Cody will be familiar, you were "rooted and grounded in love".

But, while strength may owe much to secret sources, it is the buffetings in the open that test and make the sinews of a man, no less than the fibres of a tree. Of the storms and stresses of life you, Sir William, have had your full share. No man could be in politics for a quarter of a century, in opposition or in office, and not know something about all kinds of weather.

Yours, Sir William, has not been an easy life, nor a life of ease. It has been - as I, who know it well, can say - a life of tireless industry, a life which has fought prejudice and bigotry at every turn; a life of constant effort to right existing wrongs, to further good-will and to better conditions for your fellow-men; a life which has continuously sought to advance the interests of our country and of the great Empire of which it is a part.

Your career in Parliament speaks for itself. As Postmaster General, in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it was you who were responsible for the establishment of a two-cent postage rate from Canada to all parts of the Empire, and, on your motion, penny postage was adopted within the Empire. It was you who initiated the first steps toward the construction of the Pacific Cable. It was you who first introduced in the House of Commons what was known as "the Fair Wages Resolution", to prevent the evil of sweat shop conditions, and to ensure the workers on government contracts

D 47181

"a fair day's wage for a fair day's work". It was you who introduced in Parliament the bill to establish a Department of Labour for Canada. You were Canada's first Minister of Labour. That was nearly forty-three years ago.

Did time permit, I might speak at length of other of your many-sided activities to which reference has already been made by Col. Drew, the Premier of this Province, and to other interests and causes with which your life has been identified. Suffice it to say that, in you, your fellow Canadians recognize one who has been, at all times, a friend of the oppressed, a lover of liberty, a champion of freedom, and one who, throughout his life, has held high, and firm, the standards of right, and truth, and justice.

Just one more word. A tree to live to a great age must be sound at heart. Sir Wilfrid Laurier once said to me: "Mulock has the largest heart of any man I know". You have a great heart, Sir William, and it is that, above all else - your broad and human sympathies - that have won you the hosts of friends who have been yours all along the way, and who surround, and delight to honour you, today.

Pervading all you have done, and have sought most to accomplish, in your long and active career, is your large and generous humanity. And so, through years to come, your fellow Canadians will think of you, as one thinks of some mighty tree, that has helped to shelter the generations that have passed, or rested, beneath its boughs. They will think of you, and your century of years, as one who lived to a grand old age, and whose long and active life was devoted to the public good.

I bring to you, Sir William, today, on your One Hundredth birthday anniversary, the congratulations and the good wishes of the Government, the Parliament, and the people of Canada.

D 47182

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At the Presentation of a Tree,
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D 47183

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D47186

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I bring to you, Sir William, today, on your 100th birthday anniversary, the congratulations ~~and~~ the good wishes, and the esteem of the government, the parliament, and the people of Canada.

Ottawa Journal
January 14, 1944

From a Window In Fleet Street

D 47187

Written in The Journal's London Bureau.

LONDON, Dec. 28, 1943.

THAT admirable association of nature-lovers known as The Men of the Trees has a worthy scheme for war memorials. It proposes to plant over the United Kingdom in suitable places a forest of trees in memory of gallant spirits who "went west" in this war.

The first of these single memorial trees will be planted with due ceremony at South Godstone, a charming little hamlet in leafy Surrey, and will be dedicated to a young British R.A.F. fighter pilot who was one of "the few" who gave their splendid lives in the decisive Battle of Britain. The tree, with a seat beside it, will stand by the roadside near the Post and Gate Farm, a few yards from where in 1940, in the full tide of his valiant manhood, the pilot whom it commemorates crashed and died. His parents, whose name is not being divulged, will attend the planting ceremony.

The idea of these Forests of Thankfulness was suggested by a lady, Mrs. Florence Bigland, of Hook Heath near Woking, and the first is likely to be located on the Kent coast to commemorate those gallant patriots who sailed in little ships to rescue the Dunkirk B.E.F. She pleads that trees, unlike most memorials, are not tragic but beautiful things, and will provide useful industry for ex-servicemen.

Significant Straws.

TWO minor items of war news are worth noting as significant portents.

A German pilot has flown one of the Luftwaffe's very latest fighter planes to Africa, and delivered it intact into the hands of the Allies. He took the risk of being able to make it plain to any patrolling Allied aircraft that he desired merely to land and surrender his plane.

The other item is, perhaps, even more significant. A whole Slovak brigade, on the Dnieper Bend sector in Russia, has gone over in a body to the Red Army. This is the first example of such a wholesale desertion, but there are both on the Russian and the Italian fronts frequent instances of individual soldiers making their way into the opposing lines in order to surrender and get out of the war.

We know that, driven to desperation by the exhaustion of his German fighting reserves, Hitler has conscripted large numbers of even enemy subjects as soldiers. These may well prove, when it comes to the final crucial fighting, a fatal source of weakness to Germany. There are definite limits to human subservience to force majeure, and Hitler has evidently exceeded it. A moment will come when Germany's slave cannon-fodder will turn and bite the hand that martyrs it.

How They Fooled Us.

IN VIEW of eventualities it is well we should know how we allowed the Germans to fool us over reparations after 1918. Lord Vansittart hardly exaggerates when he calls it "the greatest swindle in history".

By elaborate and subtle propaganda Germany spread the delusion that she was a bankrupt nation, whereas in fact she had liquidated her entire national debt, and was far better off than her conquerors. So she was forbought them back for only 140 million!

Social Democrat Fiction.

ANOTHER subtle German propaganda lie has been emphatically nailed to the counter of factual history. It has recently been urged from several quarters, not all of them German, that in deciding the future of Germany, after we have won the war, the German Social Democrats should be given a chance to show their "niceness".

This plea is backed by the cocksure assertion that the Social Democrats were entirely innocent of any complicity in or sympathy with the German policy of rearmament. Now a German of unimpeachable authority on this subject comes forward to testify that the German Social Democrat leaders were fully in the rearmament "know", and that, moreover, the great German trade unions refused any active resistance when their leaders openly backed the Republican Government's military adventures.

The Reich Minister of the Interior, Freiherr von Gayl, admitted to prominent Prussian Ministers his astonishment at the weakness and lack of force of organizations that had been imagined to be so strong. It is necessary to keep hammering away at these things, and recalling the authentic facts, in order to prevent Germany repeating after this war her chicanery of after the last one. Only too many credulous people in this country seem to be anxious to see history repeat itself.

Life Sentence.

MR. PERCIVAL CORNELIUS, who is retiring from his post as chief of the Hansard staff which does the official Parliamentary reports, must be tough. For 29 years he has either actually listened to, or read, all the debates of the House of Commons. Most people would prefer a death sentence to such a lifetime's inspissated ennui.

Little wonder Mr. Cornelius is slightly cynical, and thinks the British people do not get quite value for their M.P.s' £600 per annum. Truth to tell the debating level, whether considered from an oratorical or merely a sincerity standpoint, is pitifully mediocre at Westminster. There are not more than a dozen members at the very outside to whom it is either uplifting or edifying to listen. This might not matter so much if only members listened to their own debates, and voted in accordance with individual judgment and conscience and not merely according to the crack of the party whip.

A famous sketch writer of long ago once described one dreary M.P.'s speeches as "linked sweetness long drawn out". Most Hansard reporters use a less Laureate phraseology in designating the character of the debates they have to report.

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Besides evading reparations, the Germans actually succeeded in borrowing from the Americans and ourselves £1,500,000,000, of which sum she then bilked her creditors of six times what she had paid in reparations. American financiers lent $10,000,000 to Krupps and $12,000,000 to Thyssen. Then Germany proceeded to spend £8,000,000,000 on rearming for this war—eight times what she paid as reparations for the last war. In her reparation payments Germany valued the Saar mines at 1,028 million marks, though in 1913 her Finance Minister put them at no more than 300 million, and eventually she

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D 47188

Draft.

PA/JMC
18.1.44.

Notes for speech by Prime Minister at gift of tree
by "The Men of Trees" to Sir William Mulock
at 3 p.m. January 19th, 1944.

I am happy that this walnut tree is being planted in honour of Sir William Mulock.
Nothing indeed could be more symbolic of Sir William than a tree.

Just as the tree is being planted today in Canadian soil, so Sir William was born, one hundred years ago today at Bondhead, Ontario.

Like the roots of the tree stretched far beneath the ground and bringing sustenance to it, are the many hidden qualities of Sir William's mind and character which have contributed for so many years to his amazing vitality.

The trunk itself is symbolic of the sturdy body still intact after living through the storms of a century.

The branches may well be said to represent the many interests, spread out in so many directions, to which Sir William devoted himself for the public good.

Here too, just as a tree is valued for the shade it gives, so Sir William is all the more beloved for the protection he has extended, throughout his long life, over many worthy persons and causes.

D 47189

It would be natural to continue the simile and to say that like the produce of a fruitful tree are Sir William's many descendants. Since, however, this is a walnut tree, I do not wish to push the comparison too far, for fear of misunderstanding.

It is my privilege today to say a few words about what Sir William has done for Canada.

I need hardly remind you of his great services as Postmaster General in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier;
how he established a two-cent Canadian postage rate from Canada to all parts of the Empire;
and how, on his motion, penny postage was adopted within the Empire;
and again, how he initiated legislation in the Canadian Parliament which was the first step taken towards the construction of the Pacific cable, a line extending from Canada to New Zealand and Australia.

My own association with Sir William became increasingly close when he, always interested in the ideas of younger men, acted on my advice and established a Department of Labour of which he became the first Minister.

During the five years in which Sir William held this office, I was associated with him as Deputy Minister.

For almost a quarter of a century, Sir William sat as a member of the House of Commons and throughout the whole of that period he was a fearless and vigorous advocate of that Liberalism which was part of his very being.

Sir William sat in the House with Sir John A. Macdonald, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie and the Hon. Edward Blake.

For nine years, he sat at the Council table with Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

He is thus today one of the few direct links with the great figures of the nineteenth century.

Premier Drew has already spoken eloquently of Sir William's services to Ontario, and it is inevitable that he should be most closely associated with his native province which he served with such distinction as Chief Justice, as Chancellor of the University of Toronto, and in so many other ways.

Sir William, however, through his broad interests, has come to hold a place almost without precedent in the esteem of all Canada.

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His command of the French language, his interest in French culture, his appreciation of the great role played in our national history by people of French Canada, were all equally notable.

Sir William's life has extended from a time when the North American colonies were in the throes of political discontent until this day when Canada, an independent nation fighting of her own will at Britain's side, has become the fourth most powerful of the United Nations.

By the many and great contributions which he has made to the public life of Canada, Sir William has earned himself a proud place in the history of our country.

All Canada is happy today to do honour to one of the grandest of her sons, Sir William Mulock.

D 47192

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Prime Minister of Canada,
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To
Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock
On His One Hundredth Birthday Anniversary
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D 47193

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D 47194

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D 47195

to prevent the evil of sweat shop conditions, and to ensure the workers on government contracts "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work". It was you who introduced in Parliament the bill to establish a Department of Labour for Canada. You were Canada's first Minister of Labour. That was nearly forty-three years ago.

Did time permit, I might speak at length of other of your many-sided activities to which reference has already been made by Col. Drew, the Premier of this Province, and of other interests and causes with which your life has been identified. Suffice it to say that, in you, your fellow Canadians recognize one who has been, at all times, a friend of the oppressed, a lover of liberty, a champion of freedom; and one who, throughout his life, has held high, and firm, the standards of right, and truth, and justice.

Just one more word. A tree to live to a great age must be sound at heart. Sir Wilfrid Laurier once said to me: "Mulock has the largest heart of any man I know". You have a great heart, Sir William, and it is that, above all else - your broad and human sympahties - that have won for you the hosts of friends who have been yours all along the way, and who surround, and delight to honour you, today.

D 47196

Pervading all you have done, and have sought most to accomplish, in your long and active career, is your large and generous humanity. And so, through the years to come, your fellow Canadians will think of you, as one thinks of some mighty tree, that has helped to shelter the generations that have passed, or rested, beneath its boughs. They will think of you, and your century of years, as one who lived to a grand old age, and whose long and active life was devoted to the public good.

I bring to you, Sir William, today, on your One Hundredth birthday anniversary, the congratulations, the good wishes, and the esteem of the Government, the Parliament, and the people of Canada.

D 47197

Address by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
At the Presentation of a Tree,
To
Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock,
On His One Hundredth Birthday Anniversary,
By
The Men of the Trees.

Toronto - January 19, 1944.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

With your kind permission, I shall address my few remarks to Sir William Mulock. It is to honour ~~him~~ Sir William on his One Hundredth birthday anniversary we are assembled ~~in front of~~ at his city residence today.

Sir William:

I am sure you will agree that there is something most appropriate about this little ceremony being held, in fact, ~~but~~ in the open. God's out-of-doors is the home of the trees; and it is "The Men of the Trees" who have come to do you honour, and to make a presentation to you on your One Hundredth birthday anniversary. We are a small company, but today we represent the people of Canada. We do more than represent our contemporaries, for we speak also for many of an earlier generation, to whom, like ourselves, your life has been an inspiration, and for many of future generations, to whom it will be a benediction.

The presentation ~~to be made, and~~ which I now have the honour to make on behalf of the assembled company, is the large walnut tree which, at the moment, has its place on the lawn of this your city residence. It is to be transported immediately to North York, and planted in the Yonge Street public park. It will thus have a lasting association with the constituency in which you were born, and which, for almost a quarter of a century, you represented in the Parliament of Canada. It will also be associated with the city whose most honoured citizen you have been for an even greater length of time.

May I say, Sir William, that I can think of no more fitting symbol of your own life than that which is suggested by the gift being made to you today by "The Men of the Trees". You have lived from the forties of one century to the forties of another. A tree, a century old, to endure so long, would have had to have its roots planted in the right kind of soil, and its early years properly nurtured. No soil could be better than that of North York. ~~It~~ North York was your place of birth. It was the cradle of free government in this old province of Ontario. You have told us that the most precious possession of your life is the remembrance of the lavish devotion of your own dear mother. and the kindness and affection of relatives + friends

D 47199

In this you have revealed to us ~~the~~ hidden sources of your strength. In words, with which Dr. Cody will be familiar, you were "rooted and grounded in love".

But, while strength may owe much to secret sources, it is the buffetings in the open that test and make the sinews of a man, no less than the fibres of a tree. Of the storms and stresses of life you, Sir William, have had your full share. No man could be in politics for a quarter of a century, in opposition or in office, and not know something about all kinds of weather.

Yours, Sir William, has not been an easy life, nor a life of ease. It has been, as I who know it well, can say, a life of ~~great~~ wireless industry, a life which has continuously sought to advance the interests of ~~Canada~~ our country and of the British Empire, a life of constant effort to right existing wrongs and to further Socialism to better conditions for your fellow-men.

Your career in Parliament speaks for itself. As Postmaster General in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it was you who were responsible for the establishment of a two-cent postage rate from Canada to all parts of the Empire, and, on your motion, penny postage was adopted within the Empire. It was you who initiated the first steps

D 47200

toward the construction of the Pacific Cable. It was you who first introduced in the House of Commons what was known as "the Fair Wages Resolution", to prevent the evil of sweat shop conditions and to ensure the workers on government contracts "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work". It was you who introduced in Parliament the bill to establish a Department of Labour for Canada. You were Canada's first Minister of Labour. That was nearly forty-three years ago.

Did time permit, I might speak at length of your many-sided activities and interests and causes with which your life has been identified. Suffice it to say that, in you, your fellow Canadians recognize one who has been, at all times, a friend of the oppressed, a lover of liberty, a champion of freedom, and one who, throughout his life, has held high and firm the standards of right, and truth, and justice.

Just one more word. A tree to live to a great age must be sound at heart. Sir Wilfrid Laurier once said to me: "Mulock has the largest heart of any man I know". You have a great heart, Sir William, and it is that, above all else - your broad and human sympathies - that have won you hosts of friends who have been yours all along the way,

D 47201

and who surround, and delight to honour you, today.

Pervading all you have done, and have sought most to accomplish, in your long and active career, is your large and generous humanity. And so, through years to come, your fellow Canadians will think of you, as one thinks of some mighty tree, that has helped to shelter the generations that have rested beneath its boughs. They will think of you, and your century of years, as one who lived to a grand old age, and whose life was devoted to the public good.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Charlottetown Patriot

Date Jan.13/44

D 47202

Subject

KING'S SPEECH

The morning paper yesterday may have been taking a pass at publicity over the radio when it stated 117 had not bothered to tune in on Mr. King's speech. The word "bothered" implies, of course, that those one hundred and seventeen people were not interested in a speech of Mr. King's. "One stuck it out but could not remember what it was about." Is that not the way with most things that are told to one another? One seldom pays any attention or remembers and forgets in a few minutes, and there is no proof left of what was really said.

No doubt the paper wanted to belittle Mr. King's speech, but it was a funny way of doing it. If the paper has a kick on radio it should have said there is an uncertainty of an audience with radio, which is correct, and a great argument for the printed word. If Mr. King had published his speech even in the Guardian he might have had better results. As much as "some" differ in politics, even Guardian readers themselves, Mr. King is the ablest leader Canada has produced for some time. Men do not occupy high positions without great qualifications, to put it mildly. At the same time the Patriot, like the Guardian, feels Mr. King would have had more of a record in having his speech published. After all there is no record in what you hear, but there is in the printed word.

Strange as it may seem to the morning paper, millions of people in Canada still think Mr. King has done a big job as head of a government no other man at present in Canada could fill. Great leaders do not ride up and down the country calling at some individual homes to get information on how to run a country. The place to find these men is where the "real work" is going on, helping—if they know how. Roosevelt, Churchill, too, have dissenters all around them, yet they are the greatest men in the world today.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
75		The Battle Against Inflation, Radio Broadcast	4 Dec. 1943	D 46923 - D 47173	
75		Radio Broadcast to Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 47174 - D 47175	
75		Canada's New Year's Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 47176 - D 47177	
76		Mr. King's New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Jan. 1944	D 47178	
76		One Hundredth Birthday of Sir William Mulock, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1944	D 47179 - D 47202	
76		Parliament - Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament (closing)	26 Jan. 1944	D 47203 - D 47204	
76		Parliament - Speech from the Throne on Opening the Parliament	27 Jan. 1944	D 47205 - D 47209	
76		Japanese Treatment of Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	28 Jan. 1944	D 47210 - D 47227	
76		Speech on Address. Speeches in Parliament	31 Jan. 1944	D 47228 - D 47232	

Alternative Mr Ralston

[Draft]

Reid January 6/44

DRAFT PARAGRAPHS FOR INCLUSION IN

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE ON CLOSING OF PARLIAMENT

D 47203

Our Army has increased in power and numbers. During the past year Canada's soldiers along with Americans occupied the Island of KISKA. They took part in some of the heaviest fighting of the Allied [redacted] conquest of SICILY. They invaded the Italian mainland and with British and American troops have been in the bitterly fought advance into ITALY. Today they are engaged in that country in offensive operations of increasing severity and magnitude. Wherever our soldiers have met the enemy they have proved the thoroughness and efficiency of their training and have distinguished themselves by their gallantry.

D 47204

CLOSING SPEECH

Ministers' Suggestions

Secretary of State:	Reference to Conferences at Quebec, Cairo and Teheran. done
National Revenue:	"Pay-as-you-go" income tax - general approval. done
War Services:	Reference to prisoners of war in enemy hands -
	Service of women to war effort.
	Successful salvage campaigns.
Pensions and Health:	Paragraphs reviewing rehabilitation.
Post Office and Munitions & Supply:	Air Mail to forces overseas. ✓
Navy:	Paragraphs re naval service.
Air:	Sentence re air service in 1943.
Transport:	Reference to co-operation of railways and merchant marine. done
Army:	Short paragraph from Mr Ralston

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Hon Ralston

D.

January 18, 1944.

P-652-1
1944

DRAFT PARAGRAPHS FOR INCLUSION IN

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE ON OPENING OF PARLIAMENT D 47205

Favourable developments in the various war theatres have made it possible to effect a substantial reduction in the number of operational troops in the Army in Canada. While the defence of our coast and other areas on this continent and its outposts will be maintained on such scales as are necessary in the light of changing conditions, the Army programme in Canada for the coming year will have, as its principal objective, the maintenance and reinforcement of our overseas forces, both in men and equipment.

The past year has seen Canadian soldiers in major operations.

A strong force of Canadians along with the Americans occupied the Island of Kiska.

Canadians were in the leading waves which landed in Sicily and, by hard fighting alongside troops of the United Kingdom and the United States drove through to reach Messina in 39 days.

The First Canadian Division, abreast a United Kingdom Division, was again in the lead in the assault and landing on the Mainland in Italy in early September.

In three months they, as part of the redoubtable 8th Army, have driven forward and upward over 300 miles in hard fighting and over difficult ground, and these days

bring

bring news of slow but unceasing advance against stubborn resistance to accomplish the fall of Rome and undertake operations of even greater moment.

The coming year promises to be a decisive one in the War in Europe, and the role of the Canadian Army Overseas will be one of increasing importance. Large scale offensive fighting for the Allied Armies lies ahead. The Canadian land forces will be in the thick of it. Today a Canadian Corps is fighting in ITALY, driving towards the German strongholds from the South. Today, another Canadian Corps, together with other Units and Formations of the Canadian Overseas Army, are in England preparing for the final assault upon the Nazi held European Continent from the North. Let us hope that this year will see the enemies of mankind shattered between the hammer and the anvil.

Nothing to Suggest: Justice, Sec. State, Nat. Revenue, Post Office, Mines & Resources, Transport, Public Works

OPENING SPEECH

MINISTERS' SUGGESTIONS D 47207

Agriculture:	Reaffirm Atlantic Charter re. trade. ✓
	Repeat floor under farm prices. done ✓
Fisheries:	Floor under prices not feasible. ? ✓
	Minister suggests paragraph (worth considering). ✓
Trade and Commerce:	Several suggestions re. trade policy ✓
	might include a reference to merchant shipping. ?
War Services:	Connect mutual aid with relief - done ✓
	Committee on Radio -
	Safeguard the interests of those who have not the power to protect themselves in the struggle of life. Soc. Security ✓
Pensions and National Health:	Alternative suggestions re health insurance. Paragraphs re demob. & rehabilitation ✓
Munitions and Supply:	Paragraph on war production.
Navy:	Paragraph on expansion. ✓ done
Army	Paragraphs re. service done
Air:	Sentence re. air service in 1944: done reference to continuing the war with Japan. done
Labour:	Reference to Unemployment Insurance and Assistance. ? ✓
Senate Leader:	Stress "Housing". done ✓

D 47208

Sessional Programme (Legislation)

The War:

War Appropriation ✓

Mutual Aid ✓

UNRRA ✓

Chinese Exclusion (repeal) ✓

Post-War:

(a) **Governmental machinery:**

1. Divide Dept. of Pensions and National Health into a Department of Veterans' ✓ Affairs and a Department of National Health and Social Security. ✓ (Social Welfare)

2. Establish Dept. of Reconstruction ✓ (or National Development).

(b) **Reconstruction**

1. Codify all existing Rehabilitation legislation in a ~~single~~ National Charter. ✓

2. Amend Housing Act. ✓

3. Industrial Credit Bank. ✓

4. Disposal of Surplus War Assets. ✓

D 47209

(c) Social Security

1. Floor under farm (and fish) prices. ✓

2. Health Insurance. ✓

3. Children's Allowances.

4. Unemployment Assistance. ✓

5. Amendments to Old Age Pensions. ✓

N.B. Specific Departmental suggestions not included in the above. (Mr. Heeney has these readily available.)

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July

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa,.....

D47210

Mr King

see suggested change

page 1 and 2

WLM

W.J.T

D 47211

Statement by the Prime Minister made in the House of Commons, Friday, January 28, 1944

Honourable members of the House will have read in the morning papers the reports officially issued by the Office of War Information at Washington of the suffering of those brave members of the United States Forces who fell into Japanese hands at the end of a heroic resistance at Bataan and Corregidor. The evidence of Japanese brutality and organized sadism is so horrible and overwhelming as to be almost incredible.

Reports of Japanese maltreatment of prisoners of war in Malaya, Siam and Burma are not so complete, but are sufficient to indicate that there were, in those areas, similar brutalities and cruelties. In the British House of Commons, this morning, the Foreign Secretary told of the sufferings in those areas of British, Australian, Indian and Chinese prisoners of war. He also told the shocking story of the "Lisbon Maru", a Japanese transport carrying United Kingdom prisoners of war from Hong Kong, which was torpedoed by an Allied submarine. The Japanese held the prisoners, some of them wounded, under battened hatches, until the ship sank some 36 hours later. When some of the prisoners made their escape from the ship, they were fired upon in the water by the Japanese escort vessels.

(Australia, The Netherlands

I extend to the people of the United States, Britain, India ~~and~~ China the sympathy of this House and the sympathy of the people of Canada. We share to the full their feelings of pain and indignation.

Honourable members will be particularly interested in knowing of conditions affecting Canadian prisoners of war.

The Canadian Government has naturally been gravely concerned over reports of conditions among prisoners of war in Japanese hands. Every effort has been made to secure information and every possible method of improving conditions has been explored. In collaboration with the other Commonwealth Governments, official protests have repeatedly been made through the Protecting Power. The Japanese have ignored these protests, or made hypocritical or cynical replies.

According to latest reports, about one thousand Canadian prisoners of war have been transferred from Hong Kong to Japan, and between five and six hundred remain in Hong Kong. It would seem that the prisoners at Hong Kong are not suffering nearly so much from ill treatment and abuse as from neglect. They are suffering from the failure of the Japanese Government to provide adequate clothing, food and medical care.

As yet, no reports have been received about the camps in Japan to which the Canadians from Hong Kong have been transferred. It is believed that these men are better off than they were in Hong Kong.

The Canadian Government had hoped that the Japanese would be influenced by the protests made through the Protecting Power and the appeals made by the International Red Cross. Pending the results of these representations, it was thought that a public indictment of Japanese behaviour would not help our men in their hands.

The Canadian Government and the Canadian Red Cross have been trying to make good the failure of the Japanese, by sending to our men the needed supplies, but the Japanese have largely frustrated our efforts. Some supplies went forward to the Far East on the S.S. Gripsholm in the first exchange of diplomatic officers and civilians in 1942. After loss and pilferage and months of delay, part at least of these supplies reached Hong Kong. But the supplies sent on the Gripsholm in 1943 [redacted] at the time of the second exchange were carried to Japan. Although weeks have passed, no word has been received that they have yet reached their destination. A joint effort by the Governments and Red Cross Societies of Canada and the United States to send a shipload of supplies, also failed because of the refusal of the Japanese to grant a safe conduct to the vessel which had already been loaded with supplies.

Negotiations with the Japanese Government through the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross resulted in arrangements for the shipment of supplies to Vladivostock thence to be trans-shipped to Japanese territory. The first shipment sent by the Red Cross Societies of Canada and the United States reached Vladivostock months ago. Despite the previous negotiations, and despite the need of the prisoners of war for whom these supplies were destined, they remain in Vladivostock.

The Japanese also have done little to assist and much to obstruct the forwarding of mail to and from prisoners of war. The few letters which have been delivered, have taken long months to reach the prisoners. Recently the Japanese placed a limit of 25 words on letters to and from prisoners of war.

The Japanese have been equally neglectful of their obligation to transmit reports through the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross. Reports of deaths of prisoners of war have been transmitted only after long delay. Reports of transfers of Canadian prisoners of war from Hong Kong to Japan are still incomplete.

All of this is in complete contrast with the treatment which Japanese nationals have received in Canada. It is the duty of a belligerent to permit representatives of the Protecting

Power and the International Red Cross regularly to visit prisoner of war camps. The Japanese have permitted some such visits to certain camps in Japan, but so far only one visit by a representative of the Protecting Power has been permitted at Hong Kong. After long delay, the International Red Cross was permitted to name a representative there, but so far we have not seen evidence that he is being allowed to carry out fully the usual functions of a Delegate of the International Red Cross.

Although not a signatory to the Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War signed at Geneva July 27th, 1929, nor to the earlier Conventions, the Japanese Government at the commencement of hostilities, gave an undertaking to abide by their provisions. Japan has failed to live up to this undertaking. Whether the Japanese Government in Tokyo is unable or unwilling to induce the military authorities outside Japan to act like human beings, the responsibility for inhuman treatment of prisoners rests none the less at Tokyo.

J atrocities

Statement by the Prime Minister, to be made in the House of Commons Friday, 28th January, 1944.

47216

I imagine all the members of the House will have read in their morning papers the reports officially issued by the Office of War Information at Washington of the suffering of those brave members of the United States Forces who fell into Japanese hands at the end of a heroic resistance at Bataan and Corregidor. The evidence of Japanese brutality and organized sadism is ~~at the same time~~ so horrible & over-whelming as to be almost ~~and~~ incredible ~~and all of you must have been horrified and sickened by it~~.

I extend to the people of the United States the sympathy of this House and the sympathy of the people of Canada ~~and say that we, too, know that complete victory alone can settle the account~~. We share to the full their feelings of scorn and indignation

Reports of Japanese maltreatment of prisoners of war in Malaya, Siam and Burma are not so complete but are sufficient to indicate there were ~~show that~~ similar brutalities and cruelties ~~have occurred~~ in those areas. In the ~~British~~ U.K House this morning the Foreign Secretary told of the sufferings of British, Indian and Chinese prisoners of war in this area. He also told the shocking story of the "Lisbon Maru", a Japanese transport carrying United Kingdom prisoners of war from Hong Kong, which was torpedoed by an ~~United Nations~~ allied submarine ~~and of the sufferings of the prisoners on board, some of them wounded~~. The Japanese held the prisoners, some of them wounded, under battened hatches until the ship sank 36 hours later. When some of the prisoners made their escape from the ship, they were fired upon in the water by the Japanese escort vessels.

D 47217

Conditions in Hong Kong are bad, but not as bad as in the ~~Philippines or in Malaya and Siam.~~ According to latest reports, about one thousand Canadian prisoners of war have been transferred from Hong Kong to Japan and between five and six hundred remain in Hong Kong. ~~These in Hong Kong~~ are suffering from the failure of the Japanese to provide adequate clothing, food and medical care. It ~~appears~~ that the prisoners at Hong Kong are not suffering nearly so much from ill treatment and abuse as from neglect.

No reports have ~~yet~~ been received about the camps in Japan to which the Canadians from Hong Kong have been transferred. ~~It is believed that these men are better off than they were in Hong Kong.~~

The Canadian Government has been gravely concerned over reports of conditions among prisoners of war in Japanese hands. Every effort has been made to secure information and every possible ~~way~~ of improving conditions, ~~tried.~~ In collaboration with the other Commonwealth Governments, official protests have repeatedly been made through the Protecting Power, ~~but~~ the Japanese have ignored these or made hypocritical or cynical replies. ~~They have not taken remedial action.~~

The Canadian Government hoped that the Japanese would be influenced by the protests made through the Protecting Power and the appeals by the International Red Cross, ~~and~~ pending the results of these representations ~~did not think~~ a public indictment of Japanese behaviour would help our men in their hands. ~~It did not seem possible~~

that Tokyo could condone the brutality and cruelty of their Commanders in the field. The Press in Canada has shown similar restraint, voluntarily co-operating with the Government to withhold from publication, reports of Japanese atrocities received from various sources, the publication of which, it had been thought, would unnecessarily distress and outrage the public. The long continued failure of the Japanese Government to enforce accepted standards of treatment of prisoners of war makes it appear that the Japanese Goverrnment have interpreted this restraint as weakness.

Although the Canadians at Hong Kong are not alone in their suffering, and are not by any means the worst off, their sufferings are nonetheless real. The Japanese have failed to provide them with adequate clothing food or medical care. The Canadian Government and the Canadian Red Cross have been trying to make good the failure of the Japanese, by sending the needed supplies, but the Japanese have ~~not permitted us to remedy their defects~~. Some supplies went forward to the Far East on the S.S. Gripsholm in the first exchange of diplomatic officers and civilians in 1942 . After loss and pilferage and months of delay, part at least of these supplies reached Hong Kong. But the supplies sent on the Gripsholm in 1943 at the time of the second exchange were carried to Japan ~~and~~ although weeks have passed, no word has been received that they have yet reached their destination. A joint effort by the Governments and Red Cross Societies of Canada and the United States to send a shipload of

D 47219

supplies, also failed because of the refusal of the Japanese to grant a safe conduct to the vessel which had already been loaded with supplies.

Negotiations with the Japanese Government through the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross resulted in arrangements for the shipment of supplies to Vladivostock thence to be transshipped to Japanese territory. The first shipment sent by the Red Cross Societies of Canada and the United States reached Vladivostock months ago. Despite the previous negotiations, and despite the need of the prisoners of war for whom these supplies were destined, they remain in Vladivostock.

The food supplied by the Japanese to prisoners of war is generally insufficient, low in food value and frequently bad. It is always deficient in vitamins. The lowered vitality of the prisoners is evident in the official reports, received up to the end of 1943, of deaths from illness, not including those who died from the effect of wounds, which reached 7 per cent of the total or 119.

The suffering of the prisoners has been augmented by lack of news from their families. The need of prisoners of war to receive letters from their loved ones has long been recognized by the International Conventions, and provision made for them to write and receive letters. The Japanese also have done little to assist and much to obstruct the forwarding of mail to and from prisoners of war. ~~Rather, their action has been to obstruct.~~ The few letters which have ~~got through,~~ have been delivered

D 47220

All as this is in complete contrast to the treatment which Japanese nationals have received to Japan

taken long months to reach the prisoners; ~~some as long as a year and a half.~~ ~~More~~ Recently the Japanese placed a limit of 25 words on letters to and from prisoners of war.

The Japanese have been equally neglectful of their obligation to transmit reports through the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross. Reports of deaths of prisoners of war have ~~only~~ been transmitted only after long delay. Reports of transfers of Canadian prisoners of war from Hong Kong to Japan are still incomplete.

It is the duty of a belligerent to permit representatives of the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross regularly to visit prisoner of war camps. The Japanese have permitted some such visits to ~~show~~ certain camps in Japan, but so far only one visit by a representative of the Protecting Power has been permitted at Hong.Kong. After long delay, the International Red Cross was permitted to name a representative there, but so far we have not seen evidence that he is being allowed to carry out fully the usual functions of a Delegate of the International Red Cross. In areas to the south, the Philippines, Siam, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, no visits by representatives of the Protecting Power or of the International Red Cross have been permitted by the Japanese military authorities in control. The refusal of these authorities to permit any neutral observers in these areas gives rise to the supposition that conditions are so appalling that they do not dare to let the world learn of them. What little

information leaks out from these unhappy countries gives credence to this supposition.

Whether the Japanese Government in Tokyo is unwilling ~~or unable~~ to induce the military authorities outside Japan to act like ~~decent~~ human beings, the responsibility for inhuman treatment of prisoners rests at Tokyo. Although not a signatory to the Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War signed at Geneva July 27th, 1929, nor to the earlier Conventions, the Japanese Government at the commencement of hostilities, gave an undertaking to abide by their provisions. ~~Japan has failed to live up to this undertaking and has fallen far below the standard set by civilized nations for the treatment of prisoners of war.~~

The Canadian Government is investigating all evidence of atrocities committed against prisoners of war. Where such evidence is authenticated Canada, in concert with the Governments of the other United Nations, is determined that the perpetrators of these crimes shall answer fully for their guilt. The day is not far distant when just retribution will overtake the criminals and Japanese national shame will be fully exposed.

D 47222

Statement by the Prime Minister, to be made in the House of Commons Friday, 28th January, 1944.

I imagine all the members of the House will have read in their morning papers the reports officially issued by the Office of War Information at Washington of the suffering of those brave members of the United States Forces who fell into Japanese hands at the end of a heroic resistance at Bataan and Corregidor. The evidence of Japanese brutality and organized sadism is at the same time overwhelming and incredible and all of you must have been horrified and sickened by it.

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Reports of Japanese maltreatment of prisoners of war in Malaya, Siam and Burma are not so complete but are sufficient to show that similar brutalities and cruelties have occurred. In the British House this morning the Foreign Secretary told of the sufferings of British, Indian and Chinese prisoners of war in this area. He also told the shocking story of the "Lisbon Maru", a transport carrying United Kingdom prisoners of war from Hong Kong, which was torpedoed by a United Nations submarine, and of the sufferings of the prisoners on board, some of them wounded. The Japanese held the prisoners under battened hatches until the ship sank 36 hours later. When some of the prisoners made their escape from the ship, they were fired upon in the water by the Japanese escort vessels.

Conditions in Hong Kong are bad, but not as bad as in the Philippines or in Malaya and Siam. According to latest reports, about one thousand Canadian prisoners of war have been transferred from Hong Kong to Japan and between five and six hundred remain in Hong Kong. These in Hong Kong are suffering from the failure of the Japanese to provide adequate clothing, food and medical care. It appears that the prisoners at Hong Kong are not suffering nearly so much from ill treatment and abuse as from neglect.

No reports have yet been received about the camps in Japan to which the Canadians from Hong Kong have been transferred. It is believed that these men are better off than they were in Hong Kong.

The Canadian Government has been gravely concerned over reports of conditions among prisoners of war in Japanese hands. Every effort has been made to secure information and every possible way of improving conditions, tried. In collaboration with the other Commonwealth Governments, official protests have repeatedly been made through the Protecting Power but the Japanese have ignored these, or made hypocritical or cynical replies. They have not taken remedial action.

The Canadian Government hoped that the Japanese would be influenced by the protests made through the Protecting Power and the appeals by the International Red Cross, and pending the results of these representations did not think a public indictment of Japanese behaviour would help our men in their hands. It did not seem possible

that Tokyo could condone the brutality and cruelty of their Commanders in the field. The Press in Canada has shown similar restraint, voluntarily co-operating with the Government to withhold from publication, reports of Japanese atrocities received from various sources, the publication of which, it had been thought, would unnecessarily distress and outrage the public. The long continued failure of the Japanese Government to enforce accepted standards of treatment of prisoners of war makes it appear that the Japanese Goverrment have interpreted this restraint as weakness.

Although the Canadians at Hong Kong are not alone in their suffering, and are not by any means the worst off, their sufferings are nonetheless real. The Japanese have failed to provide them with adequate clothing food or medical care. The Canadian Government and the Canadian Red Cross have been trying to make good the failure of the Japanese, by sending the needed supplies, but the Japanese have not permitted us to remedy their defects. Some supplies went forward to the Far East on the S.S. Gripsholm in the first exchange of diplomatic officers and civilians in 1942 . After loss and pilferage and months of delay, part at least of these supplies reached Hong Kong. But the supplies sent on the Gripsholm in 1943 at the time of the second exchange were carried to Japan and although weeks have passed, no word has been received that they have yet reached their destination. A joint effort by the Governments and Red Cross Societies of Canada and the United States to send a shipload of

D47225

supplies, also failed because of the refusal of the Japanese to grant a safe conduct to the vessel which had already been loaded with supplies.

Negotiations with the Japanese Government through the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross resulted in arrangements for the shipment of supplies to Vladivostock thence to be transshipped to Japanese territory. The first shipment sent by the Red Cross Societies of Canada and the United States reached Vladivostock months ago. Despite the previous negotiations, and despite the need of the prisoners of war for whom these supplies were destined, they remain in Vladivostock.

The food supplied by the Japanese to prisoners of war is generally insufficient, low in food value and frequently bad. It is always deficient in vitamins. The lowered vitality of the prisoners is evident in the official reports, received up to the end of 1943, of deaths from illness, not including those who died from the effect of wounds, which reached 7 per cent of the total or 119.

The suffering of the prisoners has been augmented by lack of news from their families. The need of prisoners of war to receive letters from their loved ones has long been recognized by the International Conventions, and provision made for them to write and receive letters. The Japanese have done little to assist the forwarding of mail to and from prisoners of war. Rather, their action has been to obstruct. The few letters which have got through, have

taken long months to reach the prisoners; some as long as a year and a half. More recently the Japanese placed a limit of 25 words on letters to and from prisoners of war.

The Japanese have been equally neglectful of their obligation to transmit reports through the Protecting Power and International Red Cross. Reports of deaths of prisoners of war have only been transmitted after long delay. Reports of transfers of Canadian prisoners of war from Hong Kong to Japan are still incomplete.

It is the duty of a belligerent to permit representatives of the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross regularly to visit prisoner of war camps. The Japanese have permitted some such visits to show camps in Japan, but so far only one visit by a representative of the Protecting Power has been permitted at Hong.Kong. After long delay, the International Red Cross was permitted to name a representative there but so far we have not seen evidence that he is being allowed to carry out fully the usual functions of a Delegate of the International Red Cross. In areas to the south, the Philippines, Siam, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, no visits by representatives of the Protecting Power or of the International Red Cross have been permitted by the Japanese military authorities in control. The refusal of these authorities to permit any neutral observers in these areas gives rise to the supposition that conditions are so appalling that they do not dare to let the world learn of them. What little

information leaks out from these unhappy countries gives credence to this supposition.

Whether the Japanese Government in Tokyo is unwilling or unable to induce the military authorities outside Japan to act like decent human beings, the responsibility rests at Tokyo. Although not a signatory to the Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War signed at Geneva July 27th, 1929, nor to the earlier Conventions, the Japanese Government at the commencement of hostilities, gave an undertaking to abide by its provisions. Japan has failed to live up to this undertaking and has fallen far below the standard set by civilized nations for the treatment of prisoners of war.

The Canadian Government is investigating all evidence of atrocities committed against prisoners of war. Where such evidence is authenticated Canada, in concert with the Governments of the other United Nations, is determined that the perpetrators of these crimes shall answer fully for their guilt. The day is not far distant when just retribution will overtake the criminals and Japanês national shame will be fully exposed.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
75		The Battle Against Inflation, Radio Broadcast	4 Dec. 1943	D 46923 - D 47173	
75		Radio Broadcast to Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 47174 - D 47175	
75		Canada's New Year's Message. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 47176 - D 47177	
76		Mr. King's New Year Message. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Jan. 1944	D 47178	
76		One Hundredth Birthday of Sir William Mulock, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1944	D 47179 - D 47202	
76		Parliament - Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament (closing)	26 Jan. 1944	D 47203 - D 47204	
76		Parliament - Speech from the Throne on Opening the Parliament	27 Jan. 1944	D 47205 - D 47209	
76		Japanese Treatment of Prisoners of War. Speeches in Parliament	28 Jan. 1944	D 47210 - D 47227	
76		Speech on Address. Speeches in Parliament	31 Jan. 1944	D 47228 - D 47232	

S/1944/D 31.1.44

D 47228

I. Mover and Seconder.

Main features in Speech from the Throne:

emphasis upon war,

improvement of conditions.

Appalling situation ahead.

Tribute to armed forces

- General McNaughton

Tribute to civilians

Victory Loan and inflation.

II. Get on with work of session in light of war.

Winning of war first concern.

Social legislation.

Rules to be revised.

Possible adjournments:

Meeting of Prime Ministers
Conference
Go over ground on other Bills.

III. Re General Elections

47229

Re discussion of other issues.

Foreign policy.

IV. Re Brackon

Leader of Conservative Party should be in House.

Change in spirit of political institutions.

S/1944/P

D 47230

The Mover and Seconder

Lieutenant Leonard David Sweezey Tremblay, M.P. for Dorchester since 1935.

A veteran of the War of 1914-18; a Forestry-Technician in civil life;

On Active Service in the army in the present war; prevented by age from serving overseas.

Eleven children.

Captain Walter Adam Tucker, M.P. for Rosthern since 1935.

A veteran of the War of 1914-18; a Barrister in civil life;

On Active Service in the army in the present war; prevented by age from serving overseas.

Eight children.

Parallels to note:

Both veterans who served overseas with Canadian Corps;

Both elected to Parliament in same year - 1935;

Both volunteered for overseas service in this war and both are serving with distinction in essential army duty in Canada -

both disappointed at being denied opportunity for overseas service.

Both have large families - well able to appreciate one of the measures in the social security programme of the Government.

Government had sought at one and same time to recognize the armed forces in present war and veterans of the last war.

Both mover and seconder could speak with knowledge of feelings of the men in the forces and with personal experience of demobilization and re-establishment - valuable in considering programme for the present session.

D 47231

On this account, their commendation of the programme outlined in the Speech from the Throne will be particularly appreciated.

JAG/Z
30-1-44

D 47232

SPEECH ON ADDRESS 1944

The Armed Forces

after more than 4 years of war
some in action on distant fronts.

Navy - Battle of the Atlantic - unceasing
Mediterranean.

Air Force - Over many battle fronts;
share in aerial bombardment of Germany;
support for Canadian Forces in Italy.

Army - During 1943 (Kiska)
Sicily
Italy

During 1944
share in main invasion moves.

First Canadian Corps now part of 8th Army
in Italy,

Heavier fighting on these and on new fronts will mean

mounting casualties;
bereavements for many Canadian homes.

Remembrance of sacrifices in battle
a very precious part of Canada's heritage.

Word about General McNaughton -

the fighting spirit of Canada's overseas army.

Responsibilities on new leaders.

Senior officers of all Canadian services now in Britain.

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

D 47233

Notes for Speech - National Liberal Federation
Meeting - February 11, 1944.

The Liberal Party

What it is - before us

Party in country

Party in Parliament.

How they should work

Party in country organize (I) for ideas

(2) for elections.

For ideas: Liberal Federation

For elections : National organization
Provincial "
Constituency "

Party in Parliament:

(I) Determine policies (Speech from the Throne)

(2) Translate into legislation.

Relation of two

Former should lead to latter.

Leader in country because leader in Parliament.

Wishart Robertson, example.

M.P. is both of country
of Parliament.

Should help both
see both carried out.

D47234

This session example:

Liberal Rederation meeting

Resolutions

Speech from Throne

Legislation being enacted

Publicity.

Liberalism what it is:

Freedom

Eqaality of opportunity

General vs. Particular

In international area

In national arena

Exemplied in Speech from Throne

Main division vs. Cons. and socialism

emphasis on property and organization.

Liberal: emphasis on life

other is means to end.

Asquith -

Aberdeen - Christianity of

Competition vs. Mutual Aid

Members one of another

bear our brother's burdens.

D 47235

In world

our men fighting for freedom.

Young lives.

At home

fight for equality of opportunity.

Need to fight.

Example Liberal policy re <u>inflation</u>

Tory attitude - affects all
C.C.F. "
Liberal " equality of class

Our <u>responsibility</u>:

Liberal inheritance

Eclipse of Liberalism

strange death of in England

in Ontario

danger in Federal field.

Liberal never changed name -

great traditions.

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D 47236

xxxxxxxx STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER

House of Commons
March 26th, 1944

The crossing of the Rhine has long been looked upon as indicating a final stage of the assault on Germany. Since the United States 1st Army established a bridgehead at Remagen, nearly three weeks ago, the stage has been set for a major assault, as a result of which five Allied armies are now fighting east of the Rhine.

I am indeed glad to be able to tell the House that the united assault against the Rhine barrier has been successful, and that satisfactory progress is being achieved at all points.

The people of Canada will have learned with pride that the Canadian 3rd Division, as part of the British 2nd Army under General Dempsey's command, has taken an important part in this great offensive.

According to latest reports, a crossing over the Ijssel river has already been secured. The Ijssel River is East and North of the Rhine. Immediately to the south of the British Second Army, the United States 9th Army is fighting its way into the heavily industialised area of the Ruhr.

In all parts of Germany, the demoralisation of the industrial front is becoming more and more apparent.

The Remagen bridgehead is steadily being expanded. Still farther to the south, General Patton's brilliant thrust opposite Oppenheim has captured Darmstadt and has pushed on to the river Main.

Enemy resistance West of the Rhine has practically collapsed.

The striking successes by the Armies of the United Nations East of the Rhine give strong reason to hope that the final disintegration of the German Army may not be long delayed.

D 47238

SECRETARIAT,
CABINET WAR COMMITTEE

CANADA

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE

26th March, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: #30

At Mr. Heeney's request, I attach, in duplicate, a draft of a proposed statement by yourself to the House of Commons today on the progress of the war.

1 retained

Maurice Pope.

2 sentences added / Jas

D 47239

The crossing of the Rhine has been looked upon as a final stage of the assault on Germany. Since the United States 1st Army established a bridgehead at Remagen, nearly three weeks ago, the stage has been set for a major assault, as a result of which five Allied armies are now fighting east of the Rhine.

In all parts of Germany,
The demoralization of the industrial front is becoming more and more apparent.

D 47240

D
DRAFT 47241

Proposed Statement by Prime Minister

House of Commons

26th March, 1944

I am ~~very~~ glad to be able to tell the House that the united assault against the Rhine barrier has been successful, and that satisfactory progress is being achieved at all points.

~~Every Canadian will~~ have learned with ~~satisfaction~~ that ~~our~~ 3rd Division has ~~played~~ ~~its~~ part in this great offensive ~~this time~~ as part of the British 2nd Army under General Dempsey's command.

According to latest reports, a crossing over the Ijssel river has already been secured. Immediately to the south, the United States 9th Army is fighting its way into the heavily industrialized area of the Rhur.

The Remagen bridgehead is steadily being expanded, ~~while~~ still farther to the south, General Patton's brilliant thrust opposite Oppenheim has captured Darmstadt and has pushed on to the river Main.

~~The~~ These striking successes by the Armies of the United Nations give ~~every~~ reason to hope that the final disintegration of the German Army ~~will~~ not be long delayed.

DRAFT

D 47242

Proposed Statement by Prime Minister

House of Commons

26th March, 1944

I am indeed very glad to be able to tell the House that the united assault against the Rhine barrier has been successful and that satisfactory progress is being achieved at all points.

~~Every Canadian will~~ The people of Canada have learned with satisfaction that our ~~3rd~~ Canadian Division has ~~played~~ taken an important ~~its~~ part in this great offensive, this time as part of the British 2nd Army under General Dempsey's command.

According to latest reports, a crossing over the Ijssel river has already been secured by the British 2nd Army. Immediately to the south, the United States 9th Army is fighting its way into the heavily industrialized area of the Rhur.

The Remagen bridgehead is steadily being expanded ~~while~~ still farther to the south, General Patton's brilliant thrust opposite Oppenheim has captured Darmstadt and has pushed on to the river Main.

~~The~~ these striking successes east of the Rhine by the Armies of the United Nations give ~~every~~ strong reason to hope that the final disintegration of the German Army ~~will~~ may not be long delayed.

JAG/DR
26.3.45

DRAFT

Statement by the Prime Minister

D 47243

The Western Front

Latest reports of the gigantic offensive launched by Allied armies on Friday last indicate that substantial gains have been made along some 200 miles of front along and east of the Rhine. At least five armies are now across the Rhine. From north to south the battle order of armies attacking Germany includes the 1st Canadian Army, 2nd British Army, 9th U. S. Army, 1st U. S. Army, 3rd U. S. Army, 7th U. S. Army, and the French Army.

Hon. members will recall that nearly three weeks ago the 1st United States Army reached the Rhine near Remagen, captured the H Bridge intact, and speedily established a bridgehead which has since been expanded along the East Bank and some 13 miles in depth. Four days ago tanks of the 3rd United States Army crossed the Rhine, and units of this powerful force have now penetrated more than 40 miles beyond the River Main. The 9th United States Army has rushed well into the Ruhr industrial area to within 10 miles of Essen. Reports state that enemy resistance in this sector is disintegrating. The 7th United States Army is stated to have reached the Rhine along its whole front, which probably means that only fragments of enemy resistance remain west of the Rhine.

The crossing of the Rhine has been looked upon as marking a final stage of the assault on Germany. Since the United States 1st Army established a bridgehead at Remagen, nearly three weeks ago, the stage has been set for a major assault, as a result of which five Allied armies are now fighting east of the Rhine.

The demoralization of the industrial front is becoming more and more apparent.

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SECRET D 47245

Draft II

Proposed Statement on Canadian Participation
in Pacific War

For some considerable time the government have had under consideration the question of Canadian participation in the war against Japan. Prior to the Quebec Conference of September, 1944, it was decided that on the conclusion of the war in Europe such participation should be effected in operational theatres of direct interest to Canada, namely, the North or Central Pacific.

With this end in view, the matter was discussed generally at Quebec, and in detail in staff discussions subsequent thereto. These discussions have now reached a stage when the broad lines of the proposed Canadian participation in the Japanese war may be publicly stated.

It has been agreed that the Royal Canadian Navy will co-operate with the British Pacific Fleet, which is to operate against Japan. This Canadian Naval force will comprise cruisers, light fleet aircraft carriers, destroyers and escort vessels of modern construction. This force will be built up in the Pacific as and when the situation in the North Atlantic permits.

As regards the Army, it is proposed to provide a force composed of a division, with its necessary ancillary troops, to operate with the United States Army, possibly in the final assault against Japan proper. The units to comprise this force will be drawn from those now serving in

D 47246

Europe on the conclusion of hostilities against Germany. It will be concentrated in Canada for reorganization and training prior to dispatch to the Pacific theatre of operations.

The Royal Canadian Air Force is to operate, in co-operation with the Royal Air Force, in the bombardment of Japan and Japanese-held territories, and in support of operations carried out by other Services.

It is not anticipated that there will be any difficulty in meeting the manpower requirements for the organization and maintenance of these forces, in view of the considerable numbers of volunteers in the Navy, Army and Air Force with comparatively short service. There will be no conscription for the Japanese war.

The Navy, Army and Air Force contingents will be formed in part from personnel now serving abroad and in part from personnel in training in Canada. Preference will be given to those with suitable qualifications, and who volunteer for service in the Pacific. All personnel returning from abroad will be granted thirty days' disembarkation leave, in addition to any normal leave to which they may become entitled during their period of duty in Canada while the several forces are being re-organized. In the case of the Navy, disembarkation leave is included in normal leave which, for overseas service, is on a higher scale than in the other Services.

March 24th, 1945.

JAG/
26 : iii : 45

SECRET

D 47247

Note for Mr. Heeney:

Re: Draft Statement on CanadianParticipation in Pacific War

1) The Prime Minister's notes have been transcribed in pencil on the copy which is now attached.

2) You may wish to consider the PM's verbal comments, which apply to the four places in the draft marked (in green) A,B,C,D.

A. Will these be ONLY from units now serving (i.e. would it be more correct to say "units" instead of "those")?

B. Should it be specified that these will be "certain squadrons" - Mr King wonders if this will give the impression it was all or a large part of the RCAF ? (Cf. Churchill telegram, D.O. No 54 of March 20).

C. Some of the volunteers may now be in Canada - is this a contradiction to what appears higher up ?

D. Is there a reason for putting emphasis on "preference" and "suitable qualifications - may it happen that some of the volunteers are members of the permanent force of Canada ?

SECRET

Draft II

D47248

Proposed Statement on Canadian Participation in Pacific War

For some considerable time the government have ~~had under~~ given consideration to the question of Canadian participation in the war against Japan. Prior to the Quebec Conference of September, 1944, it was decided that on the conclusion of the war in Europe such participation should be effected in operational theatres of direct interest to Canada, namely, the North or Central Pacific.

~~With this end in view,~~ the matter was discussed generally at Quebec, and in detail in staff discussions subsequent thereto. ~~These discussions have now reached a stage when~~ the broad lines of the proposed Canadian participation in the Japanese war may now be publicly stated.

It has been agreed that the Royal Canadian Navy will co-operate with the British Pacific Fleet, which is to operate against Japan. ~~This~~ The Canadian Naval force will comprise cruisers, light fleet aircraft carriers, destroyers and escort vessels of modern construction. This force will be built up in the Pacific as and when the situation in the North Atlantic permits.

As regards the Army, it is proposed to provide a force composed of a division, with its necessary ancillary troops, to operate with the United States Army, possibly in the final assault against Japan proper. The units to comprise this force will be drawn from those ? units now serving in

this to be co-operate with U.S. by all means. Should this be given to the enemy

D 47249

see below. what about move in Canada?

Europe on the conclusion of hostilities against Germany. It will be concentrated in Canada for reorganization and training prior to dispatch to the Pacific theatre of operations.

squadrons of ? (not extent)

The Royal Canadian Air Force is to operate, in co-operation with the Royal Air Force, in the bombardment of Japan and Japanese-held territories, and in support of operations carried out by other Services.

what about telegram from Churchill

It is not anticipated that there will be any difficulty in meeting the manpower requirements for the organization and maintenance of these forces, in view of the considerable numbers of volunteers in the Navy, Army and Air Force with comparatively short service. There will be no conscription for the Japanese war.

?

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March 24th, 1945.

SECRET

Statement re war policy

Abstr. file with papers re K

D

47250

DRAFT OF STATEMENT TO BE GIVEN IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY THE PRIME MINISTER AS A PRELIMINARY TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ESTIMATES OF THE DEFENCE DEPARTMENTS.

With ~~the progress of~~ the war in Europe progressing towards ~~a satisfactory~~ a satisfactory conclusion, it is opportune that I should outline briefly the further service which ~~is~~ may be required from our Canadian sea, land and air forces under the circumstances which will ~~then~~ exist when ~~[illegible]~~ victory in Europe ~~[illegible]~~ has been achieved; and in particular~~ly~~ that I should indicate the part which it is proposed Canada thereafter will undertake in ~~developing~~ the war against Japan.

In Europe it is necessary not only to secure complete Victory but that ~~success~~ achievement must be confirmed and the continued maintenance of Peace assured. ~~and,~~ Where needed, after the cessation of military operations, the Inter-Allied Army will continue in occupation of Germany. The size of this Force has been set to give continuing assurance that Germany will not be able to resist or evade the settlement which will be

D 47251

be imposed on her.

The burden of maintaining this force will be ~~equitably~~ shared among the Allies and all will be appropriately represented.

From time to time as progress is made, and as considerations of safety and security permit, reductions must be made in the size of this Army of occupation ~~are contemplated~~.

The quota which Canada has undertaken to maintain is modest having regard to ~~her~~ our resources and to our direct interest in the maintaining and safeguarding of the peace of the world.

Immediately following the cessation of hostilities in Northwest Europe, progressive reduction in the numbers of our soldiers and airmen overseas will commence ~~and~~, these will proceed at the maximum rate which is possible with available shipping. The world supply of ships is very limited and these have to be shared to meet the needs of all, ~~and so~~ it is to be expected that some time must elapse before our forces can be reduced to the small continuing quota required in the Allied Forces for the

D 47252

the occupation of Germany.

As ~~the~~ for Members of the House are aware, the Canadian Navy has been deployed primarily to assist in the maintenance of the security of the shipping roads in the North Atlantic. These requirements will continue for some time after the cessation of the war with Germany, and are a first charge on our attention.

~~Up to date~~ It has been the policy of the Allies to concentrate against Germany all the Forces which could be employed, and leave Japan to be engaged with such other forces as were available after this primary consideration had been met. As matters have worked out the ~~U.S.~~ United States with such forces as they have had available have been able to develop a step by step advance against Japan. They have been very successful indeed. Recently a British Naval Force has joined the ~~U.S.~~ United States Fleet in ~~this~~ the Japanese theatre.

In Canada, this policy has meant that practically the whole of our military effort has been applied in the war in Europe. The Government have agreed that this was wise and in consequence ~~that~~ the question of our participation in the further efforts which must be made in the East should be left for final decision until the time approached when we would be free to turn our attention to that theatre. ~~The time to take decision in these~~

matters

D 47253

~~matters has now come~~.

The Pacific is a region of vast distances, ~~and~~ transportation which was a difficult problem in Europe, and a limiting factor on all our operations, will be even more difficult in that theatre. This will strictly limit the size of the forces which can be employed with advantage, ~~and so~~ Canada's effort to maintain her just part in the further prosecution of the war against Japan, as measured in numbers, ~~will~~ necessarily be very much less than has been the case in the war in Europe. These considerations are most important in respect to the contribution of the Canadian Army, but they also apply to the Canadian Navy and to the Canadian Air Force.

On the other hand there will be a continuing need for great supplies of munitions and other equipment of special types, many of which have been invented and developed by Canadian engineers and specialists and in some of which Canada is the only source of supply.

There

There is not only a continuing need for everything we have done in the production of foodstuffs to help feed the United Kingdom and the armed forces but this requirement has been very greatly increased by the needs of the populations of Europe, ~~of both allied and enemy who we must assist in all Christian charity.~~ both the allied and enemy alike, apart from all else, It is to our interests to help in every way the re-establishment of those peoples who have been broken in war, and ~~who~~ they have borne the shock which otherwise might have come to us in our own homeland, we must give them every assistance we can. What we do will be returned ~~to us~~ in ample measure when, in the years to come, we are again able to enjoy our normal peaceful relations and renew our trade with them.

~~In consequence~~, with the cessation of hostilities in Europe, the general considerations which I have indicated, require that we should turn our efforts to a considerable extent from the operation of our Armed Forces to the maintenance of our war industry, and to the development of our contribution in foodstuffs, ~~materials~~

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materials for reconstruction, relief and rehabilitation. ~~etc and the like~~

The demobilization of our Armed Forces to the extent required and the return of our sailors and soldiers and ~~airmen~~ airmen to civil life will proceed as rapidly as can be made possible having regard to shipping. The e ~~is~~ need be ample work for them to do in Canada ~~which is~~ of immediate importance and pressing need, both for the future conduct of the war, and for the reconstruction and development of our own internal economy.

Hansard Sheet No 3-4-45

47256 D

an interim appropriation only

it was the intention of the Government in introducing the resolutions which

to the House, was carried & bound out that

the Minister of Finance, in a new Parliament, newly elected by the people of Canada, which will be responsible for supervising the affairs of this country and shaping Canada's war effort during at least the major part of the next fiscal year. The Government, in the fundamentals said

"It will be a Government responsible to that new Parliament, which should bear at least the major responsibility for formulating and carrying out the nature and extent of Canada's continued war effort during that period and also the financial policies and programmes necessary to carry on that war effort. Therefore it did not seem appropriate that the Government at this stage should bring down plans for the next fiscal year or a whole, or do anything that might even appear to commit the next Parliament to a precise and definite programme covering the period for which it alone will have jurisdiction. On the contrary, all considerations seemed to point to the desirability of limiting our actions regarding new financial programmes in this Parliament to the granting of an appropriation intended only to cover the period up

D 47257

to the time when the next Parliament can take over
and further to the desirability of not embarking on
any (major) changes in policy at that time."

Appropriation - interim - {charges to come on estimated
expenditure, during 6 months the next five months
for war and limited to purposes on the basis of the
services and commitments now in effect.

{Sweeping of the war against Japan
the uncertainties remain added.}

"There are necessarily still many uncertainties as to the
nature and course of the war in the Far East and the
share which we can most effectively take in bringing
it to an end. Nevertheless, the course of development
in that theatre of war during recent months has out
run the expectations of most of us, and it would
appear at least to a layman that the forces of our
Allies under Normal methods are considerably ahead
of their schedule."

D 47258

SECRET

Draft V

Proposed statement on Canadian participation in Pacific war

For ~~some considerable time the government have given consideration to the question of Canadian participation in the war against~~ Japan.

Prior to the Quebec Conference of September, 1944, it was decided that, on the conclusion of the war in Europe, ~~such~~ participation should be effected in the operational theatres of more direct interest to Canada, namely, the North or Central Pacific.

The matter was discussed in principle at Quebec. It ~~will be appreciated~~ that the actual form and extent of the Canadian forces to be engaged ~~cannot~~ be finally settled until the strategic situation which will exist after European hostilities have terminated ~~can~~ be assessed with greater accuracy. ~~At that time,~~ the appropriate Canadian contribution to the defeat of Japan ~~will~~ be considered in the light of ~~that~~ situation, with United Kingdom and United States authorities. All that is possible at the moment is to describe the broad lines upon which it is intended that Canadian forces will participate in the final campaigns in the Pacific.

It has been agreed that the Royal Canadian Navy will co-operate with the British Pacific Fleet. ~~The Canadian Naval force will comprise cruisers, light fleet aircraft carriers, destroyers and escort~~

~~vessels of modern construction.~~ This force will be built up in the Pacific as and when the situation in the North Atlantic permits.

As regards the Army, it is proposed to provide a force to operate with the United States Army, ~~possibly in the Allied assault against Japan proper.~~ This force will be concentrated in Canada for reorganization and training prior to dispatch to the Pacific theatre of operations.

Squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force, in co-operation with the Royal Air Force, will take part in operations against Japan and Japanese-held territories.

These Navy, Army and Air Force contingents will be formed in part from personnel now serving abroad and in part from personnel now training in Canada. ~~Army units will be chosen from suitably qualified personnel who volunteer for service in the Pacific.~~ These men will be accorded all of the benefits, financial and otherwise, at present attaching to personnel serving overseas ~~(and, in addition, higher rates of pay).~~ ~~It is also intended that volunteers proceeding to the Pacific will be accorded a preference for appointment to the postwar Permanent Force.~~

No one serving in the European theatre will proceed to the Pacific without first having the

D 47260

opportunity of coming home. All personnel returning from abroad will be granted thirty days' disembarkation leave, in addition to any normal leave to which they may become entitled during their period of duty in Canada while the several forces are being reorganized. In the case of the Navy, disembarkation leave is included in normal leave which, for overseas service, is on a higher scale than in the other Services.

March 30th, 1945.

D 47261

D 47262

personnel serving overseas, (and possibly in addition higher rates of pay or allowances. In this connection a careful study is now being made of the financial benefits being given by the U.K. and U.S. authorities to their personnel serving in the Pacific.

Paragraph 7 as in draft 5.

9/

(Here follows the substance of the paragraphs given in draft 5, paragraphs 1 to 5 inclusive)

D 47263

Paragraph 6 to be revised as follows:

These Navy, Army and Air Force contingents will be formed in part from personnel now serving abroad and in part from personnel now training in Canada. Army units will be made up from specially qualified personnel who elect to serve in the Pacific theatre. These men will be accorded all of the benefits, financial and otherwise, at present provided for

personnel

Important D 47264

Confidential Ottawa, April 2nd, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Proposed statement on Canadian participation in Pacific war

I am attaching a copy of a number of draft paragraphs handed me by General McNaughton, this afternoon, to supplement and in two or three particulars amend the draft which I sent you on March 30th (draft V).

You will observe that General McNaughton proposes reference to a considerable number of additional topics, e.g., Canadian occupation forces, the time required for repatriation, the Naval effort in the North Atlantic, general Allied strategy, the difficulties of employing large forces in the Pacific, the continuing need for supplies and food from Canada, relief and rehabilitation.

It seems to me that unless you are intending to make an extended general statement, there would be danger in including so many subjects. This would surely tend to obscure the significance of what is said regarding participation in the war against Japan. Certain of these additional topics might raise additional questions, e.g., the reference to relief and rehabilitation and to strategy in the Pacific.

Perhaps it would be better to include, as an introduction to your statement, something along the lines suggested by General McNaughton in his first two pages.

On pages 6 and 7 General McNaughton suggests verbal revisions in paragraph 6 of draft V, one, substituting "elect to" for "volunteer", with reference to Army service in the Pacific, the other, extending and altering the reference to higher rates of pay. He also proposes to strike out completely the reference to employment in the Permanent Force. I should have thought that this would have had some value.

A. D. P. H.

D 47265

Confidential Ottawa, March 30th, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Draft V

Attached is a further revision of the proposed Parliamentary statement on participation in the Pacific war, prepared this afternoon.

I have consulted both Robertson and Pope and have incorporated their suggestions.

Your attention is drawn, particularly, to the second paragraph on page 1 and the third complete paragraph on page 2. In the latter I have suggested the possibility of * special (higher) rates of pay for the Pacific. The United Kingdom government are providing specific Pacific pay and this might well be an important inducement.

* Shown Mr. Naughton 30th. he is agreed *

A. D. P. H.

D 47266

Secret

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re Conscription and the Japanese War.

In the statement on Canadian participation in the Japanese war it is understood that no direct reference is to be made to conscription.

It is, however, unlikely that the debate on the war appropriation will be concluded without a direct question being put to the government and it would, therefore, seem desirable to have the Cabinet agree in advance on a formula which could be used if needed.

It seems to me most undesirable that any pledge should be given. It would be used against the Liberals in Quebec in the "broken pledge " argument and, in the rest of the country, would be represented, and probably with considerable effect, as "appeasement" of Quebec.

In case you should wish to have a formula which might serve as a basis for discussion, I have made a draft which is attached.

J.L.P.

3rd April, 1945.

D 47267

Secret - draft

Conscription and the Japanese War.

It has already been indicated that it is not intended to detail men for Army Service in the Pacific; the men to make up whatever military force is to be employed against Japan will be chosen from those who elect such service. In view of the limited scope there is likely to be for Canadian land forces in the Pacific it is the opinion of the government that no question of compulsion need arise or should arise in the selection of these forces.

Secret D 47268

Ottawa, March 26th, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Parliamentary statement on Canadian participation in Pacific war

Attached for your consideration is a further revision (Draft III) of the draft statement prepared following my telephone conversation with you this morning and after receiving from Gibson some indication of your comments on the previous draft.

This draft includes:

(i) the verbal changes which you made in the earlier draft;

(ii) the addition of the word "Allied" prior to the phrase "assault against Japan proper" in the paragraph dealing with the Army; and

(iii) the specific statement that "No one serving in the European theatre will proceed to the Pacific without first having the opportunity of coming home ....." in the last paragraph.

As I told you this morning, the Joint Staff, Washington, have cleared the reference to the United States Army with U.S. military authorities and have spoken to General Macready, head of the British Army Staff there, whose only suggestion was the addition of the word "Allied" mentioned in (ii) above. There seems no need of further reference to the United Kingdom or United States and security features of the earlier draft have been approved by our Chiefs of Staff.

A.D.P.H.

A.D.P.H.

SECRET D 47269

Draft III

Proposed statement on Canadian participation in Pacific war

For some considerable time the government have given consideration to the question of Canadian participation in the war against Japan, ~~and~~ prior to the Quebec Conference of September, 1944, it was decided that on the conclusion of the war in Europe, such participation should be effected in operational theatres of direct interest to Canada, namely, the North or Central Pacific.

The matter was discussed generally at Quebec, and in detail, in staff discussions subsequent thereto. The broad lines of the proposed Canadian participation in the Japanese war may now be publicly stated.

It has been agreed that the Royal Canadian Navy will co-operate with the British Pacific Fleet, which is to operate against Japan. The Canadian Naval force will comprise cruisers, light fleet aircraft carriers, destroyers and escort vessels of modern construction. This force will be built up in the Pacific as and when the situation in the North Atlantic permits.

As regards the Army, it is proposed to provide a force composed of a division, with its necessary ancillary troops, to operate with the United States Army, possibly in the final Allied assault against Japan proper. The units to comprise this force will be drawn from units now serving in Europe on the conclusion of hostilities against Germany. It will be concentrated

in Canada for reorganization and training prior to dispatch to the Pacific theatre of operations.

Squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force will operate, in co-operation with the Royal Air Force, in the bombardment of Japan and Japanese-held territories, and in support of operations carried out by other Services.

It is not anticipated that there will be any difficulty in meeting the manpower requirements for the organization and maintenance of these forces, in view of the considerable numbers of volunteers in the Navy, Army and Air Force with comparatively short service. There will be no conscription for the Japanese war.

These Navy, Army and Air Force contingents will be formed in part from personnel now serving abroad and in part from personnel in training in Canada. Preference will be given to those with suitable qualifications, and who volunteer for service in the Pacific. No one serving in the European theatre will proceed to the Pacific without first having the opportunity of coming home, and All personnel returning from abroad will be granted thirty days' disembarkation leave, in addition to any normal leave to which they may become entitled during their period of duty in Canada while the several forces are being reorganized. In the case of the Navy, disembarkation leave is included in normal leave which, for overseas service, is on a higher scale than in the other Services.

March 26th, 1945.

D 47271

SECRET

Draft IV

Proposed statement on Canadian participation in Pacific war

For some considerable time the government have given consideration to the question of Canadian participation in the war against Japan. Prior to the Quebec Conference of September, 1944, it was decided that on the conclusion of the war in Europe such participation should be effected in the operational theatres of more direct interest to Canada, namely, the North or Central Pacific.

The matter was discussed generally at Quebec, and in detail in staff discussions subsequent thereto. The broad lines of the proposed Canadian participation in the Japanese war may now be publicly stated.

It has been agreed that the Royal Canadian Navy will co-operate with the British Pacific Fleet, which is to operate against Japan. The Canadian Naval force will comprise cruisers, light fleet aircraft carriers, destroyers and escort vessels of modern construction. This force will be built up in the Pacific as and when the situation in the North Atlantic permits.

As regards the Army, it is proposed to provide a force ~~composed of a division, with its necessary ancillary troops~~, to operate with the United States Army, possibly in the Allied assault against Japan proper. ~~(The units to comprise this force will be drawn from units now serving in Europe on the conclusion of hostilities against Germany.)~~ This force will be built up in

concentrated in Canada for reorganization and training prior to dispatch to the Pacific theatre of operations.

Squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force will operate, in co-operation with the Royal Air Force, in the bombardment of Japan and Japanese-held territories, and in support of operations carried out by other Services.

It is not anticipated that there will be any difficulty in meeting the manpower requirements for the organization and maintenance of these forces, in view of the considerable numbers of Navy, Army and Air Force personnel with comparatively short service who have enlisted for duty anywhere. There will be no conscription for the Japanese war.

These Navy, Army and Air Force contingents will be formed in part from personnel now serving abroad and in part from personnel in training in Canada. Except for a certain number of men with special qualifications, they will be ~~made up~~ drawn from those with the shortest periods of service, but preference will be given to personnel who express the wish to remain on for duty against Japan, irrespective of how long they have served.

No one serving in the European theatre will proceed to the Pacific without first having the opportunity of coming home. All personnel returning from abroad will be granted thirty days' disembarkation leave, in addition to any normal leave to which they may become entitled during their period of duty in Canada while the

several forces are being reorganized. In the case of the Navy, disembarkation leave is included in normal leave which, for overseas service, is on a higher scale than in the other Services.

March 27th, 1945.

D 47274

perhaps partly a federal matter? I would ask the minister to consider giving a statement before the house rises.

Hon. C. D. HOWE (Minister of Munitions and Supply): I must advise my hon. friend that responsibility for housing rests with the Department of Finance. My own responsibility is limited to providing housing for war workers, though that has been extended at times to meet emergent conditions.

Mr. HARRIS (Danforth): Then may I ask the indulgence of the house to make it a joint question to the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Munitions and Supply.

POSITION OF OCCUPANTS OF WARTIME HOUSES

Mr. N. J. McLOCKHART (Lincoln): I should like to supplement what the hon. member for Danforth (Mr. Harris) has just said. I wonder if a statement could be made in the near future advising the people who are now in wartime houses what their position will be. They are very much concerned now, particularly since we have been getting good war news; they are afraid something may develop that will be detrimental to them, and I think it would be only fair to let them know what their position will be.

OFFICIAL REPORT

On the orders of the day:

Mr. GEORGE BLACK (Yukon): I wish to call attention to an omission from *Hansard* which has just come to my notice. At page 299 of *Hansard* of March 29 I asked five questions of the government as to the production and treatment of oil in the Northwest Territories and Yukon. The Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) answered the questions as follows:

> 1, 2, 3 and 4. According to information received from the United States government the answer to these questions is in the affirmative.

As to 5, the Prime Minister very properly pointed out that there were many factors involved in the decision, whereas in *Hansard*, he is made to say, as to all the questions:

> According to information received from the United States government the answer to these questions is in the affirmative.

As if the answers to all five were in the affirmative, which they were not. I think it should be corrected. I am sure that the Prime Minister would not wish to be so misunderstood and I do not want the people who are vitally interested in this product so to understand the answers given.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The correction will be made.

(*Note: See page 443, this issue*).

[Mr. Harris (Danforth).]

WHEAT

INQUIRY WITH RESPECT TO FINAL REPORT ON 1943-44 CROP YEAR

On the orders of the day:

Mr. E. E. PERLEY (Qu'Appelle): A few days ago I asked the Minister of Trade and Commerce whether he could expect to have in the near future the report on the 1943-44 crop. Can he say whether we are likely to have it soon?

Hon. J. A. MacKINNON (Minister of Trade and Commerce): I expect to lay the report on the table on or about the tenth of this month.

WAR APPROPRIATION BILL

PROVISION FOR GRANTING TO HIS MAJESTY AID FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE AND SECURITY

The house resumed from Tuesday, April 3, consideration in committee of a resolution to grant to His Majesty certain sums of money for the carrying out of measures consequent upon the existence of a state of war—Mr. Ilsley—Mr. Bradette in the chair.

STATEMENT AS TO SERVICE OF CANADIAN FORCES AFTER VICTORY IN EUROPE

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Before the Minister of National Defence for Naval Services proceeds in committee I would ask hon. members to allow me to make a brief general statement which is applicable to the forces in all the services. The statement will, I think, facilitate discussion in the committee in reference to all the services.

With the war in Europe progressing towards a satisfactory conclusion, it is opportune that I should outline briefly the further service which may be required from our Canadian sea, land and air forces under the circumstances which will exist when victory in Europe has been achieved, and in particular that I should indicate the part which it is proposed Canada thereafter will undertake in the war against Japan.

In Europe it is necessary not only to secure complete victory, but that achievement must be confirmed, and the continued maintenance of peace assured. Where needed, after the cessation of military operations, the inter-allied army will continue in occupation of Germany. The size of this force has been set to give continuing assurance that Germany will not be able to resist or evade the settlement which will be imposed on her.

The burden of maintaining this force will be shared among the allies and all will be appropriately represented.

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which was signed yesterday covers eggs, and is for quantities somewhat greater than we delivered last year; but the British are prepared to accept even greater quantities of eggs than are covered by the contract if it is possible for us to ship them.

The second question has to do with government policy, and the matter is still under consideration.

Mr. SENN: Would the minister inform the house whether there is anything in the contracts with regard to the prices to be realized for these various commodities.

Mr. GARDINER: The price of bacon and ham is the same price that has been in the contract for the last two years, 1944 and 1945. The price for beef is the same as in the contract for 1945.

Mr. SENN: What about eggs?

Mr. GARDINER: The price for eggs is on a little different basis, because a considerable proportion of the eggs going this year are shelled eggs as against dried eggs last year; but the prices are approximately the same.

PRODUCTION BONUS ON HOGS

Mr. E. E. PERLEY (Qu'Appelle): Is the minister aware that there will be a very considerable decrease in the production of hogs in western Canada? Only to-day I had a letter from one farmer who raised two hundred and fifty hogs last year and who will not raise more than one hundred this year. The farmers are concerned about the bonus paid on A-1 and B-1 grades of hogs. Will the minister say whether he is considering increasing the bonus to what is was before it was reduced last year, and making it uniform throughout Canada, in order to encourage the production of hogs this year?

Mr. GARDINER: I do not know that I can give any definite information with regard to the production of hogs, except as it is shown in the figures with regard to marketing, but the present position in regard to the marketing of hogs is that deliveries to date this year, together with estimated deliveries for the remainder of the year, would indicate the marketing of about the same number of hogs in 1945 as were marketed in 1943. It is true that marketings were very considerably higher in 1944, and as compared with last year our marketings will be down this year.

The question of the payment of higher premiums has to be considered in the light of what has been done elsewhere. It is true that the legislature of the province of Saskatchewan passed a resolution asking that these premiums be increased to $5 on a grade A hog and I think $3 on a grade B, and the legislature of the province of Alberta has either passed or is considering a similar resolution. I have replied to persons writing from both these provinces saying that at the present time we are paying a premium of $3 on a grade A and $2 on a B-1 hog, and that this premium applies right across Canada. Ontario is paying an additional premium of one dollar on A's and 50 cents on B-1's and each of the other provinces, from Ontario to the Atlantic, is giving some additional assistance over and above that given by the federal government in order to induce greater production of hogs. I have suggested to those writing from both provinces that I do not know of any reason why they should not do the same thing, and I have based that on the experience we have had with other provinces. Cheese was the first product considered from that point of view. Most of the cheese is produced in Ontario and Quebec, and when we were asked to increase the premium on cheese all across Canada we pointed out that to do so would probably bring into competition with the natural cheese producers of Canada, cheese producers in other areas. Therefore we said that if these provinces desired to have a higher premium and consequently greater production they ought to pay the premium and they have done so.

The same has happened in connection with hogs, as I have indicated. A proposal has been made that we should guarantee prices of potatoes. We have made the same type of statement in that regard, that to do so might interfere with production and with marketing in certain areas. All I have to say with regard to the resolutions passed in the province is that they have it in their power to put an additional premium on hogs if they so desire.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK: Is the minister sure of the fact that it is uniform across Canada?

Mr. GARDINER: It is uniform as far as we are concerned. We pay $3 for A hogs and $2 for B-1 hogs anywhere in Canada.

HOUSING

REQUEST FOR STATEMENT ON CONDITIONS IN LARGE CENTRES

On the orders of the day:

Mr. J. H. HARRIS (Danforth): I should like to give notice of a question I wish to ask the Minister of Munitions and Supply; I regret that I have not had the opportunity to send him formal notice. Will he give consideration to making a statement with regard to housing conditions in the large centres of population, particularly having in mind the representations made to him on behalf of the large metropolitan area of Toronto, for those who find themselves without proper housing accommodation and who feel that the responsibility for the lack of this accommodation is

D 47276

From time to time, as progress is made, and as considerations of safety and security permit, reductions will be made in the size of this army of occupation.

The quota which Canada has undertaken to maintain is modest having regard to our resources and to our direct interest in the maintaining and safeguarding of the peace of the world.

Immediately following the cessation of hostilities in northwest Europe, progressive reduction in the numbers of our soldiers and airmen overseas will commence. This will proceed at the maximum rate which is possible with available shipping. The world supply of ships is very limited and these have to be shared to meet the needs of all. It is therefore to be expected that some time must elapse before our forces can be reduced to the small continuing quota required in the allied forces for the occupation of Germany.

As hon. members of the house are aware, the Canadian navy has been deployed primarily to assist in the maintenance of the security of the shipping routes in the North Atlantic. As stated last night by the Minister of National Defence for Naval Services, these requirements will continue for some time and are a first charge on our capacity.

It has been the policy of the allies up to the present to concentrate against Germany all the forces which could be employed there.

As matters have worked out, the United States with forces which they have had available have been able to develop a tremendous assault against Japan. Recently a British naval force has joined the United States fleet in the Japanese theatre.

In Canada these plans have meant that, excepting the expeditions to Hong Kong and the Aleutians, practically the whole of our military effort has been applied in the war in Europe. In consequence the question of our participation in the further efforts which must be made in the east has had to be left for final decision until the time approached when we would be free to turn our attention to that theatre.

The Pacific is a region of vast distances. Transportation which was a difficult problem in Europe and a limiting factor on all our operations, will be even more difficult in that theatre. This of itself strictly limits the size of the forces which can be employed with advantage. Canada's effort to maintain her just part in the further prosecution of the war against Japan will, as measured in numbers, necessarily be very much less than has been the case in the war in Europe. These considerations are most important in respect of the contribution of the Canadian army, but they also apply to the Canadian navy and to the Canadian air force.

There will, on the other hand, be a continuing need for great supplies of munitions and other equipment of special types, many of which have been invented and developed by Canadian engineers and specialists, and in some of which Canada is the only source of supply.

There is not only a continuing need for everything we have done in the production of foodstuffs to help feed the United Kingdom and the armed forces, but this requirement has been very greatly increased by the needs of the liberated peoples of Europe.

Apart from all else, it is to our interests to help in every way the reestablishment of the peoples who have been broken in war. They have borne the shock which otherwise might have come to us in our own homeland. We must give them every assistance we can. What we do will be returned in ample measure when, in the years to come, we are again able to enjoy normal peaceful relations and renew our trade with them.

The general considerations which I have indicated require that, with the cessation of hostilities in Europe, we shall have to turn our efforts to a considerable extent from the operation of our armed forces to the maintenance of our war industry, and to the development of our contribution in foodstuffs, materials for reconstruction, relief and rehabilitation. There will be ample work to do in Canada for all whom it will be possible to demobilize: work of immediate importance and pressing need, both for the future conduct of the war and for the reconstruction and development of our own internal economy.

The Minister of Finance in introducing yesterday the resolution which is now before the house, was careful to point out that it will be a new parliament, newly elected by the people of Canada, which will be responsible for supervising the affairs of this country and prosecuting Canada's war effort during at least the major part of the present fiscal year. The minister said, as reported on page 377 of *Hansard*:

> It will be a government, responsible to that new parliament, which should have at least the major responsibility for formulating not only the nature and extent of Canada's continued war effort during that period but also the financial policies and programmes necessary to carry on that war effort. Therefore it did not seem appropriate that the government at this stage should bring down plans for the new fiscal year as a whole, or do anything that might even appear to commit the next parliament to a precise and definite programme covering the period for which it alone will have jurisdiction. On the contrary, all considerations

D47277

seemed to point to the desirability of limiting our actions regarding war financial programmes in this parliament to the granting of an appropriation intended only to cover the period up to the time when the next parliament can take over, and further to the desirability of not embarking on any major changes in policy at this time.

Speaking of Canada's share with the allied forces in the war against Japan, the Minister of Finance added, on page 378:

> . . . there are necessarily still many uncertainties as to the nature and course of the war in the far east and the share which we can most effectively take in bringing it to an end. Providentially, the course of developments in that theatre of war during recent months has outrun the expectations of most of us, and, it would appear at least to a layman that the forces of our allies under General McArthur are considerably ahead of their schedule.

While it is true that it is impossible to predict with accuracy the nature and course of the war in the far east or to decide at present on the part which Canada can most effectively take in helping to bring to an end the war against Japan, the nature of Canadian participation has been constantly kept in mind by the government, and has been given most careful consideration over a considerable period of time. The question is one immediately related to the over-all plans of the allies and to combined strategy in the far east. It is not possible, therefore, at the present time to do more than refer in general terms to what is contemplated. The determining factor, I need scarcely say, will be based on the needs of the situation as, from time to time, they may manifest themselves.

Prior to the Quebec conference of September, 1944, it was decided that on the conclusion of the war in Europe, Canada's participation should be effected in the operational theatres of more direct interest to Canada, namely, the north or central Pacific.

The matter was discussed in principle at Quebec. It was agreed at that time that the actual form and extent of the Canadian forces to be engaged could not be finally settled until the strategic situation, which will exist after European hostilities have terminated, could be assessed with greater accuracy, and that when that time came the appropriate Canadian contribution to the defeat of Japan would be determined with United Kingdom and United States authorities in the light of the situation then existing. All, therefore, that is possible at the moment is to describe the broad lines upon which it is intended that Canadian forces will participate in the Pacific.

It has been agreed, as already stated by the Minister of National Defence for Naval Services, that the Royal Canadian Navy will cooperate with the British Pacific fleet. This force will be built up in the Pacific as and when the situation in the north Atlantic permits.

As regards the army, it is proposed to provide a force to operate with the United States army. This force will be concentrated in Canada for reorganization and training prior to dispatch to the Pacific theatre of operations.

Squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force will take part in operations against Japan and Japanese held territories, in cooperation with the Royal Air Force.

These navy, army and air force contingents will be formed in part from personnel now serving abroad and in part from personnel now training in Canada. It is not intended to detail men for service in the Pacific. This applies to general service personnel as well as to all others. The men to make up whatever military force is to be employed against Japan will be chosen from those who elect to serve in the Pacific theatre.

No one serving in the European theatre will proceed to the Pacific without first having the opportunity of coming home. All personnel returning from abroad will be granted thirty days' disembarkation leave, in addition to any normal leave to which they may become entitled during their period of duty in Canada while the several forces are being reorganized.

It is still too soon to say when any final decision can be reached as to the relative contributions of the different services or to the numbers from any one service. The determining factors, as I have said, will be the actual need for and the probable effectiveness of the forces to be employed.

As the present parliament will have expired on the seventeenth of this month, it will be for the government responsible to the new parliament to determine not only the nature and extent of Canada's continuing war effort, but also the necessary financial policies and programmes. In these circumstances, the present administration has been careful not to do anything that might even appear to commit the next parliament to precise and definite programmes. In what I have stated of plans proposed, I have spoken only for the present government and of the programme and policies we intend to follow if again accorded the confidence of the people.

Mr. GRAYDON: I should like to ask the Prime Minister a question arising out of the statement which he has just made. The Prime Minister referred to the changed situation which is apparent in Europe and spoke of

D 47278

the forces to be employed in the occupation of German and other territories. I should like to ask what will be the policy of the government with respect to the bringing back of members of our armed forces. There has been talk from time to time of a policy of first in, first out. It does seem to me that the government ought to indicate what will be the broad principle adopted in that respect. For those who have borne the brunt and heat of battle over a long period of time it would seem to me that the government ought to have some word with respect to how soon after the cessation of hostilities they may be able to come home to Canada to their loved ones.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am quite ready to answer any questions my hon. friend may ask, but I think it would be better if questions relating to the army should be answered by the parliamentary assistant who is acting for the Minister of National Defence. Similarly, questions relating to the naval services and air force respectively should be answered by the ministers of those departments. These are in part departmental matters, and I would prefer, if it is equally agreeable to hon. gentlemen opposite, that the ministers immediately directing those departments should make the replies.

Mr. GRAYDON: Is the Prime Minister able to undertake that that question will be answered by the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of National Defence?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes.

Mr. GRAYDON: I have one other question which perhaps the Prime Minister himself may wish to answer, with respect to the raising of the Canadian forces for operations against Japan. I take it from the Prime Minister's language that the forces will not be raised on a compulsory or widely distributed basis across Canada, but will consist of those who are prepared to serve against Japan although they may have already borne the heat and brunt of the battle overseas in Europe. Would the Prime Minister indicate the government's policy in that respect?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend in his concluding words said that those would have to serve notwithstanding their having borne the brunt of the battle overseas in Europe. There will be no compulsion in connection with the service against Japan.

Mr. GRAYDON: My point was this. Somebody has to bear the brunt of the Japanese war, and I wanted to point out to the Prime Minister that under his policy it may be that those who have served in the heat of battle overseas in Europe may find that in order that the necessary forces may be raised they will have to volunteer and carry the battle against Japan also.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Only those who elect to serve will be the ones who will be included in the forces used against Japan.

Mr. GREEN: Is that same principle to apply to the men who will serve with the Canadian troops of occupation in occupied Germany?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes. But I am not sure that I caught my hon. friend's question.

Mr. GREEN: Is the same principle to apply to the men who will serve in the Canadian Army occupying Germany after peace comes in Europe? The Prime Minister will realize that there will have to be continual replacements of men in that army, with new men going from Canada all the time. Is there to be compulsion in regard to those men?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I did not catch the full significance of my hon. friend's question when he began to speak.

Mr. GREEN: But the right hon. gentleman understands it now?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, but I would prefer that it be answered by the department immediately concerned rather than by myself at the moment.

Mr. ROWE: Would the Prime Minister care to say whether this means that the N.R.M.A. men will be the first to be demobilized?

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR NAVAL SERVICES

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the resolution carry? When we adjourned last night we were considering the naval vote.

Mr. STIRLING: I think the minister was to give answers to certain questions that had been asked.

Hon. ANGUS L. MACDONALD (Minister of National Defence for Naval Services): The hon. member for Yale asked first of all a question with regard to the preference granted by the civil service commission to persons who have served overseas. I would say to my hon. friend, though he probably knows it well, that the only civil service preference at the moment is to men who have actually served overseas. There is no preference under the Civil Service Act for men who have served in Canada only, even though they

may have volunteered, as many of them have, for service anywhere. This matter has been under discussion for a considerable time by the three men—one in each of the defence services, one army man, one air force man, and one navy man—who have to do with the matter of demobilization. They have been giving a good deal of study to it, as have the heads of the personnel branches and the ministers of the three services. The matter is one that relates too, to the Department of Veterans Affairs. I can only say to my hon. friend that I shall be glad to continue these discussions with my colleagues, the heads of the two other services and with the Minister of Veterans Affairs, in the hope that we may arrive at some satisfactory solution.

Mr. STIRLING: May I ask in that connection where does "overseas" begin? Ships which have served in the gulf of the St. Lawrence, around the immediate coasts of Canada, even as far up as the Hudson Bay strait, or Iceland—do men serving on those ships come within the category of those who have served overseas?

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): I cannot draw an exact geographical line, but there is a well-known definition of overseas service. Any ship in the high seas I think is taken to be a ship which is overseas.

My hon. friend also asked about demobilization leave, and pointed out that there was a difference in the leave granted by the three branches of the service. I wanted a little time to consider that question, because I was not too familiar with the practice in the other branches of the service. I find, as I would expect to find, that my hon. friend is quite right. There is a difference in the manner in which demobilization leave is granted to personnel of the different services. I am quite in agreement with my hon. friend that it should be put on a uniform basis, and that matter is under discussion by the personnel heads at this moment. I thank my hon. friend for bringing the matter to my attention.

My hon. friend also asked for some information as to the progress achieved by the demobilization and rehabilitation branch of the navy. We have an officer in the naval service known as the chief staff officer, reserves. He is a member of the naval board and on several other boards and committees in the service, but one of his prime duties is to supervise rehabilitation. He has under him at headquarters a staff of seven officers and several ratings, also one officer in the United Kingdom who goes around the various ships and establishments there; also two officers on the west coast and five officers on the east coast, which includes of course the Newfoundland command. All these officers have been trained in their particular kind of work, and they have been going around for about a year now explaining to officers and ratings on the ships and elsewhere the terms of the rehabilitation programme and answering any questions that these officers or men wish to put to them. That work will be continued, and I am confident that the staff engaged in it will be enlarged so that every man who leaves the navy will have a chance to make himself thoroughly familiar, if he is not already familiar with the terms of the War Service Grants Act and the regulations made thereunder, and with any other information that might help him to rehabilitate himself back into civil life. I must point out that the naval services department is not responsible for the actual rehabilitation of its personnel. These are matters that come under the jurisdiction of the Department of Veterans Affairs and of the Department of Labour; but we are glad on a voluntary basis to assist, even in these respects, wherever we can.

Mr. STIRLING: Does the work of that branch cover the interests of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval service, also?

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): Yes. One of the rehabilitation officers I have mentioned—I forget her name—is a woman.

Mr. MacNICOL: In his introductory remarks yesterday the minister, as reported on page 416 of *Hansard*, gave some very revealing figures as to the number of personnel from each of the provinces that enlisted in the Canadian navy. Coming from Ontario, I cannot help but feel proud of what this province has done. Of a total of 98,015 officers and ratings, Ontario sent 43,502. Ontario is removed from the sea a considerable distance, and the number of her people who enlisted in the naval services speaks well for her patriotic fervour. The figures also reveal a wonderful showing by the western provinces, which are removed a long distance from the sea. Manitoba enlisted in the navy 8,391, the fourth highest number among the provinces. Manitoba people may well be proud of the part their boys who are serving on our fighting ships have taken. The province is at least two thousand miles from the Atlantic and more than a thousand miles from the Pacific. It shows that boys born on the farms and in remote areas of the country do not lack patriotic enthusiasm for the navy. Alberta, which is not one of our most populous provinces, enlisted 8,020, and may well be proud of the position it occupies in this respect. I have not figured out the percentage for each province; judged by that standard

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76		London, England, House of Commons. Speeches outside Parliament	22 May 1944	D 47337 - D 47348	
76		Ottawa City Council Reception. Speeches outside Parliament	25 May 1944	D 47349 - D 47350	

Collateral - McKinnon, H.B.

D 47280

Tribute to the Memory of

Late Hugh B. McKinnon, M.P.

House of Commons
April 17, 1944

Honourable Members will have learned with deep regret of the passing, during the Easter recess, of the honourable member for Kenora-Rainy River, Mr. Hugh McKinnon.

Before resuming our sessional duties, I should like to express the sense of loss we experience today as we realize he is no longer with us.

Mr. McKinnon was a Member of this House for nearly ten years, having been first returned to Parliament in a by-election in September, 1934. He was re-elected at the general elections in 1935, and again in 1940.

Mr. McKinnon was born in Kenora, and at the time of his death had all but completed his fifty-ninth year. His interest in public life first manifested itself in municipal affairs and, later, in provincial affairs. He was, for a time, a member of the Town Council of Kenora, and at the age of forty-one was a candidate for the Ontario Legislature. Though unsuccessful in the contest, he lost none of the personal popularity he

enjoyed among those who knew him best, and when first nominated as a candidate for the federal parliament he carried the constituency by a majority of over six thousand.

Mr. McKinnon will be remembered by his fellow-Canadians for his deep interest in and practical knowledge of the problems of Labour and of Railway Labour in particular. He himself had become a locomotive engineer when he was scarcely twenty-one years of age, and his knowledge of our country's political as well as industrial problems was gained in the school of practical experience. He was a devoted member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Engineers. There could be no higher testimony of his ability and fidelity than the regard in which he was held by the entire membership of this enlightened and powerful organization. Recognition of this confidence found expression as early as 1928 in his appointment as one of the technical advisers to the Canadian delegation to the conference of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, which was held at Geneva that year.

D 47282

As we in this Parliament recall our association with the late Mr. McKinnon, we think of him as one of the kindliest and most modest of men, faithful in his attendance at House sittings, constant in his interest in its proceedings, and deeply solicitous in his own quiet and unassuming way of the well-being of his fellowmen wherever opportunities to serve their interests arose.

In my last conversation with him in one of the lobbies of this House, he spoke with great earnestness of some of the problems he saw looming on the horizon and of the manner in which he believed they could be most effectively met. I need hardly add that our conversation had to do with the closest possible co-operation of all classes in the prosecution of the war and in the solution of post-war problems.

Our country and our parliament owe a great debt to men of the type of the late Mr. McKinnon, who look to what is best in human nature, and whose constant effort it is to remove distrust, and to establish confidence wherever that is possible in the affairs of Industry and of the State.

D 47283

I, personally, feel very deeply the loss of so loyal a supporter and so true a friend as Mr. McKinnon was to me at all times. This sense of loss I know is shared to the full by my colleagues and by all honourable members who sit on this side of the House. I know I can say, wholly irrespective of party political affiliations, that Mr. McKinnon's passing will be felt by all honourable members as a distinct loss to the membership of this House.

Mr. McKinnon is survived by his wife and seven children, four daughters and three sons, two of whom, still young in years, are serving in the armed forces, ~~one of them at present overseas.~~ both have been overseas. I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, to convey to Mrs. McKinnon, and to all the members of her family, the expression of the great respect in which her late husband's memory is held by all honourable members of this House, and of the deep sympathy felt by honourable members for her and for all the members of her family in their bereavement.

April 17, 1944

Hugh McKinnon, M.P. D 47284

Passing during Easter.

Membership in House of Commons.

Life history and interest

Kenora - 59

Municipal and Provincial (41)

Personal popularity - 6,000

Remembered by Fellow Canadians

deep interest, practical knowledge

Labour problems

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers

Technical adviser - Canadian delegation.

As recalled by M.Ps.

Personal qualities

Kindliest and modest

Faithful attendance

Solicitous well-being

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 47285

For the Prime Minister;

I have checked up on the two sons of the late Mr. McKinnon who are in the armed forces and find that

(1) Hugh J. is a Quartermaster-Sergeant in the Forestry Corps, and has recently returned to Canada;

(2) William is with the R.C.N.V.R. overseas.

P.A.

April 16

D 47286

H. B. McKinnon, M.P.,
Elected for Kenora-Rainy River, Sept. 24, 1934.

Received majority of over 6,000 - largest by far since riding created in 1923;

Railway engineer since 1905.

Served on Kenora Town Council.

Was Technical Adviser to Canadian Delegation to Labor body, League of Nations, 1928.

Member Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Logical successor to Mr. Heenan in representation of riding.

D 47287

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Was Technical Adviser to Canadian Delegation to Labor body, League of Nations, 1928.

Member Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Logical successor to Mr. Heenan in representation of riding.

D 47288

Biography of H. B. McKinnon

Candidate Kenora-Rainy River Constituency

Born at Kenora, Ontario April 21, 1885. Educated in Kenora Public Schools. Employed by the C.P.R. since October 8, 1901. Has been an engineer since 1905. A member of the B. of L. E. and have occupied all offices in the gift of the local lodge. Served one year as member of Kenora town Council. Was the technical adviser to Canadian Delegation to the Labor body of the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1928. Married January 25, 1911 to Edna DeGagne of Keewatin, Ontario and has seven children all living, four girls and three boys. Attendant of the United Church. (Has managed campaigns for Hon. Peter Heenan since 1919).

Received majority over 6,000 in by-election, Sept. 24, 1934.

N. P. Lambert,
114 Wellington Street,
Ottawa, Ont.

D 47288

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N. P. Lambert,
114 Wellington Street,
Ottawa, Ont.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Draft -Ra 13.4.44

D 47289

The late Hugh Bathgate McKinnon.

It is with deep regret that I have to announce to members the passing, during the recent recess, of Mr. Hugh Bathgate McKinnon, the late member for Kenora Rainy River. After a two weeks illness, Mr. McKinnon died unexpectedly at his home in Ottawa on April 10th at a comparatively early age. Mr. McKinnon would have been 59 years of age on April 21st next.

Mr. McKinnon was first elected to the House of Commons at a bye-election in September, 1934, receiving a majority of over 6000, much the largest majority since the riding was created in 1923. Because of his long associations with labour, Mr. McKinnon was a logical successor, as representative of the riding, to the Honourable Peter Heenan, who had resigned to enter the Ontario Cabinet. Mr. McKinnon was re-elected to the House of Commons at the general elections in 1935 and again in 1940.

An outstanding labour man, Mr. McKinnon became a locomotive engineer when he was barely twenty-one years of age. A devoted member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, he occupied successively all offices in the gift of the local lodge. Mr. McKinnon also served for a year as a member of the Kenora Town Council. Because of his wide

D 47290

knowledge of labour matters, he was appointed technical adviser to the Canadian Delegation to the Conference of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland in 1928.

With such a background, it was natural that Mr. McKinnon should show an especial interest, during his parliamentary career, in all matters that affected the welfare not only of Northern Ontario, but of Transport workers, and of labour generally throughout Canada. Mr. McKinnon at all times showed himself a faithful and conscientious member. He was not a frequent speaker in the House, but, as with many able and modest members, his influence was not to be measured by the number of speeches he made.

Mr. McKinnon is survived by his wife and seven children - four daughters and three sons.

I am sure it is the wish of honourable members that we should express to Mrs. McKinnon the sincere affection and respect in which her husband's memory is held by the members of this House. Her grief in the loss of her husband is shared by the government of which he was a loyal supporter, by his fellow members of Parliament and by the constituents whom he served so faithfully.

Hugh McKenzie.

47291

Mr Speaker:

Hon members have been heard with regret of the passing, during the Easter recess, of the hon member for Kenora Hastings Hugh McKenzie

Before resuming his seat, I should like to address the Senate of Canada to pay a tribute to the memory of the late Hugh McKenzie, who was born in Kenora, and at the age of 59½ years

for many years a member of this House, and who entered the Senate of Canada in September 1934, having been called to the Senate in September 1934. He was re-elected in 1935 and again in 1940, and had completed his 6th year of service in the Senate.

Mr McKenzie was born in Kenora, and at the age of 59½ years had acquired a wide knowledge of men and affairs, and his entrance into the Senate of Canada was welcomed by his colleagues. He was a member of the Canadian Legion, and took an active interest in all matters affecting veterans.

1884
1885
41

1924
1925
41

D 47292

has a member of the Town Council of Kenora, and ~~at the~~
at the age of 41 ~~was unsuccessful candidate for~~ was a
candidate for the Dominion Parliament, though unsuccessful
in the contest in both cases of the personal popularity
he enjoyed among those who knew him best, and
then was nominated a candidate for the federal parliament
he carried the constituency by a majority of over 1,000
votes. As a member of the Parliament of Canada
Hon. Mr. Rowell gave his attention for the
chief part to questions of railway and practical importance
to Canada in particular, the tendency that became a tendency
to engage in parliament, the tendency that became a tendency
to engage in parliament, as a member of the Board of Railway
Commissioners, and of Canada, ~~was~~ ~~was~~ ~~was~~
~~was~~ ~~was~~ ~~was~~ ~~was~~

D 47293

Ry

[illegible] and [illegible]
effort it is [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] in pleasure, whereas
they is founded in [illegible] as a source of conformity
and the state, I personally feel very much in
[illegible] so [illegible] a supporter and [illegible] so [illegible]
friend as can [illegible] more to me at all times,
the source of love I owe to [illegible] Stands [illegible]
first & my country, and [illegible] members
who sit on this side of the House, I and [illegible]
say this, always mindful of, [illegible]
[illegible] can [illegible] by
more a first & all the [illegible], as a citizen
love & the [illegible] of this House

D 47294

to see if this Parliament would ascertain
best for all classes, one class of them or one of the
middle & lower and most numerous of them, favourable, in
his attention when sought for, in his
attention to the proceedings, and ~~in the debates~~
& chiefly to observe, in his own quiet and un-
-assuming way, & the most likely of his fellow
men, ~~the most honest~~

In any last communication with him, in one of the letters
of the name, he often made great complaints of
some of the Parliaments he was becoming on the
horizon, and of the manner in which he believed
they would be most effectively met. I must now
say add that ~~when he first met~~ ~~was he~~
he was ~~in the enjoyment~~ & confidence
~~entered of the manner in which he believed~~
~~the interest~~ & honour ~~might best be subserved~~
~~in the solution of~~ all classes in the community.
might be brought to co-operate more effectively
in the

our communication and it also with the closest
possible co-operation of all classes in the
prosecution of the war, and the solution of
post war problems. ~~by~~ Our country and
our Parliament are a great debt to pay
of the ~~by~~ a ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~

D 47295

The late Hugh Bathgate McKinnon.

It is with deep regret that I have to announce to members the passing, during the recent recess, of Mr. Hugh Bathgate McKinnon, the late member for Kenora-Rainy River. After a two weeks illness, Mr. McKinnon died unexpectedly at his home in Ottawa on April 10th, at a comparatively early age. Mr. McKinnon would have been 59 years of age on April 21st next.

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D 47296

knowledge of labour matters, he was appointed technical adviser to the Canadian Delegation to the Conference of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland in 1928.

With such a background, it was natural that Mr. McKinnon should show an especial interest, during his parliamentary career, in all matters that affected the welfare not only of Northern Ontario, but of Transport workers, and of labour generally throughout Canada. Mr. McKinnon at all times showed himself a faithful and conscientious member. He was not a frequent speaker in the House, but, as with many able and modest members, his influence was not to be measured by the number of speeches he made.

Mr. McKinnon is survived by his wife and seven children - four daughters and three sons. - has since passed away.

I am sure it is the wish of honourable members that we should express to Mrs. McKinnon the sincere affection and respect in which her husband's memory is held by the members of this House. Her grief in the loss of her husband is shared by the government of which he was a loyal supporter, by his fellow members of Parliament and by the constituents whom he served so faithfully.

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76		Ottawa City Council Reception. Speeches outside Parliament	25 May 1944	D 47349 - D 47350	

Copy to Mr Gibson

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

6 VLB

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re. Opening of Sixth Victory Loan

The National War Finance Committee inform me that when Mr. Graham Towers saw you some time ago, he obtained your agreement to participate in an opening ceremony in connection with the Victory Loan, to be held on Parliament Hill on Saturday, April 22nd.

I have received from the War Finance Committee a preliminary draft of the programme and a few draft paragraphs suggesting a theme for your remarks. The time suggested is about 5½ minutes. I also attach a draft prepared by Mr. Acland and Mr. Pickersgill, expanding somewhat the theme suggested by the War Finance Committee.

I understand that, in order to make other arrangements, they would now like to get a confirmation, as soon as possible, of your intention to participate, and any views you may have as to modifications in the suggested programme.

W.J.T.

April 12, 1944.
JWP/MP

D 47297

DRAFT D 47298

Prime Minister's Address
At Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign
Parliament Hill, April 22, 1944

Canada is opening a new Victory Loan Campaign. It is a fitting occasion to dedicate ourselves anew to the great task which is yet to be completed. That task is the defeat of the enemy both in the West and in the East, and the establishment of freedom and peace throughout the world.

Since the last Victory Loan was launched, prospects have indeed brightened. Germany and Japan have received blows which have grown increasingly frequent and increasingly severe. Germany, which has been hurt far more than Japan, is still a powerful enemy. Most of Europe is still under German control. Germany itself is yet to be invaded.

Our gallant Russian allies have made monumental advances - but they have met extremely determined and skilful resistance. Despite these spectacular successes, the German armies have still to be driven entirely from Russian territory. We know well with what grim stubbornness the Germans have fought in Italy, so that Rome has yet to be taken.

The prospect of victory has seemed brighter, this past year, to those of us at home in Canada. Over that hope hangs the shadow of impending events in which Canadian troops

will have their part. The soldiers of Canada, along with the young men of Britain, the United States and other United Nations, are about to hurl themselves into a tornado of fire in the invasion of the mainland of Europe. Many will be called upon to lay down their lives in the cause of freedom.

The shock of the actual invasion is not the only thing that will be costly in men. There will have to be many hammer blows before the forces of the United Nations can finally smash the vast well disciplined armies of Germany, laying open the road to Berlin.

We have, moreover, no grounds for believing that Japan will right with any less determination or any less resourcefulness as she sees Germany staggering towards defeat. Japan today is a mighty empire, still controlling great areas taken from the forces of Britain, of the United States and of Holland. In recent months, the forces of the United Nations in the Pacific have inflicted many brilliantly executed blows upon the Japanese. But the allied forces are still many hundreds of miles from the mainland of Japan, and the vast new overseas empire of Japan is still largely intact.

Bearing these facts in mind, the people of Canada will be quick to see the need of unrelenting exertions and they will, I believe, be fully as responsive to the Sixth Victory Loan Campaign as they have been to those which preceded it.

Canada is now spending about a hundred million dollars each week to do our part in defeating the enemies of mankind. About half of this huge sum is being paid by our taxes; the other half must be borrowed from the Canadian people. Such a task calls for self-denial and saving by citizens in every section of the country and in every walk of life.

The nine replicas of the Sixth Victory Loan insignia on this platform are inscribed with the names and pledges of the nine provinces, each to meet its share of the first objective in the voluntary lending requirements for the war. Representatives of the Armed Forces from each of the provinces will today transmit each of these replicas to couriers. These couriers will transmit them to the provinces by air express. In each province, the replica of the Sixth Victory Loan insignia will be received by the National War Finance Committee on behalf of its citizens.

In thus opening the Sixth Victory Loan campaign, I desire to say again to my fellow citizens: it is both the privilege and the inescapable duty of every Canadian to give full support to our armed forces as they approach the climax of their struggle.

"Improvements"

to be noted by

all "drafters."

Please return to L. H.

for filing

file

~~PA~~ noted pa

~~JWP~~ JWP

et al

D 47301

D. H. R.

DRAFT

D 47302

~~Prime Minister's~~ Address
At Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign
Parliament Hill, April 22, 1944

Canada is opening a new Victory Loan Campaign. It is a fitting occasion to dedicate ourselves anew to the ~~great~~ task ~~which is yet to be completed~~. That task is the defeat of the enemy both in ~~the West~~ and in ~~the East~~, and the establishment of freedom and peace ~~throughout the world~~.

Since the last Victory Loan was launched, prospects have indeed brightened. Germany and Japan have received blows ~~which have grown increasingly frequent and increasingly severe. Germany, which has been hurt far more than Japan, is still a powerful enemy. Most of Europe is still under~~ German control. ~~Germany itself is yet to be invaded.~~

Our gallant Russian allies have made ~~monumental~~ advances - but ~~they have met extremely determined and skilful resistance.~~ Despite ~~these~~ spectacular successes, ~~the~~ German armies ~~have~~ still ~~to be driven entirely from Russian territory.~~ ~~We know well with what grim stubbornness the Germans have fought in Italy, so that~~ Rome ~~has yet to be taken.~~

The ~~prospect~~ of victory ~~has seemed brighter, this past year,~~ ~~to those of us at home in Canada.~~ Over that hope hangs the ~~shadow~~ of impending events ~~in which Canadian troops~~

will have their part. The soldiers of Canada, along with the young men of Britain, the United States and other D 47303 United Nations, are about to hurl themselves into a tornado of fire in the invasion of the mainland of Europe. Many will be called upon to lay down their lives in the cause of freedom.

The shock of the actual invasion is not the only thing that will be costly in men. There will have to be many hammer blows before the forces of the United Nations can finally smash the vast well disciplined armies of Germany, laying open the road to Berlin. We have, moreover, no grounds for believing that Japan will fight with any less determination or any less resourcefulness as she sees Germany staggering towards defeat. Japan today is a mighty empire, still controlling great areas taken from the forces of Britain, of the United States and of Holland. In recent months, the forces of the United Nations in the Pacific have inflicted many brilliantly executed blows upon the Japanese. But the allied forces are still many hundreds of miles from the mainland of Japan, and the vast new overseas empire of Japan is still largely intact.

Bearing these facts in mind, ~~the people of Canada will~~ be quick to see the need of ~~unrelenting exertions and they will, I believe, be fully as responsive to the Sixth Victory Loan Campaign as they have been to those which preceded it.~~

Canada ~~is now spending~~ about a hundred million dollars ~~each~~ week, ~~to do our part in defeating the enemies of mankind.~~ About half of this ~~huge~~ sum is being ~~paid~~ by our taxes; the other half must be borrowed from the Canadian people. ~~Such a~~ task calls for self-denial and saving by citizens in every ~~section~~ of the country and in every walk of life.

~~The~~ nine replicas of the Sixth Victory Loan insignia on this platform are inscribed with the names ~~and pledges~~ of the nine provinces, ~~each~~ to meet its share of the first objective in the voluntary lending requirements for the war. Representatives of the Armed Forces from each of the provinces will today transmit ~~each of~~ these replicas to couriers. ~~These~~ couriers will transmit ~~them~~ to the provinces by air express. In each province, the replica of the Sixth Victory Loan insignia will be received by the National War Finance Committee on behalf of its citizens.

In thus opening the Sixth Victory Loan campaign, I ~~desire to say~~ again to my fellow citizens: ~~it is both the~~ privilege and the inescapable duty of every Canadian to give ~~full~~ support to our armed forces as they approach the climax of their struggle.

D 47305

2nd draft
Previous

Address by Prime Minister

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

At Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, April 22, 1944

Canada ~~today~~ is opening a new Victory Loan Campaign. It is a fitting occasion on which to dedicate ourselves anew to the supreme task of the United Nations. That task is the defeat of the enemy both in Europe and in the Orient, and the establishment throughout the world of peace and freedom.

Since the last Victory Loan was launched, ~~prospects~~ the outlook may have ~~in fact~~ brightened; but in ~~many particulars~~ some respects, the worst of the war has still to be faced. Germany and Japan have each received crushing blows, but both still remain powerful enemies. Most of Europe is still under German control. Japan still holds ~~most of the~~ vast territories possessions she seized from Holland, Britain, and the United States. ~~Her conquests have given her access to raw materials which in their totality exceed~~

Our gallant Russian allies have made amazing advances. ~~In spite~~ Despite spectacular Russian successes, German armies are still on Russian soil. In Italy, the allied powers have fought ~~for months~~ for many weeks past with grim determination, but Rome and all of Italy ~~continues to be a prize~~ in the hands of the Germans. ~~are still under German occupation.~~

The hope of ultimate victory may seem brighter than it has been at any time. But, over that hope there hangs the dark cloud of impending events. Nothing comparable will ever have been witnessed in the history of the world. ~~What numbers may be called upon to sacrifice their lives in the cause of freedom no one can foretell.~~ All we know is that the hour of supreme effort is at hand, and that upon its outcome will depend the fortunes of this world ~~for centuries to come~~.

The shock of the actual invasion may well prove to be but the prelude to desparate fighting for ~~many~~ months to come. Vast, well-disciplined armies hold all of the territory that lies between the coasts of Europe and the boundaries of Germany, and all the roads that lead from ~~there~~ to ~~Berlin~~.

Japan, ~~you~~ may be sure, will fight with even greater determination and resourcefulness once she sees Germany staggering towards defeat. ~~Hers, today, is a mighty empire. Her conquests have given her a new overseas Empire, which is still largely intact. The allied forces are still very far from the mainland of Japan.~~

D 47307

Let us face realities. Let us not be deceived into believing that the war may soon end. The war will end only when the effort of the United Nations has become so overwhelming that neither Germany nor Japan can any longer resist.

Bearing these facts in mind, you will, I know, be quick to see the need of helping all you possibly can, ~~in this hour of greatest need~~.

The war is now costing Canada, in money alone, ~~about~~ a hundred million dollars a week. About half of this vast sum is being met from our taxes; the other half must be borrowed, and borrowed wholly from the Canadian people. This task calls for self-denial and saving by citizens in every part of the country, and in every walk of life. ~~Please remember the money cost is the least we incur in the way of sacrifice.~~ never cost + never can be repaid in money - and they belong in time to the fully repaid

On this platform, as you see, are nine ~~replicas~~ shields bearing the symbols of the Sixth Victory Loan, ~~insignia~~. They are inscribed with the names of the nine provinces, may also bear the ~~and the respective~~ pledges which have been given by the provinces to meet their share of the loan, ~~first objective of the loan in the voluntary lending requirements for the year~~. Representatives of the Armed Forces, here

D 47308

assembled from each of the provinces will today transmit these ~~replicas~~ shields to couriers, ~~who~~ the couriers are also with us here on Parliament Hill. ~~The couriers, by air express~~ They, will transmit the ~~replicas~~ shields by air to the several provinces. In each province, ~~the replica of the Sixth Victory Loan insignia~~ the shield will be received on behalf of its citizens by members of the National War Finance Committee.

In ~~the~~ opening the Sixth Victory Loan Campaign, may I ~~again~~ appeal to my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada to do all that lies within ~~their~~ your power to give the utmost support to our armed forces, ~~as they approach the climax of their long, patient, and heroic struggle~~. ~~It is~~ ours to help meet and end this cost, but what we can never ~~meet and never~~ refer nor even replace are the precious human lives that hour by hour will continue to be sacrificed till the war is at an end. Every dollar, every cent you subscribe to the Victory Loan will help to bring the war, ~~even~~ to its close, and to spare further loss of human life.

* remit for 3.

"Put victory first". ~~may I remind every one of~~ to ~~their~~ your

As they approach the climax of their long, patient and heroic struggle, they must have our help now, as never before. I am sure, we shall not fail them in the hour of their greatest need.

D 47309

Address by Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
At Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign
Parliament Hill, Ottawa, April 22, 1944

Canada is opening a new Victory Loan Campaign. It is a fitting occasion on which to dedicate ourselves anew to the supreme task of the United Nations. That task is the defeat of the enemy both in Europe and in the Orient, and the establishment, throughout the world, of peace and freedom.

Since the last Victory Loan was launched, the outlook may have brightened; but, ~~in some respects,~~ the ~~worst~~ fiercest fighting of the war has still to be faced. Germany and Japan have each received crushing blows, but both ~~still~~ remain powerful enemies. Most of Europe is still under German control. Japan still holds intact extensive possessions she seized from Holland, Britain, and the United States.

Our gallant Russian allies have made amazing advances. But, despite spectacular Russian successes, German armies are still on Russian soil. In Italy, the allied powers have fought with grim determination for ~~over~~ ~~half~~ a year, but Rome and all of Italy to the north ~~are~~ still ~~under German occupation~~ are occupied by the Nazis.

~~The~~ Hope of ultimate victory may seem brighter than it has been at any time. But, over that hope there hangs the dark cloud of impending events. When that cloud

bursts, nothing comparable in the way of conflict will ever have been witnessed. All we know is that the hour of supreme effort is at hand, and that upon its outcome will depend for centuries the fortunes of this world.

The shock of the actual invasion may well prove to be but the prelude to desperate fighting for months to come. Vast, well-disciplined armies hold all of the territory that lies between the coasts of Europe and the boundaries of Germany, and all the roads that lead from German frontiers to Berlin.

Japan, one may be sure, will fight with even greater determination and resourcefulness once she sees Germany staggering towards defeat.

Let us face realities. Let us not be deceived into believing that the war may soon end. The war will end only when the effort of the United Nations has become so overwhelming that neither Germany nor Japan can any longer resist.

Bearing these facts in mind, you will, I know, be quick to see the need of helping all you possibly can.

The war is now costing Canada, in money alone, a hundred million dollars a week. About half of this vast sum is being met from our taxes; the other half must be

borrowed, and borrowed wholly from the Canadian people. This task calls for self-denial and saving by our citizens, in every part of the country, and in every walk of life.

The money costs of war we ~~may~~ can meet, ~~and they in time may come to be fully~~ bonds will be repaid. What we can never ~~repay nor even~~ replace are the precious human lives that, hour by hour, will continue to be sacrificed ~~till~~ until the war is at an end. Every dollar, every cent you subscribe to the Victory Loan will help to bring the war nearer to its close, and to spare further loss of human life.

Above us then On this platform, ~~as you see,~~ are nine shields bearing the symbol of the Sixth Victory Loan. They are inscribed with the names of the nine provinces. ~~They~~ The shields also bear the pledges which have been given by the provinces to meet their share of the Loan. Representatives of the Armed Forces, here assembled, will act as couriers in ~~from each of the provinces, will today transmit these shields to couriers. The couriers are~~ also with us here on Parliament Hill. They will transmit the shields, from Parliament Hill to the capitals of the respective provinces, ~~by air express to the several provinces.~~ In each province its shield will be received, on behalf of its citizens, by members of the National War Finance Committee.

Eyler Shaw

In opening the Sixth Victory Loan Campaign, may I appeal to my fellow ~~citizens in all parts of Canada~~ Canadians, wherever they may be, to "Put Victory First". May I appeal to every one of you to do all that lies within your power to give the utmost support to our Armed Forces. As they approach the climax of their long, patient and heroic struggle, they need your help as never before. You, I am sure, will not fail them in the hour of their greatest need.

3rd Revise

D 47313

Address by Prime Minister

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

At Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign
Parliament Hill, Ottawa, April 22, 1944

Canada is opening a new Victory Loan Campaign. This It is a fitting occasion on which to dedicate ourselves anew to the supreme task of the United Nations. That task is the defeat of the enemy both in Europe and in the Orient; and the establishment, throughout the world, of peace and freedom.

Since the last Victory Loan was launched, the outlook may have brightened; but the fiercest fighting of the war has still to be faced. Germany and Japan have each received crushing blows, but both remain powerful enemies. Most of Europe is still under German control. Japan still holds intact extensive possessions she seized from territories Holland, Britain, and the United States. China,

Our gallant Russian allies have made amazing advances. But, despite spectacular Russian successes, German armies are still on Russian soil. In Italy, the allied powers have fought with grim determination for the best part of a year, but Rome, and all of Italy to the north are still occupied by the Nazis.

Hope of ultimate victory may seem brighter than it has been at any time. But, over that hope there hangs the

B 47314

dark cloud of impending events. When that cloud bursts, and the lightning flashes of battle make their presence known, nothing comparable in the way of conflict will ever have been witnessed.

The shock of the actual invasion may well prove to be but the prelude to desperate fighting for months to come. Vast, well-disciplined armies hold all of the territory that lies between the coasts of Europe and the boundaries of Germany. They also garrison the roads that lead from the frontiers of Germany to Berlin.

Japan, one may be sure, will fight with even greater determination and resourcefulness once she sees Germany staggering towards defeat.

Let us face realities. Let us not be deceived into believing that the war may soon end. The war will end only when the power of the United Nations has become so overwhelming that neither Germany nor Japan can any longer resist.

Bearing these facts in mind, you will, I know, be quick to see the need of giving all the help you possibly can.

The war is now costing Canada, in money alone, a hundred million dollars a week. About half of this vast sum is being met from our taxes; the other half must be borrowed, and borrowed wholly from the Canadian people. This task calls for self-denial and saving by our citizens, in every part of the country, and in every walk of life.

D 47315

The money costs of war we can meet. Our Victory Bonds will be repaid. What we can never replace are the precious human lives that, hour by hour, will continue to be sacrificed until the war is at an end. Every dollar, every cent you subscribe to the Victory Loan will help to bring the war nearer to its close, and to spare further loss of human life.

On this platform are nine shields bearing the symbol of the Sixth Victory Loan. They are inscribed with the names of the nine provinces. The shields also bear the pledges which have been given by the provinces to meet their share of the Loan. Representatives of the Armed Forces, here assembled, will act as couriers in transmitting the shields from Parliament Hill to the capitals of the several provinces. In each province its shield will be received, on behalf of its citizens, by members of the National War Finance Committee.

In opening the Sixth Victory Loan Campaign, may I appeal to my fellow Canadians, wherever they may be, to "Put Victory First." May I appeal to every one of you to do all that lies within your power to give the utmost

D 47316

support to our Armed Forces. As they approach the climax of their long, patient and heroic struggle, they need your help as never before. You, I am sure, will not fail them in the hour of their greatest need.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

D 47317

Date APR 24 1944

Subject

Prime Minister, Major Triquet Launch Canada's Sixth Loan

Two Mosquito bombers thundering through the air over the Parliament Buildings with breath-taking speed at the close of Saturday's ceremonial opening of the Sixth Victory Loan campaign fittingly symbolized the spirit with which Canadians were asked by Prime Minister King to "put victory first" by fully subscribing to the $1,200,000,000 loan.

The invasion of Europe may prove only a prelude to months of "desperate fighting", the Prime Minister told thousands of civil servants and other residents of the Capital at the mass gathering preparatory to the start of the national campaign for the Sixth Victory Loan.

"Since the last Victory Loan was launched, the outlook may have brightened but the fiercest fighting of the war has still to be faced", Mr. King said.

"The shock of actual invasion may well prove to be but the prelude to desperate fighting for months to come. Let us face realities . . . let us not be deceived into believing that the war may end soon."

He pointed out that the cost of the war was $100,000,000 a week, half of which had to be borrowed from the Canadian people.

Major Paul Triquet, V.C., one of the heroes of the present war, spoke briefly in French and English in support of the loan.

"Your boys, your husbands and brothers, all of whom I am glad to call my compatriots, have been through difficult days, and they all know that even more trying days are ahead. They have taken on their duties in the knowledge that you at home are behind them in all they do.

"I ask all true Canadians to accept the challenge to make the Sixth Victory Loan a great success."

Justice Minister St. Laurent, speaking in French, reminded listeners that the stiffest fighting was still to come.

Finance Minister Ilsley, who introduced Major Triquet, said the obligations of war weighed heavily on every Canadian. "Whatever we at home may do cannot in any way be compared with the sacrifices that those in our armed forces are prepared to face; but I do know that their duties can be borne more easily when they know that what we at home do to give them support is being done cheerfully and to the best of our ability."

Major Triquet presented nine plaques to G. W. Spinney, honorary chairman of the War Finance Committee, each plaque bearing the coat of arms of one of the provinces and the loan insignia, together with the provincial pledge of support.

When Major Triquet rose to speak the Prime Minister and distinguished guests, including members of the Cabinet and high-ranking officers of the three services, stood and doffed their hats in salute to the hero of the Battle of Ortona. A burst of handclapping and a few self-conscious cheers came from the crowd.

Nine couriers, three from each service, stepped smartly forward, took the plaques from Mr. Spinney and marched to waiting "jeeps". Led by a motor-cycle escort of R.C.M.P. men, the column of "jeeps" left the grounds to speed the plaques on their way to provincial capitals in time for the first gun of the campaign Monday morning.

Six detachments of 50 each, representing both men's and women's sections of the three forces, paraded to Parliament Hill, led by the Central Band of the R.C.A.F. Commander E. H. Russell, Naval Service Headquarters, was in charge of the parade, which formed up in a square below the speakers' platform.

At the close of the addresses, as the crowd began to disperse, two Mosquito bombers, flown by J. R. Follett, test pilot for De-Havilland Aircraft, and Flt. Lt. J. North, of Toronto, flashed from behind the Centre Block at a speed that almost stunned spectators. Before they had realized what had happened, the twin-engined planes had shot between the Victoria Building and the West Block and in a matter of seconds were mere specks in the western sky.

They travelled so fast that the crowd had scarcely time to decide that airplanes had passed overhead, when the two machines were back again. This time they headed northeast, one plane missing the southeast corner of the Centre Block by what appeared to be a hair's breadth. This feat drew screams from startled members of the crowd and caused one man to ejaculate, "Those guys must think the grass needs cutting!"

The Mosquitos were from Toronto and made the trip to Ottawa in 50 minutes.

Besides the speakers and members of the Cabinet on the platform were Air Marshal W. A. Bishop, V.C., and Sgt. Philip Konowal, V.C., veterans of the last war, as well as Rear Admiral G. C. Jones, chief of naval staff; Major Gen. J. C. Murchie, vice-chief of the general staff; Air Marshal Robert Leckie, chief of air staff, and leaders of the Opposition parties of the House of Commons.

As the troops marched off, Robert Donnell, R.C.A.F., Dominion carillonneur, ended the ceremony in light-hearted fashion with "The Road to Victory", with its refrain ". . . and buy another bond today".

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

D 47318

Date APR 24 194

Fiercest Fighting Of War To Come -- Mr. King

While several thousand spectators silently watched from the broad lawns and walks of Parliament Hill Saturday noon, nine silver mounted shields of honor were dispatched by speeding jeeps on the first leg of a swift journey to the nine provincial capitals of Canada.

The plaques, each bearing the crest of one of the provinces and the winged VI Victory Loan insignia, constituted formal acknowledgment by the Dominion government of the pledged support of the loan by the provinces.

A dais, draped in red, white and blue bunting and occupying a section of the main landing leading to the Peace Tower entrance was the focal point for the ceremony.

On the dais at Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Justice Minister St. Laurent, Finance Minister Ilsley, G. W. Spinney, honorary chairman of the National War Finance Committee; Rear Admiral G. C. Jones, Major-Gen. J. C. Murchie and Air Marshal Robert Leckie, together with other cabinet ministers and members of Parliament.

Eyes Focused on Triquet.

All eyes were focused, however, on a slim khaki clad figure wearing the beret and uniform of the Royal 22nd Regiment and the red flashes of the First Canadian Division. He was Major Paul Triquet, V.C., hero of Ortona and the first Canadian to win the British Empire's highest honor in the Italian campaign. Behind him sat two other Victoria Cross holders, Air Marshal W. A. Bishop and Sergeant Filip Konowal of Ottawa, the former resplendent in beribboned R.C.A.F. uniform, and the latter in civilian clothing.

A general salute from the R.C.A.F. band greeted the distinguished French-Canadian soldier-guest who stood between Prime Minister King and Finance Minister Ilsley before a battery of microphones.

Fierce Fighting to Come.

The Prime Minister asked Canadians to dedicate themselves anew to defeat the enemy in Europe and the Orient and establish peace and freedom. The fiercest fighting of the war had still to be faced with Germany and Japan remaining powerful enemies despite crushing Allied blows. Over the brighter hope of victory hung a dark cloud of impending events.

"When that cloud breaks and the lightning flashes of battle make their presence known," said Mr. King, "nothing comparable in the way of conflict will ever have been witnessed."

He said the shock of invasion might prove but a prelude to desperate fighting for months to come against vast, well disciplined armies. "Japan will fight with even greater determination and resourcefulness once she sees Germany staggering towards defeat."

He asked that we not be deceived into believing that the war might soon end. "The war will end only when the power of the United Nations has become so overwhelming that neither Germany nor Japan can any longer resist."

"Every dollar, every cent you subscribe to the Victory Loan will help to bring the war nearer its close and to spare further loss of human life. . . . As our Allies approach the climax of their long, patient and heroic struggle they need your help as never before. You, I am sure will not fail them in the hour of their greatest need."

Justice Minister St. Laurent spoke in French and was followed by Finance Minister Ilsley, who called for support for the loan and introduced Major Triquet.

Difficult Days Ahead.

Major Triquet in French and English said all sons, husbands and brothers in the armed forces knew there were difficult days ahead and had taken on their duties in the knowledge that they were backed by the people at home. He asked that the challenge be accepted and the Sixth Victory Loan be made a great success.

Mr. Spinney in turning over the insignia shields to Major Triquet said he was sure at this testing time no Canadian would consider he had done his share to "put victory first" and so support the armed forces until he had bought bonds to the limit of his ability.

Facing the speakers across the width of the wide lawns was the great crowd of spectators which also occupied roof tops and windows to the south, across Wellington street. Drawn up in front in steady ranks were 300 men and women of the three armed services in charge of Commander E. H. Russell of H.M.C.S. Bytown, who stood with drawn sword at the head of the parade.

Steady and unfaltering as the men were the women—"Wrens" in their smart tricorn hats, "W.D.'s" in their trim blue and "Wacs" in their handsome khaki. Centering the armed forces was the Central Band of the R.C.A.F.

Nine jeeps, three from each of the services, were drawn up diagonally at the rear of the dais, facing the Peace Tower entrance, each with its driver ready to get away when the shields were handed over.

Simple Ceremony.

This part of the ceremony was simple. Mr. Spinney handed one shield at a time to Major Triquet, who passed them on to the couriers. The couriers saluted, wheeled and returned to the jeeps. There was a roar of motors and the motorcade swept on to the national war finance headquarters, from here the plaques were rushed to the provinces.

But the biggest thrill was yet to come. Two Mosquito bombers which had been hovering in the distance, the roar of their motors scarcely audible, suddenly accelerated and screamed down in a dive on the great crowd. The aircraft cut low over a stand of trees east of the Center Block. They roared in, skimming the trees. The roar of their motors seemed to tear holes in the bright blue heavens. The crowd seemed to flatten, and the majority of spectators actually ducked. Several women screamed aloud in their excitement as the great olive drab machines swept low overhead at terrific speed.

They returned one atop the other so close that it appeared they must collide. Hundreds of people screamed and crouched to the ground before the planes disappeared into the blue not to return.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

D 47318

Date APR 24 1944

Fiercest Fighting Of War To Come -- Mr. King

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Fierce Fighting to Come.

The Prime Minister asked Canadians to dedicate themselves anew to defeat the enemy in Europe and the Orient and establish peace and freedom. The fiercest fighting of the war had still to be faced with Germany and Japan remaining powerful enemies despite crushing Allied blows. Over the brighter hope of victory hung a dark cloud of impending events.

"When that cloud breaks and the lightning flashes of battle make their presence known," said Mr. King, "nothing comparable in the way of conflict will ever have been witnessed."

He said the shock of invasion might prove but a prelude to desperate fighting for months to come against vast, well disciplined armies. "Japan will fight with even greater determination and resourcefulness once she sees Germany staggering towards defeat."

He asked that we not be deceived into believing that the war might soon end. "The war will end only when the power of the United Nations has become so overwhelming that neither Germany nor Japan can any longer resist."

"Every dollar, every cent you subscribe to the Victory Loan will help to bring the war nearer its close and to spare further loss of human life. . . . As our Allies approach the climax of their long, patient and heroic struggle they need your help as never before. You, I am sure will not fail them in the hour of their greatest need."

Justice Minister St. Laurent spoke in French and was followed by Finance Minister Ilsley, who called for support for the loan and introduced Major Triquet.

Difficult Days Ahead.

Major Triquet in French and English said all sons, husbands and brothers in the armed forces knew there were difficult days ahead and had taken on their duties in the knowledge that they were backed by the people at home. He asked that the challenge be accepted and the Sixth Victory Loan be made a great success.

Mr. Spinney in turning over the insignia shields to Major Triquet said he was sure at this testing time no Canadian would consider he had done his share to "put victory first" and so support the armed forces until he had bought bonds to the limit of his ability.

Facing the speakers across the width of the wide lawns was the great crowd of spectators which also occupied roof tops and windows to the south, across Wellington street. Drawn up in front in steady ranks were 300 men and women of the three armed services in charge of Commander E. H. Russell of H.M.C.S. Bytown, who stood with drawn sword at the head of the parade.

Steady and unfaltering as the men were the women—"Wrens" in their smart tricorn hats, "W.D.'s" in their trim blue and "Wacs" in their handsome khaki. Centering the armed forces was the Central Band of the R.C.A.F.

Nine jeeps, three from each of the services, were drawn up diagonally at the rear of the dais, facing the Peace Tower entrance, each with its driver ready to get away when the shields were handed over.

Simple Ceremony.

This part of the ceremony was simple. Mr. Spinney handed one shield at a time to Major Triquet, who passed them on to the couriers. The couriers saluted, wheeled and returned to the jeeps. There was a roar of motors and the motorcade swept on to the national war finance headquarters, from here the plaques were rushed to the provinces.

But the biggest thrill was yet to come. Two Mosquito bombers which had been hovering in the distance, the roar of their motors scarcely audible, suddenly accelerated and screamed down in a dive on the great crowd. The aircraft cut low over a stand of trees east of the Center Block. They roared in, skimming the trees. The roar of their motors seemed to tear holes in the bright blue heavens. The crowd seemed to flatten, and the majority of spectators actually ducked. Several women screamed aloud in their excitement as the great olive drab machines swept low overhead at terrific speed.

They returned one atop the other so close that it appeared they must collide. Hundreds of people screamed and crouched to the ground before the planes disappeared into the blue not to return.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date APR 24 1944

Subject

Must Support New Loan, Mr. King Warns Nation

Ottawa, April 23 (CP). — Shields bearing the winged "VI" insignia of Canada's Sixth Victory Loan campaign and recording pledges to support the drive with its $1,200,000,000 are on their way to each of the nine Provinces.

The shields started their journey at a ceremony on Parliament Hill, Saturday, during which Prime Minister Mackenzie King urged Canadians not to be deceived into believing the war was near an end and warned that months of "desperate fighting" might follow the invasion.

Taking part in the ceremony was Major Paul Triquet, V.C., who presented the shields to G. W. Spinney, honorary chairman of the war finance committee. Mr. Spinney, in turn, gave them to nine members of the armed forces.

Mr. King, in the opening address of the ceremony, called upon Canadians to support the campaign which starts tomorrow.

Great Battle Impending.

"Hope of ultimate victory may seem brighter than it has been at any time, but over that hope hangs a dark cloud of impending events," he said. "When that cloud bursts and the lightning flashes of battle make their presence known, nothing comparable in the way of conflict will ever have been witnessed.

"The shock of the actual invasion may well prove to be the prelude to desperate fighting for months to come."

Canadians should not be deceived into thinking the war might end soon. It would end only when the United Nations had overwhelming power.

"The money costs of the war we can meet," he said. "Our Victory bonds will be repaid. What we can never replace are the precious human lives that, hour by hour, will continue to be sacrificed until the war is at an end. Every dollar, every cent you subscribe to the Victory loan will help to bring the war nearer to its close and to spare further loss of human life."

Justice Minister St. Laurent spoke in French and said the armed forces poised for invasion now were in greater need than ever before of support from those at home.

Major Triquet was introduced by Finance Minister Ilsley, who said obligations of the war and support of the Sixth Victory Loan rested on every Canadian.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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Date APR 24 1944

47319

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Name of Publication Montreal Standard

Date Apr. 22/44

47320

Subject

Premier Opens Loan Campaign

Ottawa, April 22—(C.P.)—Pledge of the nine provinces to support Canada's Sixth Victory Loan campaign received formal recognition today at a ceremony at which Prime Minister Mackenzie King gave warning that months of "desperate fighting" may follow the invasion.

Under a bright sun on Parliament Hill, a large crowd watched nine plaques with the winged "VI" symbol of the campaign start on their way to each of the provinces.

The Peace Tower provided a background for the colorful ceremony, climaxed by Maj. Paul Triquet, V.C., turning the plaques over to G. W. Spinney, honorary chairman of the War Finance Committee, who in turn gave them to nine members of the armed forces.

In front of the decorated platform were units of men and women of the Navy, Army and Air Force. At the conclusion of the half-hour program two Mosquito bombers thrilled the crowd by zooming low and circling the centre block of the Parliament Buildings.

Mr. King, who opened the program, sounded a stern warning that much had yet to be done before the war ended.

"Since the last Victory Loan was launched the outlook may have brightened, but the fiercest fighting of the war has still to be faced," Mr. King said.

Foe Still Powerful

Germany and Japan both remained powerful enemies and despite amazing Russian advances German armies still were on Russian soil.

"Hope of ultimate victory may seem brighter than it has been at any time," he continued. "But, over that hope there hangs the dark cloud of impending events. When that cloud bursts, and the lightning flashes of battle make their presence known, nothing comparable in the way of conflict will ever have been witnessed.

"The shock of the actual invasion may well prove to be but the prelude to desperate fighting for months to come."

Japan, once she saw Germany staggering toward defeat could be expected to fight with greater determination and resourcefulness.

"Let us face realities," Mr. King said. "Let us not be deceived into believing that the war may end soon. The war will end only when the power of the United Nations has become so overwhelming that neither Germany nor Japan can any longer resist.

The cost of the war, in money alone, was $100,000,000 a week, half of which had to be borrowed from the Canadian people.

"This task calls for self-denial and saving by our citizens in every part of the country and in every walk of life," he said. "The money costs of the war we can meet. Our victory bonds will be repaid. What we can never replace are the precious human lives that, hour by hour, will continue to be sacrificed until the war is at an end."

Hard Fight Ahead

Mr. St. Laurent, speaking in French, said that although the prospects for victory may have brightened during the last two years "we all know the fiercest fighting is to come."

Mr. Ilsley, who spoke in introducing Maj. Triquet, said the obligations of war weighed heavily on every Canadian.

"Whatever we at home may do cannot in any way be compared with the sacrifices that those in our armed forces are prepared to face; but I do know that their duties can be borne more easily when they know that what we at home do to give them support is being done cheerfully and to the best of our ability."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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

May 1, 1944
Mr. King's remarks at opening
meeting of Prime Ministers,
10 Downing Street.

47321

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA: said: I express my warm and sincere thanks to the Prime Minister of Great Britain for the words of welcome which he has so sordially extended. I welcome this opportunity of our meeting together. Great responsibilities rest on the nations of the Commonwealth, and the purposes for which these meetings are taking place, as outlined by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, will find an echo in the hearts of all present today. The Government of Canada is as anxious as the Prime Minister of Great Britain and his colleagues to display to the world the solidarity of the Commonwealth in loyalty to the cause for which we fight, and in seeking a solution of its many problems to have its different parts kept at all times in the closest possible relationship. After the united way in which nations of the Commonwealth have joined to prosecute the war, I, myself anticipate no difficulty in reaching agreement on all essential matters, by a convergence of views, as suggested by Mr. Churchill.

I desire to convey warm greetings from the Canadian Government. The Government at Ottawa has its own heavy responsibilities, smaller in scope perhaps, but not less complex in nature. The discharge of common responsibilities has given all our governments better understanding of each other's problems, and brought us all closer together. I

feel, Prime Minister, that this island's leadership in the fight for freedom has brought Canada closer than ever to Britain's side.

1.V.44

47323

Opening meeting of Prime Ministers

Pleased to be back in this country,
second occasion during the war;
at a stage of the war when there is
real hope of reaching the end.

Admiration of the British people.

Appreciation of Mr. Churchill and his
Cabinet.

Pleasure to meet Prime Ministers of
other nations of Commonwealth.

Meeting: an evidence and a symbol of
Commonwealth solidarity.

Pleased at informality -
would be unwise to seek final decisions.

Most important to keep concentrated on war.
Danger of distractions and of
controversies based on superficial
or supposed differences.

Not a time for attempting to blueprint
future of Commonwealth.

Real purpose of meetings:
1. Personal contacts to supplement
existing means of communication and
consultation (a word of praise of
existing sources of information);
2. By showing the world and particularly
the enemy in a dramatic way that
Commonwealth united in prosecuring
present war.

D 47324

Message from the people of Canada

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit to Canada of Their Majesties the King and Queen.

In Canada, as in Britain, and throughout the Commonwealth and Empire, the years of war which have since intervened, have heightened the admiration and deepened the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen.

We have been inspired by their unfailing courage and unremitting devotion in sharing, amid scenes of cruel devastation, the dangers and sorrows of the people.

In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

D 47325

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D 47326

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47327

The great value of this Conference, I feel, has been the opportunity to meet in the discussion of common problems with the other Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth and other members of the United Kingdom War Cabinet and Government. Mr. Churchill, I have known as a friend for many years, and have had the opportunity of meeting with him many times during the war, here in London, as well as in the United States and in Canada. Field Marshal Smuts and Mr. Fraser are likewise friends whom I have talked with before. It has been a particular pleasure to meet for the first time Mr. Curtin whose leadership of the Australian people in their time of trial has been the admiration of the people of Canada. The representatives of India and Southern Rhodesia have been a notable and welcome addition to this gathering.

London at this moment in history has been the right and proper place for our discussions. None of us, I am sure, has been unaffected by the spirit of this country. Since that very different spring four years ago, the will and the spirit of the people of Britain have been a source of inspiration to all the peoples of the Commonwealth.

I came here confident of this oneness of purpose. I was certain that there was no disagreement on the principles

for which we ~~fought and the kind of world we wished to bring into being.~~ are fighting I knew that our soldiers, sailors and airmen had been taken into your hearts and homes, and that the High Command under which they serve ~~were~~ is worthy of the trust we have placed in it. During these short weeks, I have been strengthened in that knowledge and I shall be able to ~~report to my country~~ tell the people Alexander, at ~~this~~ the crest of our collective effort, ~~my belief that everything which can be done will be done and will be done well.~~ that I know I believe we are doing all that can be done and that all is being done well. The singleness of purpose with which the tasks behind us have been accomplished; and with which greater tasks ahead are being ~~tackled~~ undertaken ~~is our best~~ by us assurance of final victory and a constructive peace.

The statement we have signed this morning is a clear and fine indication of what the British Commonwealth means to the world. ~~The strength of this association of free nations derives from a common purposes which inspire our people.~~ to the Commonwealth and all it stands for ~~At these meetings there have been differences of opinion on questions of method and detail; differences which have been expressed with frankness and received with respect.~~ Thanks to the swift and smooth working machinery of consultation which has steadily improved

Now she comes with the enormous ~~responsibility~~ the confidence in all those of Canada, and ~~and by us~~

D 47329

under the stimulus of the conditions of war, we came to these meetings knowing much of each other's problems and points of view. But I should like to say how ~~much I have profited by hearing~~ these problems and points of view explained and interpreted by ~~the men~~ who are themselves responsible to their own parliaments for the conduct of their countries' business. We shall carry back to our colleagues ~~in Ottawa an~~ impressions of these ~~conceptions~~ discussions which will be of great value to us all and enable us to formulate our policies with a more direct appreciation of our common problems ~~which we face.~~

~~It is my hope that the friendships of these meetings may be frequently renewed and refreshed.~~ We have welcomed to Ottawa many visitors from the other nations of the Commonwealth ~~during the present war. On those occasions we have profited greatly from the opportunities of discussing matters~~ of common interest. The government and people of Canada are looking forward with pleasure to a visit from the Prime Minister of Australia which will provide an opportunity to pay tribute to him and to the achievements of his countrymen in the present war. We are eager also to welcome again the Prime Minister of New Zealand who is happily no stranger to Canada. It is many years since the Prime Minister of South Africa has been in

Canada, and I know that I speak for all the people of our country when I urge him to visit us again. The Prime Minister of Great Britain needs ~~, I am sure,~~ no assurance ~~that the warmest~~ of welcomes will always await him on Canadian soil.

Mr. Prime Minister: I could not depart without expressing my ~~gratitude~~ and the ~~gratitude~~ of those who have accompanied me for the cordial and generous hospitality which the United Kingdom Government has extended to us. If I may say so, the arrangements for our meetings have been admirable and businesslike. We have had a good many sessions covering a good deal of ground in a very brief time. That this has been possible is, I am sure, largely due to the efforts of the joint secretariat provided by the War Cabinet and the Dominions Office. I should like to convey to them our ~~sincere appreciation~~.

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D 47332

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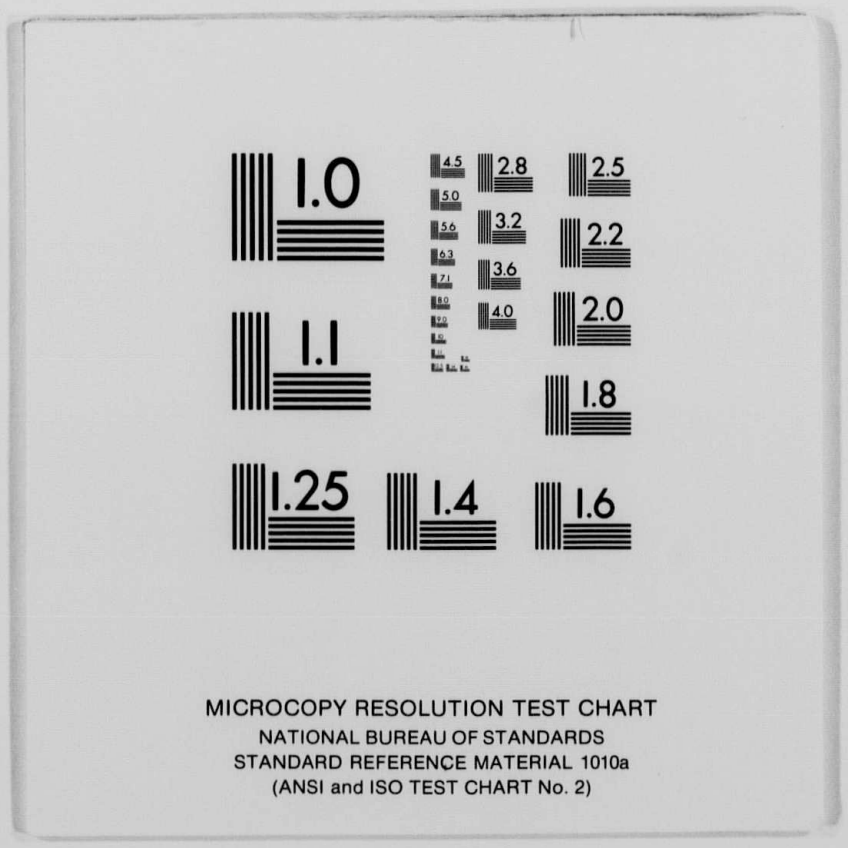

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